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OR

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THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

APRIL, 1834.

No. CXIX.

ART. I.—*The Life of Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, K.B.* By his brother, JAMES CARRICK MOORE. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1834.

SIR JOHN MOORE'S name was so intimately connected with all the glorious exploits of the last war,—was so blended with our recollections of the deeds which have illustrated the arms of England, that it was with no common satisfaction we first heard his life was to be written. We anticipated the pleasure of seeing recorded the sentiments, the aspirations, and actions of a man, who had always appeared to us to unite in himself those seemingly incompatible characters, the hero of history, and the hero of romance. Moore was not only a consummate general, a penetrating statesman, and a proud fearless soldier, he was also an accomplished chivalric gentleman, and we had long yearned to have him placed before the world in all the purity of his stainless career.

We had often considered the mode in which such a man's life could be best written, so as to bring into full relief its numerous excellences; and as the rules of good composition require that there should be a principal action of the piece, we had endeavoured to decide whether it would be more judicious, and more just, to give the preference to his brilliant talents, or to that stern, that inflexible virtue, which was inherent to his lofty mind. Turning to the great models of antiquity, we saw the fiery breath of Tacitus animating his idol Agricola, admirable in speech, in camps a hero, in retirement a philosopher; how he made him frowning and dreadful in the front of battle, sedate on the judgment seat, cautious within the snares of the court, calm and serene upon the bed of death; in all things exciting our sympathy. Yet we could not but feel, that here the genius of the

writer had overlaid the genius of the warrior, and that it was Tacitus, rather than Agricola, whom we admired. Again, when we looked at the mild and philosophic Plutarch selecting a few distinguishing traits of private character, mixing them lightly up with great actions, skimming off the results with a dexterous hand, and pouring them forth to his readers with the gracious benevolence of an admirable old story-teller, we were pleased with the writer, but felt that neither would this method, so agreeable where, other records failing, a number of great men's actions were thrown together, serve for one life; because Plutarch has made but a collection of slight sketches, fit enough to excite noble thoughts, yet without one finished portrait, by which the particular men might be known in the crowd. But in the natural, the simple, powerful writings of Xenophon, we thought we had discovered the secret of representing a great man without disguise; and hence, that if any person should undertake to portray Moore's character, such as he would be desirous it should appear; that is, such as it was upon all occasions, it would be necessary to resort to himself;—that to write his life truly, he must be made like Xenophon, to speak for himself. And we knew that he had so spoken. We knew that ample materials were in existence, so ample, so complete, that the dullest of writers, honestly using them, could not fail to produce a work deeply interesting and instructive; treating of great events; full of sense and honour.

We had indeed great hopes that something worthy of the man would appear, until we heard that Mr James Carrick Moore had undertaken to be the author of his brother's life: then our hopes sunk at once. We knew, indeed, that he possessed, besides Letters, a Journal, which, embracing all the important actions of Sir John Moore's life, was a faithful record of the thoughts, the breathings of his inmost soul; a record of all the glorious and generous aspirations of his proud and fiery spirit;—that spirit whose energy no dangers, no misfortunes could quell. We knew that this biographer had the means of displaying in full daylight, how the gallant Moore, now obeying, now commanding, dealing in court and camp with the wise and the weak, the haughty and the mean, with the daring savage in arms, and with the fraudful politician in council, still bore onwards in his own noble career, unstained by vice or fear, untainted by subserviency, the foremost amongst the great, and yet an honest man. We knew all this, but, alas! we also knew, that his would-be biographer possessed a very moderate capacity, and a judgment warped by the most absurd prejudices; that he was an inveterate controversialist, and a virulent Tory; that he abhorred Roman Catholics, Irishmen, and republicans; looked upon a black man as destined by nature

for a slave,—held freedom, whether civil, commercial, or religious, in disgust,—and had a most legitimate detestation of Napoleon: lastly, that the bent of his prejudices was entirely in favour of those who, after death,—in life they dared not,—had so shamefully calumniated his generous-minded brother; and hence, that he was incapable of understanding the value of one-half of the materials which he possessed, and was quite capable of misusing what he could not misunderstand.

We expected from him a dry succinct meagre narrative of certain actions, the relation of which would in no manner commit the writer,—a few bricks brought forward to show what the building was; in fine, we expected nothing good, and we have not been disappointed. He has produced what he calls the 'Life of Sir 'John Moore,' but what is no more the representation of the man, than the square block of marble in Chantrey's yard is the statue which that great artist will carve from it. We have a record indeed of the battles in which Ensign Moore, and Lieutenant Moore, and Captain, and Colonel, and finally, General Moore, was present: we have shown to us a very well-drilled obedient officer, who is never absent from his guard, and never insults his commanders; who dislikes to see subaltern officers drunk on parade, is brave in action, and receives the praise of his general with due humility. But the man, the hero, we have not. Moore's form is there,—we see his uniform,—we know that it was red,—that it covered a body, which, having life, performed certain functions. Sir John Moore lived and died! This is denoted by certain words, very grammatically put together by his biographer, yet stript of every grace and spirit-stirring expression; without taste or judgment; without one spark of genius, one luminous ray of illustration; and above all, and worse than all, without one throe of sympathy with that proud and generous spirit, whose workings he pretends to display. Every page proclaims to those who have seen the original materials, not only the utter incapacity of the author to think or feel like his brother, but, if it were not too painful a thought, would even lead us to imagine that he was secretly chagrined that he was his brother. Kindred indeed he claims with him, but it is the kindred which the damp moss claims with the ancient temple; it clings to and covers it to its injury, soiling and hiding its noble proportions. And, as if the dull faithlessness of the book had extended its influence to the engraver, the very portrait which accompanies it is repulsive to those who remember the commanding countenance of the man.

There are some faces so constituted, that a painter must disregard likeness, to raise them to the dignity of a picture. There

are others where the grandeur of the mind, and the dignity of the soul, are so plainly expressed, that the painter's art must bow, and accept that as a model, which, in most cases, it claims a right to improve. Such was Sir John Moore's. The picture from which this print is taken, although well painted, is bad as a portrait. It was executed before Lawrence had obtained the power of marking the finer indications of mind in the human face; and the grander traits it was never in his soft and delicate genius to seize. The picture has, indeed, a refined, and playful, and gracious expression, for which the original was remarkable; it might be what Moore was at sixteen, or it might be his sister dressed in his regimentals; but it is not Sir John Moore,—it is not the warrior Moore. We miss the keen dark eye, the strongly-compacted forehead, the bold and flexible brow, the brown weather-beaten soldier's cheek, the lean jaw, the firm decided chin,—the concentrated, the awful look of mental power and energy which distinguished the General, whom shouting thousands hailed on the field of battle! These things are wanting in the picture; and all its faults are exaggerated, and all its merits lost in the print, which is only worthy of the book it so truly illustrates. We rejoice that the splendid picture of his death, painted by Mr Jones, has not also been surrendered a victim to the same ruthless graver.

Sir John Moore's fame and feelings are public, not private property; nor is it fitting that his life should be made a vehicle for pouring out with impunity the crude and fretful humours of his biographer. We propose, therefore, in justice to the living and the dead, to show how faithlessly this book has been written: we have the means of exposing its grosser failures, and we revere the memory of the great and beneficent man who has been misrepresented in it, too much to permit any personal feeling to induce us to shrink from the painful task. And, first, we would ask the author why he is so sparing of his materials, that, to eke out two thin volumes, he is obliged to put in his own commonplace about the romantic beauty of Wales, the frowning of old Conway's flood, and of the double rising of the sun; and twice to insert one of his father's epistles, to convince us that Jack was '*really a* '*pretty youth?*' This is not what England desires to know of her heroes. Sir John Moore's observations upon the state of the vegetable market at Gibraltar, which is another of the precious *morceaux* given us by Mr Moore, are not the particulars that England requires in justification of that fame which she has bestowed upon one of her worthiest sons. She wants the nervous thoughts, the penetrating views, the sagacious anticipations, the careful arrangements, the prompt and daring execution of the

consummate captain; and if she is baulked with such impertinent matter as we have hinted at above, the conclusion that nothing better could be given will naturally suggest itself; and Sir John Moore's talents will be supposed to have existed only in the imagination of his friends, because his brother, the keeper of his papers, the natural defender of his fame, has sacrificed his real character for the support of his own headstrong absurdity.

We protest against this monstrous injustice. We protest against it as Englishmen, and as friends of Sir John Moore. We protest against it, because we know the whole extent of the injustice,—because we know that his Journal alone would make more than two thick volumes; and that in simplicity of style, and in gravity of matter, that Journal may almost vie with Cæsar's Commentaries; that it treats of nothing mean or irrelevant to great affairs; that it embraces the transactions of many years, ending only within a few days of his death, and yet seems, from the unity of moral feelings, to have been written in one day; that it exhibits, and in the most natural manner, the thoughts, the feelings, the views, the intentions, and the opinions, of a good and great man; and that, from the first word to the last, nothing unworthy of his high spirit is there to be found. Why, then, is this Journal suppressed or garbled? We will inform our readers:—*The hatred of oppression, the contempt for folly and weakness in power, the frank and bold opinions, the noble sentiments, therein contained, would have rendered his biographer's political prejudices and petty sentiments so ridiculous by the contrast, that he could not, for very shame, have permitted them to stand.*

Strong, too strong of proof we are in support of this assertion; and surely we may be believed when we say, that it is with deep sorrow, as well as indignation, that we offer evidence of the fact: but what security shall the world have for the truth of history; what security shall men engaged in public transactions have for their reputation, if their own writings, their own statements, left in the hands of their nearest kindred, shall be so used as to give them the appearance of holding opinions the very reverse of those really entertained by them; and if those sentiments and feelings shall be, after death, so used as to support systems which they spurned at and disdained during life? This is the case here. We charge this author with suppressing, and we will, ere we have done, prove, that he has suppressed, the finest sentiments, the most generous, just, and noble feelings of Sir John Moore, to the great detriment of his character, in order to give more force to his own rabid effusions of hatred against republicans and opponents of governing powers; and that although this is the worst blot upon his work, it is not the only one.

We shall pass over slightly, the tame and crestless manner in which he treats all the early parts of Sir John Moore's military and political adventures, especially his disputes with Lord Hood and Sir Gilbert Elliot in Corsica; because his sins on these heads are only the sins of poverty of feeling and of mind;—the sin of vanity in an author, who judges that his spiritless narrative can be beneficially substituted for the animated, graphic, and curious details of Sir John Moore's Journal. He imagines that he is a good writer because he is grammatical and brief; but he is mistaken; he wants nerve, he wants feeling. His sentences are short indeed, but not 'thick with sense;' his brevity is dwarfish, and his paragraphs, curled and tied up like cabbages, are but poor substitutes for the graceful discursive manner of his brother. We have neither the words nor the meaning of the General given to us, and we want both. Where are Sir John Moore's opinions of Paoli's character—of Pozzo de Borgo's? Where is his description of the political proceedings of Sir Gilbert Elliot? Where the accounts of the treatment of Paoli's bust, and the riot at the feast, which led to the loss of Corsica? Where are his views upon the defence of the island, upon the unguarded situation of the Mediterranean, upon Lord Hood's management of the navy, and upon the many other interesting points relating to the history of that period, which he treats of in his Journal?

Sir John Moore's opinions upon these heads, we presume to think, would have been more agreeable to the world than his judgment of the state of the green peas at Gibraltar, or even that early letter beginning 'Mon cher Jamie.' We are informed how the child Moore quarrelled with French boys; but we look in vain for the details of the vehement quarrels between the naval and military leaders in Corsica, which, at one period, induced the man Moore to advise even recourse to force, to check the degrading insults and violence of Lord Hood. We are told that General d'Aubant resigned the command of the army to Sir C. Stuart, and that the arrival of Sir C. Stuart was a most '*agreeable* event to Lieutenant-Colonel Moore,' and are then left to suppose that this had merely a reference to the agreeable qualities of that officer. Not a hint is given of the real fact. Who from this would suppose, that, previous to Stuart's arrival, General d'Aubant had resigned the command to Lieutenant-Colonel Moore under the most critical circumstances; and that the arrival of the new General was agreeable, because it relieved Moore from one of the most dangerous situations, for his own interest, that a young officer, without Parliamentary friends, could be placed in; namely, to fight the battles of the army against a headstrong domineering old Admiral, who had great

influence at home, and who had shown himself capable of the most outrageous violence, not unaccompanied with subtlety?

Lord Hood, after accumulating gross insults upon the two Generals who successively commanded the army, had at last gone so far as to insist upon having a strong detachment, placed under his own orders, to besiege Calvi. D'Aubant had weakly consented to it at first, and then repented; and it was to resist this most improper demand that Colonel Moore received the temporary command of the troops. He, a young man and a young officer, was suddenly called to stem a torrent which had overborne the two Generals, his predecessors,—he, whose prospects in life were at stake, was, without any support or weight of interest, called upon suddenly to meet and control a nobleman of high reputation, a naval commander-in-chief, of a powerful family, and himself a daring, obstinate, clever, and violent man. To show how nobly Moore undertook this formidable task, it would be requisite to give his own account of it at length. It was an intricate and dangerous matter; his mode of proceeding was one of the clearest and finest indications of his disinterested character; and it is inconceivable that his biographer should have neglected it. How fearlessly he resolved to execute the duty he had undertaken is also simply and beautifully told by himself. Was it not worth Mr Moore's while to extract that fine record of his brother's moral intrepidity?—Was it not worth the labour to show how he decided to face Lord Hood upon his own quarterdeck, and, first by mild and gentle reasoning upon the disgrace which would attach to the military commander who should permit his troops to go to battle without going with them, to persuade him from his headstrong humours; but, that failing, how he resolved,—we well remember the manly sentence,—to tell him roundly, 'he should neither have the troops 'nor a single thing from the army.' And this decision was accompanied by a reflection which proves that he knew all his danger, and acted from no youthful arrogance. We do not pretend to give the exact words, but we pledge ourselves for the substance of the following extract from Sir John Moore's Journal:—'*My having the* '*command now is unfortunate for me; I can only retain it for a* '*few days, and Lord Hood's ill-will is all I shall gain by it.* '*There are, however, certain moments decisive of a man's charac-* '*ter; this is one of those moments; and nothing shall induce me to* '*submit to what is disgraceful!*' And it is a brother writing his life that consigns this anecdote to oblivion!

When the author before us does condescend to relate facts of importance to Sir John Moore's reputation, he cannot do it without suppressing an essential part. One example will suffice. It is well known, that in Corsica, Lord Hood treated the army

with insult and scorn for not besieging Bastia; and, as Sir John Moore, although then in a subordinate situation, had been called upon for his opinion, and had given it against the siege, although he allowed the place might be taken by blockade, it would have been but reasonable to show, not only upon what grounds he founded that opinion, but how it was proved to be just by the result. This was due to him as an officer; but the first part Mr Moore has altogether omitted, and has only given half of the second. We will take the liberty of supplying what is wanting to the last, and then proceed to graver matter.

'A few days after this, Moore was introduced to General 'Gentili, whom he asked why, with his numerous garrison, he 'had never made one sally? He replied, "Because no sally could 'bring us bread."'

Such is Mr Moore's account, but General Gentili added, and 'because he wished to do his duty and no more, his property 'was in England!' and in proof of his sincerity, he told Moore what, indeed, he well knew, 'that the village of Villa upon their 'right flank being intrusted to Corsicans, it could have been easily 'carried, in which case the British must have retreated to their 'ships with the loss of their guns.' Here we have the real secret of the very feeble defence of Bastia, and the proof that Moore's military opinion was sound and just. But thus it is in every part of the book before us: everywhere we find an imperfect and ill-shaped skeleton, instead of a body glowing with life and strength.

Slight and trifling, however, are the deficiencies of the work in this part, compared with what follows. When we come to the West Indies, the author's inveterate politics overbear all consideration for his brother's character, and they are thrust forward with ostentation, while only so much of Sir John Moore's sentiments are made known, as will seem to give weight to opinions, which he was far from entertaining. Let any person read the following passages, together with what we will add to them, and then decide whether they contain a faithful record of Moore's feelings and opinions:—

Vol. I., p. 131.—'The French agents who had been sent forth 'to the West Indies during the frenzy of the Revolution, were 'sanguinary men from Paris, a city then resembling Rome in 'the reign of Nero.' Quo cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confluunt celebranturque.—P. 132. 'The negroes and mulattoes, 'who acquired the name of brigands, were armed and declared 'free by those political fanatics whose frantic decrees and atro-'cious exhortations kindled their fury to the height. Indeed, 'the ferocity of these emancipated slaves became direful; they

'threw off all compunctions of humanity, to put on the savage 'nature of the wildest animals. A resolution to defend their 'liberties would neither have been unnatural nor reprehensible, 'but this was sullied by deeds too horrible to be related.'

P. 133.—'With brutal fury they had murdered many of the 'white inhabitants, sparing neither women nor children; and 'those who remained alive had fled for safety into the towns. 'But none of the survivors, nor of the slaves who remained 'faithful to their masters, durst give any intelligence to, or have 'any communication with, the British.'

P. 134.—'The negroes in St Lucia had not only been active 'in deeds of cruelty, but in every species of villany. The con- 'flagration of houses had been so extensive that there were not 'sufficient buildings remaining to shelter the troops, or even for 'an hospital; and the rainy season having set in, great sickness 'already prevailed. Altogether the condition of the island was 'lamentable; but Moore struggled against the difficulties with 'all his faculties. One of his first measures was to publish a 'proclamation to the inhabitants, granting pardon to all who 'would come within the British lines and deliver up their arms. 'Passes were also given to whoever wished to return to their 'habitations, and all were promised protection if they remained 'quietly attending to their private affairs. Royalists and re- 'publicans were exhorted to refrain from mutual recrimination, 'as both should be treated with indulgence, and have equal jus- 'tice.'

P. 135.—'The brigands were not, however, to be quelled 'by pacific measures; intelligence was brought daily to the 'Government House that they were laying waste the country, 'and solicitations were made for soldiers to protect the planta- 'tions; but as the detaching troops in separate bodies was a 'hazardous measure, the governor judged it expedient, before he 'came to a decision, to make an excursion, and visit the four 'largest towns, Souffrieré, Choiseul, Laborie, and Vieux Fort. 'In these places he had an opportunity of conversing with the 'principal people of the country whom fear had driven thither. 'He addressed them at public meetings, encouraged them to 'return to their estates, and gave assurances that troops should 'be posted to protect their plantations. He recommended them 'strongly to treat their slaves, not only with lenity, but with 'kindness; as men who had borne arms, and had been told they 'were free, would not, without reluctance, return to slavery 'and labour; but that, if those in the woods saw the others on 'the plantations well fed, comfortable, and happy, they might 'be induced to join them. That no harshness ought to be

'employed; as all "mankind, of whatever colour, were entitled 'to justice, and would meet with it indiscriminately."'

P. 139. 'The conduct of the negroes even to each other 'was merciless, for they put to death, without hesitation, all men 'and women who refused to join them.'

Now, this unmixed vituperation of the brigands and negroes is the author's own. Those people were indeed very ferocious, but there were palliatives for their conduct, and they possessed also very fine, and even noble qualities: and how slightly does Mr Moore mark Sir John Moore's justice and impartiality,—one penny-worth of bread to all this sack—no notice of the crimes of the opposite faction! Were we to take our notion of Sir John Moore's proceedings in St Lucia from the present narrative, overloaded, as it is, by such observations as the above, we should inevitably conclude, that the General saw in the negroes and brigands but a horde of dreadful villains, who had wantonly attacked those most inoffensive and gentle of people, the slave masters, and who, for their crimes, and the absence of all human feelings within them, ought to be swept from the face of the earth; finally, that their horrible disposition was not more the effect of a degenerate nature, than of republicanism. We should imagine, we say, that such false and foolish notions had entered Sir John Moore's head; and that, with a soldier's recklessness, he shot and hanged these wretches, indifferent to aught but the military question of whether they were enemies or friends,—soothing his conscience with commonplace proclamations about a justice which was all on one side. But a notion more injurious to his penetration, impartiality, and humanity, could not be entertained. With a heart resolute to do his duty, he possessed a head to distinguish causes, as well as effects. He abhorred the cruelty of punishment, and deplored the necessity of it; and, while he inflicted it reluctantly, he did justice to the heroic qualities of those very brigands whom Mr Moore paints in such unmitigated blackness. He warred against them, and punished their crimes, but he admired their courage; and he despised, and reproached, and restrained the whites, whose tyranny had first sown in the poor negroes' hearts the seeds of that ferocity, which it was his painful duty to repress.

We will now give our proofs: but, first, we would ask this author why, when he spoke of Marin Pedre, the brigand chief, he did not also give us the history of the oppression, which drove him to take arms?—why he did not even notice the conduct of that *British* General, we will not call him *English*, who having seized above three hundred innocent persons, and put them on board of vessels, did afterwards send agents, secretly to

treat with them for purchasing their release? Is it because the mercenary oppressor was *not an Irishman,* that the virtuous indignation of the biographer is hushed and quiet upon this subject? Or is the frank and clear exposition of the villanous act, made by Sir John Moore, an inconvenient appendage to the observation, that 'true republicanism seems, at least in this 'country, to be an excuse for every species of treachery, want of 'faith, and common honesty?' Was that passage directed against the vices or the cause of the republicans? are there no ruffians within the pale of legitimacy? Never did the upright, the virtuous, just, and humane Sir John Moore stoop to be the pitiful slave of prejudices, where men's rights were before him; never did he learn to light his moral path by the torch of party spirit. That which was cruel and unjust he hated and repressed, without heeding if it were found beneath the white flag or the tri-color.

We write partly from memory, partly from notes, and can only give the substance of Sir John Moore's recorded opinions, not his words; but we admired his noble sentiments too much, not to treasure them fondly and deeply in our memory; and we pledge ourselves to the general truth of all that we are going to state. We say, then, that Sir John Moore, in his Journal, speaks with contempt and indignation of the emigrés in St Lucia, and of the proprietors of slaves; that he deplored the condition of their black slaves—that he threatened those emigrés with punishment for casting reflections on the submissive republicans—that he checked them for their ill treatment of the negroes—that he repeatedly assured the people, not only, as his biographer in his slight way says, that royalist or republican would be neither a merit or demerit with him, but that he suspected them of wishing for detachments of troops to enable them to tyrannize over the negroes,—a system which he abhorred, and would never permit. 'Why,' he exclaimed, 'is a man to be treated harshly because he 'is not white? All men are entitled to justice; and from me they 'shall meet it, whether they be white, black, royalist, or republi-'can.' 'This language,' he says in another part, 'was not agreeable 'to his auditors, especially the emigrés; but he had no prefer-'ence for them, and wished to curb their insolence; because, in-'stead of profiting by their misfortunes, they had only whetted 'their prejudices, and thirsted to gratify their revenge and to op-'press their fellow-creatures: *coquins, canaille, bêtes,* were expres-'sions they habitually used towards every person of the lower 'classes.' Now, here is nothing to indicate that he judged all the villany of the day to attach to the republicans and blacks. The fact is, that whilst he in no manner mitigates his censure of the

emigrés, he speaks highly of the spirit of the brigands, and the fine qualities of the negroes. Writing of our army, which at that period, at least that part of it which was in the West Indies, was perhaps the very worst in Europe, he says, 'that such was the disorder 'and want of zeal and system, he judged peace could not be made 'too soon, lest even the negroes should beat us in the field; that 'against *the spirit and the enterprise of the republicans, there was 'little chance, and that the fidelity of the brigands to the republic 'was so firm, that they went to death without faltering, some even 'crying out "Vive la Republique" the instant before they were shot;* 'that the actions they committed were indeed atrocious, but he 'attributed it to certain villanous chiefs, whites and mulattoes, of 'Robespierre's gang, who, coming from France, had misled 'them; for that *the blacks were by nature gifted with good quali-'ties, and their cause was praiseworthy, if they had not disgraced it 'by savage acts.*' Ay! that their cause was not only 'not re-'prehensible,' but praiseworthy! The cause of republicanism, the cause of freedom, was praiseworthy! 'That the bloody acts of 'the brigands made him feel less remorse when his duty obliged 'him to put them to death, but he did it with pain, as he thought 'them misled; and this conclusion he came to, because he 'observed that the blacks, who were of the royalist party, were 'as brave and true to their side as the others,—refusing rewards, 'and even liberty, when made prisoners by Victor Hugues; and 'with equal courage and fortitude submitting patiently to death, 'or the most terrible sufferings, rather than betray the cause they 'had espoused.' Nor was he at all surprised that so many of the blacks hailed the opportunity of gaining freedom; for, with the observant spirit of a statesman, he also remarks, 'that the West 'Indies was the only country in the world, where industry and 'cultivation added nothing to the happiness of the people; because 'all was for the benefit of the few who were white, and nothing 'went to comfort the many who were black.' We appeal to our readers, then, to say, whether these, his real opinions, are fairly given by his biographer; and whether it is just and right to Sir John Moore, to suppress such proofs of his manly, and just, and humane character, in a work purporting to be his life?

After the campaign in St Lucia, we next find Sir John Moore engaged, as a General on the staff, during the rebellion of 1798, in Ireland; and, remembering his biographer's politics, we could only expect the most offensively obtrusive Toryism in this part of the work. It was impossible for him to avoid running riot upon such food; and accordingly, a pampered boar, rushing into a garden, churning and foaming, and chopping with his tusks, is but a type of his fury. Irishmen, Catholics, rebels, republicans!

every thing most obnoxious to his prejudices was in array before him; and he has fallen upon them with so much haste, as entirely to forget that it is Sir John Moore's acts and opinions, and not his own morbid political violence, that was to be recorded. We have abundance of such sentences as, 'the depraved directory,' 'the infatuation of traitors,' 'disaffected Catholics,' 'loyal Protestant inhabitants,' 'men of lawless habits,' 'wild men,' 'ferocious chiefs,' 'merciless rebels,' 'frenzy of the people,' and the like; accompanied with the following profound political philosophy:—

'Certainly the brute creation, who are merely guided by instinct, never act so preposterously as the rational frequently do. For it appears from history, that nations, at certain periods, became frantic, and brought misery upon themselves. The poets explain this by inventing the allegory of the Furies, armed with snakes and torches, bursting out of hell, and instilling madness into the people. But in plain truth, these Furies are wicked and ambitious men, skilled in the art of deceiving the populace, and of inflaming their passions, in order to obtain for themselves wealth, power, or fame. This was now strikingly exemplified in Ireland, in which island agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, were more prosperous than in any former ages; and the arts, sciences, and civilisation were also progressively advancing. But instead of allowing this amelioration to proceed, the nation was instigated to open rebellion, by which all improvement retrograded, and the people were involved in misery.'—P. 184.

'In this advanced age of the world, during the French Revolution and the Irish Rebellion, hostilities were not confined to those bearing arms. Even peaceful persons were often dragged from their domestic homes, and cruelly massacred, while the ruthless murderers derided the wailing and agonies of their dying victims. These horrible consequences ought to induce statesmen vigilantly to prevent or extinguish the first sparks of civil commotion; for unhappily, there are sullen, malignant spirits, ever at work to kindle discontent among the people, and, when the fire has caught, to fan the flame.'—P. 189-90.

'Could the bulk of mankind profit by history, surely the preachers of the benign doctrines of Christ, and lay political agitators, would curb their zeal and ambition, and cease to stir up and inflame the ignorant multitude with the pretexts of religion and liberty. For experience has often evinced the horrible events which thence ensue, together with an augmentation of impiety, immorality, and the loss of rational freedom.'—P. 200.

'Were all mankind disinclined to injure or do injustice to each 'other, they certainly ought to be left to the enjoyment of per- 'fect liberty, and every man should have the power of acting as 'he pleased; but the dispositions and habits of human beings to 'do unto others, what they would not that others do unto them, 'render the establishment of laws and government essential for 'their welfare. As the prevalence of vice is the only good 'cause for imposing any restraints on freedom, these never 'should be greater than is requisite for the happiness of the peo- 'ple, and always proportioned to their disposition to do evil. 'The degrees of virtue, and the tendency to various vices, are 'different in different countries; consequently, one code of laws, 'and one constitution of government, are unsuitable to all. Pro- 'jects of one universal legislative system would neither be agree- 'able to the tempers, nor adapted to the correction of the various 'corruptions, of the human race. Experience proves this. The 'English laws and constitution have been found admirably suited 'to the character of Englishmen, which imposed upon them no 'greater prohibitions than were requisite for establishing good 'order, and which granted a greater degree of freedom than was 'possessed by any other nation. In the year 1706, this consti- 'tution was extended to Scotland, and suddenly the Scots were 'transformed from an ill-governed, turbulent, and impoverished 'people, into an orderly, composed, improving nation; which 'concordant effects proved, that there was an agreement in cha- 'racter, and an equality in morals, with the English. *But when* '*the same constitution was transferred to Ireland, no such bene-* '*ficial consequences ensued; for lawless riots, wanton pillagings,* '*and atrocious murders, have continued to prevail in that hapless* '*country.* And it is found absolutely necessary to maintain there 'a numerous standing army, to restrain carnage, and the destruc- 'tion of property, from increasing throughout the island. The 'continuance of these flagrant acts is a decisive proof, that the 'restrictions of the laws and constitution are not proportioned to 'the propensity to do wrong. If the freedom of the Irish laws 'and government were wisely graduated by the scale of virtue 'and morals which have been attained by the natives, it is rea- 'sonable to believe, that they would soon became peaceful, pros- 'perous, and happy.'—P. 226.

And has Mr Moore then yet to learn, that agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, might be prosperous, and the people wretched? His brother's observations on the state of the West Indies might have taught him better. If these things were indeed more prosperous in Ireland, at the period of the rebellion, than in any former age, it was only a proof how dreadfully they

had been depressed in former ages, by continual misgovernment; and if they were advancing, it was because some amelioration, some softening of the detestable conduct of the old vile policy towards the Catholics, and poor peasantry, had been obtained by the exertions of those ambitious and wicked men, whom Mr Moore, in his poetic frenzy, characterises as 'Furies, bursting 'out of hell!' But were there no oppressions in Ireland, no sins of government, no grinding of landlords, no factious magistrates, no political judges, no venal tyrannical parliaments, no insolent licentiousness in the vice-regal court? Were there no public jobs, no grand jury presentments, no packing of petty juries, no insulting party processions, and symbols of domineering hatred;—no religious disqualifications, no rigorous exaction of oppressive tithes, no clerical courts, no votes against conscience at elections, under pain of starvation;—no wide-spread desolation, caused by the forcible ejectment of thousands of miserable creatures from their cabins, to gratify a rich man's revenge or lust of gain? Were there no ferocious sectarian yeomanry, no triangles, no pitched caps, no tortured wretches to bare their lacerated bodies to their relations? In fine, to use the powerful expression of a friend, were not the Catholics forced to pay for two Gods, and only allowed to have one? Oh, no! Ireland was the land of justice and generosity on the part of the rich! of happiness with the poor! Well fed, well clothed, well lodged, sure of evenhanded justice, their religion respected, their property protected,—equal in rights, though unequal in state, with the proudest of the land,—what had the Irish people to complain of? And is the truth of history to be thus cast aside? Are the wrongs of millions to be thus denied? Are the rights of man, and that noble pride of man, which swells and hardens in resistance to oppression, to be thus derided, spurned at, and trampled upon with filthy hoofs? Oh! but when 'the English constitution was transferred to Ire-'land, no beneficial consequences ensued,'—Irishmen are so lawless! 'Tilly-fally, Sir John, never tell me! Your ancient 'swaggerer never came within my doors.' Where, how, when, was this English constitution applied to the Irish? Where is it to be found even in name, much less in practice? Was it not, and is it not, eternally invoked, and in vain, by those furies whose torches flare so in Mr Moore's eyes, that he cannot see the truth, and all the venom of whose snakes seems to have tainted his spirit. Why should the Irish people be in favour of the law? What do they know of it but its pains; when do they ever encounter it but as the upholder of wrongs and oppressions upon themselves? It robs them, insults, crushes them, but never protects them; the cup presented to their lips is always sour,—the

precious pearl of justice dissolved in the vinegar of faction! Are they to be reproached that their hearts are too big and manly to suffer this,—that they are too fierce to lie down and weep at their wrongs, without a blow stricken in revenge? Yes, they are lawless, and they will be lawless until the law is just towards them. Then they will be the most obedient of subjects, for they love justice in their souls, and with redoubled ardour, because she is an absent friend. Yet we are not to be misunderstood. On Mr Moore's opinions, if they stood alone, we would not waste a thought. We fully admit his right to make himself as odious a partisan of an odious system as a complete developement of his politics can effect. But when he puts those opinions forward under the protection of his brother's name, and in such a manner that the generality must conclude that he is only the echo of that brother's sentiments, and perhaps even his words, they acquire weight; not to injure those whom they are directed against, but to lower Sir John Moore's reputation as a wise and liberal man; to drag it from the clear atmosphere of his own manly conceptions, and plunge it in the unwholesome fogs of his biographer's prejudices. It is this faithlessness of which we complain, and which we are determined to expose; for nothing can be more injurious to Sir John Moore than his brother's narrative of his actions, unaccompanied with his own opinions and observations on the state of the country.

According to the author of the work before us, the rebellion of 1798 was produced by wicked and cunning men, who persuaded the people that they were miserable when they were happy, and goaded them to the monstrous folly of supposing that a better government than they enjoyed, was possible to be obtained. Ungrateful wretches! But let us hear Sir John Moore, or at least the substance of his observations. 'In this country they quell 'disturbances by proclaiming districts, and letting the soldiers 'loose upon the people, and the military are encouraged to vio-'lence against all who are called disaffected.'—'The giving away 'of militia regiments was managed so as to serve parliamentary 'purposes, and they were officered in the same view: thus the 'most profligate of men are empowered to work any evil that 'their cupidity or revengeful passions prompt them to; and so 'complete are the ramifications of corruption, and so complicated 'the abuses, that the appointment of a dictator seems to be the 'only cure.' Again, when the Chancellor Fitzgibbon, in a speech celebrated at that period, asserted, 'that conciliation had 'been already tried with the Catholics, but that it had only crea-'ted discontent, and that each new concession produced new de-'mands,' &c., Sir J. Moore remarked, that 'nothing could be

'more natural in the people, nothing more unreasonable than the 'Chancellor's complaint; *that the Catholics had a right to be put* 'on the same footing with their fellow-subjects; that they were 'pleased with each approach to that equality, but unsatisfied un- 'til they obtained all; that the government was impolitic and 'unjust, to favour one part to the oppression of nineteen; and 'that all to whom equal rights were denied were oppressed.' And in almost every page of his Journal he expresses his indignation at the treatment of the poor people, and his disapproval of the system of the government; which he describes as '*having no other* 'object than that of terrifying the poor, ready always to grant any 'power to act against them, but indulging the rest of the commu- 'nity in every sort of abuse and violence.'

Here we see the enlarged mind, the humane and just sentiments of Moore. But we have not yet done; we must descend to particulars; we must look a little closely into what passes under the general term of violence; we must examine what was the nature of that paternal government, which so captivated the senses of Mr James Moore, that he forgets every thing, but the opportunity of venting his anger against those who could be so madly foolish as to dislike it. The military claim precedence. What manner of soldiers were thus let loose upon the wretched districts which the ascendency men were pleased to call disaffected? They were men, to use the venerable Abercrombie's words, who were '*formidable to every body but the enemy.*' We ourselves were young at the time; yet, being connected with the army, we were continually amongst the soldiers,—listening with boyish eagerness to their conversations,—and we well remember, and with horror, to this day, the tales of lust, and blood, and pillage, the records of their own actions against the miserable peasantry, which they used to relate. But even the venerable Abercrombie, that soul of honour, that star of England's glory, cannot escape the sneer of the author before us. '*He had no political circum-* 'spection, and so resigned his office'—which, rightly interpreted, means, that he disdained to lend himself to pillage, cruelty, and devastation. No, truly, he had none of *that* '*political circum-* 'spection;' he would not sell his soul for the smiles of power; he would not stain his white hairs with innocent blood; he reserved himself to sustain the reputation of his country by deeds of a different nature; he lived an honest man, and died a hero: and what is more to our present purpose, his conduct in Ireland, —that conduct which Mr James Moore calls '*devoid of political* 'circumspection,'—was so fully approved by Sir John Moore, that *he would have resigned also;* and was only persuaded not to do so

by Sir Ralph, who feared it would give to an act of conscience and political dignity the appearance of party-spirit. And it is Sir John Moore's brother, that, after a lapse of thirty-five years, casts this sneer upon the venerable and upright man!

Such was the military power. Let us now take an example of the civil power's proceedings in Ireland at that unhappy period; let us look closely at the introduction of the English constitution, the benefits of which the lawless Irish reject; and here again we will make our sketch from our recollection of Sir John Moore's picture, pledging ourselves, as before, for the general truth of the facts. Being on the march from Fermoy, he entered the town of Clogheen, where in the street he saw a man tied up, and under the lash, while the street itself was lined with country people on their knees, with their hats off. He was informed that the High Sheriff, Mr Fitzgerald, was making great discoveries, and that he had already *flogged the truth out of many respectable persons.* His rule was, '*to flog each person till he* '*told the truth,*' that is, until he confessed himself a rebel, '*and* '*gave the names of other rebels; and then the persons, so accused,* '*were sent for and flogged until they also confessed, and also* '*swelled the list of the proscribed!*' Oh, most glorious constitution! most paternal government! Oh, calumniated Inquisition!

Mr Moore, speaking of his brother's services in the county of Wicklow, says, page 206, 'But, as in the hotbed of civil war, 'vices multiply and attain maturity, there still remained hordes 'of irreclaimable rebels meditating vengeance. Many of these 'lay in wait in the mountains of Wicklow, and in boggy places, 'from whence they issued to plunder and burn property, murder 'the farmers and proprietors, and wage a cruel desultory war.' And at page 209, 'Lord Cornwallis was well aware of the evil 'disposition and thirst for revenge, which prevailed through the 'country so recently subjected.' But what says Sir John Moore himself, the man who was employed to suppress this remnant of the rebellion in that very county of Wicklow? Why, that '*mo-* '*derate treatment by the generals, and the preventing of the troops* '*from pillaging and molesting the people, would soon restore tran-* '*quillity; that the latter would certainly be quiet, if the gentlemen* '*and yeomen would only behave with tolerable decency, and not* '*seek to gratify their ill humour and revenge upon the poor;*' nay, '*that he judged their harshness and violence had originally driven* '*the farmers and peasants to revolt, and that they were as ready* '*as ever to renew their former ill usage of them!*' Again, we ask, why is all this suppressed? Is this author afraid to give currency to that accusation which the Protestant loyalists so loudly made at the time, that Sir John Moore was himself a rebel? Alas,

poor man! He cannot understand that justice and humanity are not derogatory to power. Everywhere this feeling is apparent.

At page 226, it is said, 'The defeat of the French invaders, 'and the punishment of the rebels, pacified Ireland. *But this* '*temporary benefit* was procured by a British army, which put an 'end to a calamitous insurrection raised on the fallacious plea of 'liberty.' Now, the writer of this passage was himself in Ireland, in the camp of Lord Cornwallis, at the time, and therefore cannot be ignorant that the rebellion was quelled, not by punishments, but mildness—by Lord Cornwallis's lenity, by his amnesty, by his humane interference between the suffering people and their ferocious persecutors. Alas! the author knows all this, but it does not suit his prejudices to acknowledge it.

At page 211, we find it asserted, that, in the action at Castlebar, the troops, who were almost all Irish militia, did, after a slight resistance, to the great astonishment of General Lake, take to flight, and no efforts 'could stop them;' and farther, that the defeat 'manifested disaffection' amongst them. But the truth is, that General Lake and Lord Hutchinson were both in the town of Castlebar, and, it is said, in bed, whilst the battle took place a mile outside. Wherefore, no efforts were or could be made, by them, to stop the flight, which did not arise from disaffection, but from a very natural cause. For the troops were placed in a narrow contracted position; they were confusedly drawn up on an open slope of ground, about half-musket shot from a hedge and ditch, which the enemy's skirmishers were allowed to occupy without resistance, while their columns turned both flanks. There were no generals present to direct, and nothing but disorder could ensue: some militia officers of superior rank fled the first, and so disgracefully, that a squib was published at the time, entitled '*The Castlebar Races*,' in which the appearance of the supposed horses and their performances, and some of the latter were very wonderful, were set forth with genuine Irish humour. The soldiers were not to blame; but the poor men were Irishmen, and are therefore obnoxious to our author. Mere Irishmen—'quoit them down, Bardolph, as you would a 'shove shilling.' And yet in the last of Sir John Moore's fields, the Irishmen of the 50th regiment were the foremost to charge at his voice, and went the farthest. How the blind mole works!

One more piece of justice to Irishmen, and to Sir John Moore's memory, and we close this chapter of his book. The celebrated Wolfe Tone was taken, fighting desperately, in a French ship, and tried by a court-martial in Dublin: he was an ardent spirit, an accomplished man, had been a prime mover of revolt in Ireland, and all eyes were fixed upon him, to see if

he would sustain his reputation in the last hour. Amongst others, Sir John Moore felt a strong desire to observe how a kindred spirit would comport itself in such a moment; and here fortunately we can give his sentiments in his own words; for while reading his account, we were so struck with it, as a remarkable testimony to the fine bearing of a man, whose enterprise terminating unfortunately, necessarily gives a handle to his enemies to blacken his character, that we took a full note of it.

'The day before I left Dublin, Mr Theobald Wolfe Tone was brought in prisoner, taken on board the Hoche, in the action of the 12th October. I endeavoured to see him, but he was conveyed to the Prevost prison before I reached the castle. He is said to have been one of the principal and first framers of the *United Irish*. He is the son of a coachmaker in Dublin, but was educated at the college for a lawyer; and, by some writings which are said to be his, he appears to be a man of considerable talent. He was tried by a court-martial at the barracks, the day after his arrival, where I understand he conducted himself with great firmness and manliness. He had prepared a speech, part of which only he was permitted to deliver, the rest being conceived inflammatory. By that part which he delivered, he discovers a superiority of mind, which must gain to him a degree of sympathy beyond what is given to ordinary criminals.

'He began by stating, that from his infancy he had been bred up in an honourable poverty, and since the first dawn of his reason he had been an enthusiast to the love of his country. The progress of an academic and classical education confirmed him still stronger in those principles, and spurred him on to support by actions, what he had so strongly conceived in theory; that British connexion was, in his opinion, the bane of his country's prosperity; it was his object to destroy this connexion; and, in the event of his exertions, he had succeeded in rousing three millions of his countrymen to a sense of their national debasement. Here he was interrupted by the court; and afterwards going on with something similar, he was again interrupted. He then said, he should not take up the time of the court by any subterfuge to which the forms of the law might entitle him. He admitted the charge of coming in arms, as the leader of a French force, to invade Ireland; but said it was as a man banished, amputated from all natural and political connexion with his own country, and a naturalized subject of France, bearing a commission of the French Republic, under which it was his duty implicitly to obey the commands of his military superiors. He produced his commission, constituting him adjutant-general in the French service, his orders, &c. &c. He said he knew, from what had already occurred to the officers, natives of Ireland, who had been made prisoners on this expedition, what would be his fate; on that, however, he had made up his mind. He was satisfied that every liberal man, who knew his mind and principles, would be convinced, in whatever enterprise he engaged for the good of his country, it was impossible he could ever have been combined in approbation or aid to the fanatical and sanguinary atrocities perpetrated by many of the persons engaged in the recent conflict. He hoped the court would do him the justice to

believe, that from his soul he abhorred such abominable conduct. He had, in every public proceeding of his life, been actuated by the purest motives of love to his country; and it was the highest ambition of his soul to tread the glorious paths chalked out by the examples of Washington in America, and Kosciusko in Poland. In such arduous and critical pursuits, success was the criterion of merit and fame. It was his lot to fail, and he was resigned to his fate. Personal considerations he had none; the sooner he met the fate that awaited him, the more agreeable to his feelings; but he could not repress his anxiety for the honour of the nation whose uniform he wore, and the dignity of that commission he bore as adjutant-general in the French service. As to the sentence of the court, which he so fully anticipated, he had but one wish, that it might be inflicted within one hour; but the only request he had to solicit the court was, that the mode of his death might not degrade the honour of a soldier. The French army did not feel it contrary to the dignity or etiquette of arms to grant similar favours to emigrant officers taken on returning, under British command, to invade their native country. He recollected two instances of this, in the cases of Charette and Sombreuil, who had obtained their request of being shot by files of grenadiers. A similar fate was the only favour he had to ask; and he trusted that men susceptible of the nice feelings of a soldier's honour would not refuse his request. As to the rest, he was perfectly reconciled.

'Next morning it was found that he had endeavoured to avoid public execution, by an attempt to kill himself: he was discovered with his windpipe cut across. His execution was necessarily postponed. A motion has since been made in the Court of King's Bench by Mr Curran, for a Habeas Corpus, directed to the keeper of the Prevost Marshalsea, to bring the body of T. W. Tone, with the cause of his detention. This is so far fortunate, as it is to stop for the future all trials by court-martial for civil offences, and things are to revert to their former and usual channel.'

Such, in the very moment of hostility and excited passion, was Sir John Moore's feeling and liberal mode of describing the last bearing of a man, whose proceedings he was firmly opposed to. His biographer's manner of treating the same event, thirty-three years afterwards, and with this model before him, which, however, he suppresses, is as follows:—

'Among the prisoners who were taken was Wolfe Tone, the prime fomenter of the Irish rebellion. This man had once before been arrested for treason; but, by dissembled repentance, his forfeited life had been spared by government. On this occasion he tried to escape by legal chicanery; which failing, with his own hand he finished his pernicious life.'

Behold the brothers! How diversified are nature's works!

Immediately after quitting Ireland, we find Sir John Moore engaged in the memorable expedition to Holland. This, at least, as being the mere record of a campaign, we were in hopes Mr Moore, an unmilitary man, would suffer us to read of in the Gene-

ral's language, and that we should have been spared his own remarks, because we like to hear the actors speak of such affairs. But no! the narrative is still the biographer's, and at the very threshold he stumbles upon the following observations, which we do suppose that even the Morning Herald might be proud of:—

'If the Dutch at that time had retained the same love of liberty 'and independence which they had displayed in the sixteenth cen-'tury against Spain, or in the seventeenth against France, the 'plan would undoubtedly have succeeded.'

Ay! No doubt; if we had been aided instead of being opposed by the enemy, we should have been successful. But let us hear Mr Moore again. 'The Dutch troops, which formed the 'most numerous part of the enemy's army, served slavishly under 'the orders of the French general, and fought against those who 'came to emancipate them. The character of these Dutchmen 'was very different from that of their ancestors, who had resisted 'pertinaciously the sanguinary Duke of Alva, the heroic Condé, 'and Turenne, and inundated their country, rather than submit 'to foreign subjection.'

We scarcely think it possible that Mr Moore can be so ignorant of history as this observation would imply; but we will, to avoid mistakes, tell him that the *olden Dutchmen* resisted Spain to establish a *republic;* that they resisted Louis XIV. in defence of that *republic;* and that at this period they received the French as friends and deliverers, because the house of Orange, aided by Prussia, had by fraud and violence destroyed their ancient *republic*, suppressing their constitution and liberties; and that, consequently, they were then displaying precisely the same love of liberty and independence which their ancestors had done before them. They resembled those ancestors in all things, following exactly their system; for, first, they fought for a *republic;* secondly, they fought with the aid of foreigners; thirdly, they were successful, and obliged the Duke of York to capitulate. When in these flights of reasoning, Mr Moore puts us in mind of those innocent little birds, called by children black-heads, which being taken and let loose in a room, think to make a dart into the air, and dashing their heads against the windows, fall to the ground. However, we do not find fault with this campaign, nor with the account of the expedition to Genoa and Cadiz, nor with that to Egypt, save that it is Mr Moore, and not General Moore, who speaks; and the latter's criticisms upon the plans and events are not given. This we think a great loss; and we believe our readers will agree with us, when they have read the account of the battle of Alexandria, where Sir John is at last allowed to tell his own story in his own way. We are glad also to perceive that his bio-

grapher has not suppressed, nor justified, that act of vandalism, (and of cruelty also, to the poor Copts, whose grounds were swallowed up,)—we mean the cutting of the dyke which kept the sea out of Lake Mareotis. We should, however, have been more pleased if he had thought fit to give us that able fragment written in defence of Sir Ralph Abercrombie's military conduct, by Sir John Moore, in answer to the impudent observations of General Reynier. We should have been pleased to have it, were it only as a specimen of careful composition from Sir John Moore's pen; but, containing, as it does, a vindication of Sir Ralph's military conduct, we desired it more earnestly. But then, alas! it proclaims that '*English expeditions were seldom successful, and* '*always difficult to conduct, because they were directed by Minis-* '*ters,*' (the Ministers of the day, those favourites of our author,) '*who were ignorant of military affairs, and too arrogant and self-* '*sufficient to consult military men.*'

From Egypt we are brought home to England, and placed in that camp at Shorn-Cliff, where Moore's skill, in forming troops, was proved to be equal to his daring in leading them. But as many persons have been falsely persuaded that he was a harsh and odious disciplinarian, we seize the opportunity of refuting the calumny by the most irrefragable proof. The officers of the regiments which were then formed by his care, were ever after his warmest admirers; his discipline it has been their object to maintain; his maxims have been their guide; his reputation has been by them considered as a part of their own; his memory is cherished in their hearts to this day, and will be so as long as those hearts retain an atom of a soldier's pride and honour. His biographer knows little of this matter, and we are therefore only treated to a few letters,—interesting, no doubt; yet, we feel quite sure, that they are the least interesting that could possibly be selected from his papers. We have not indeed seen any thing to be able to assert this positively; but from the general turn of Sir John Moore's mind, and his habit of setting down his thoughts, we feel as certain as that we live, he did not let that most critical period of England's fate pass unnoticed. We have, however, the same rapid narrative, the same appearance of wishing to get over work,—a brevity such as we should expect from an official 'precis' writer, who endeavours to earn his salary with the least possible waste of labour;—save and except in those places where the author thinks he can, with or without propriety, write down his own observations and political views: in fine, self always seems uppermost in the biographer's thoughts.

We have a ludicrous instance of this self-consideration in the account of Sir John Moore's appearance at a cabinet council,

held to consider of an attack at Ferrol. What really passed there, is, to our minds, as remarkable a proof of his self-possession, clear judgment, and prompt action, as any that can be found in his whole life; yet certainly nobody could suspect it from the narrative; and, as if the defect on this head were not sufficient, we are favoured suddenly, and as the French phrase goes, '*à propos de bottes*'—with what? Any thing relating to Ferrol, or to war, or policy, to camps or councils? No! nothing of all that. What then? The author's amazement at the errors into which men fall, who, not being medical themselves, do yet talk of medicine!

From Shorn-Cliff and Ferrol the scene changes to Sicily; and as the whole of Sir John Moore's proceedings there were political, and most interesting,—as they showed his sense and judgment in civil affairs to be no whit behind his talents in war,—we have, as a matter of course, nothing but a garbled and impotent abstract of these transactions: we look in vain for the graphic account of his interview with the Queen of Naples, and the final character which he draws of her,—which, by the way, although contrary to the received opinion, is confirmed by the testimony of Mr Palmieri de Micichi in his very entertaining 'Memoirs.' We want to have Moore's disputes with Mr Drummond, also, more clearly told; and his account of the vagaries of Sir Sydney Smith touched upon. We desire to hear his sentiments upon the state of Sicily,—the character and wishes of the people; and something more than a few garbled extracts to show his views relative to a descent upon Italy—that Italy which he was so pressed to invade, but which he never would invade, until he could offer the Italians something better to fight for, than the oppressions and the abuses of the Sicilian Court. His military criticism upon General Fraser's expedition to Egypt, might also, we think, have found a place in the life of a General; and would certainly have been as well placed there, as the very novel information that Archimedes defended Syracuse. But these things are all below his biographer's notice, who yet thrusts forward his own observations upon public affairs, upon tyrants, upon liberty, upon demagogues, and the like fustian, with such a rude determination, that, while reading them, we cannot help admiring the sense of that child, who, when the pig poked its snout into her bowl of milk, said it '*ought to take a spoon.*'

We are told that General Fox, having also the rank of Minister, was sent to supersede that distinguished officer General Stuart; and that, as General Fox was infirm, this double appointment was a '*strong proof of fraternal affection*' in Mr Charles Fox. Now, first, we never heard that Sir John Stuart's conduct

of our affairs, in Sicily, was such as to make his loss be felt in comparison with General Fox; and though we do not deny that the latter was too infirm to lead an army in the field, we do deny that he was too infirm to conduct the affairs of Sicily. If his talents were not of a high order, they were at least respectable; and he had the merit of not being above taking the advice of wiser men: he generally agreed with, and always yielded to, Sir John Moore's opinion; and hence the English interests were far better supported during his command than they had been before. Nor was it at all surprising that Mr Charles Fox, just come into power, and at a most critical period, himself in ill health, and his mind occupied with the unhappy condition in which Mr Pitt had left England,—it is not surprising that Mr Fox, who was aware that every sort of intrigue and deceit was practised in the Sicilian Court, and had proof that the former generals, and ministers, and admirals, were not always pulling together, should thus have acted. It was quite natural, and prudent also, in Mr Fox to unite the two offices of minister and general in the person of a brother, whose honesty of intention and good common sense he was quite sure of, until time was gained to settle a definite system of policy in that part of the world. Wherefore, in reply to Mr James Moore, we could wish that he had taken a lesson from both the objects of his sneer; that is, that he had, with Mr Charles Fox, given some '*strong* '*proof of fraternal affection;*' and, with General Fox, *taken advice from wiser men than himself.*

When Sir John Moore arrived in England, from Sicily, he was immediately sent to Gottenburg, for no other purpose but to get him out of the way, while troops were sent under Sir Arthur Wellesley to Portugal. This expedition to Sweden was one of the most impudent and criminal actions ever committed by a faction in power; the design and the execution were alike scandalous and stupid; and had the troops been committed to the charge of a less able, resolute, and prompt man, ten thousand of the finest soldiers of England would have been sacrificed. The contradictory instructions given by the Ministers, and the silence observed by them when Moore represented the real state of affairs, were proofs of their bad intentions, and bad faith, as well as of their absurdity; and if any doubt could be entertained upon this head, the orders which reached Sir James Saumarez three days after Moore's departure from Gottenburg,—orders prescribing the employment of the army to bring off the Spaniards under Romana, from Holstein,—would have set that doubt aside. But how can any impartial person entertain a doubt, that both folly and faction were at work, when it is considered, that had

the King of Sweden been only one degree less insane than he was, the English Ministers would have deliberately commenced campaigns,—commenced regular military operations by land, against Russia in one extremity of Europe, and against Napoleon in the other extremity, at one and the same time! The absurdity is apparent; and the personally insolent treatment Moore received from the Ministers upon his return to England, —treatment which his biographer scarcely seems to be conscious of,—sufficiently disclosed their secret anger, that he had, by his prompt return, baffled their plots. We will not, however, dwell longer upon this portion of the book, except to say, that the story of Sir John Moore's proceedings at Stockholm is as ill told as every thing else, although not so injuriously. If the whole particulars of that scandalous affair had been publicly laid before the Parliament, at the time of Sir John Moore's death, it would have shaken that wicked and imbecile Ministry to pieces, and have saved the country from the after misfortunes and disgrace of the Walcheren expedition; and it would have avenged Sir John Moore's injuries upon the heads of his ungenerous adversaries. But our author speaks of the treatment which his relation received with a degree of mildness, which contrasts wonderfully with his virulence against all who have held opposite politics to his own. '*When Ministers deem it proper to employ an* '*officer who held a superior situation in a subordinate one,* PERHAPS '*some conciliatory explanation should be made. But this is not a* '*case for a brother to judge.*' This is the way that one of the grossest affronts ever offered to a commander is noticed,—an affront aggravated by the manner of doing it,—offered by men, too, who after death were the most virulent calumniators of the hero they had used so shamefully. Perhaps! And it is not for a brother to judge!—In God's name, then, who is to judge? Who is to defend the reputation of a man who cannot defend himself, if his own brother will not! Perhaps! We had 'rather be a dog and 'bay the moon,' than speak so tamely of the wrongs of such a brother.

We come now to the expedition to Spain, which terminated Sir John Moore's earthly career: the particulars of it are too well known to need any further illustration; and had such been needed, the writer before us is not qualified to supply it. That which was required he has not done. He has not published the whole of his brother's Journal and letters, which would have formed a complete body of evidence, and have been infinitely interesting, as showing the progress of the General's opinion from day to day. He has not done this, and we have nothing further to say. But we cannot dismiss Mr Moore, without teaching him the danger of his one-sided manner of reasoning, when he

launches out into vituperation of Napoleon. Speaking of that monarch's injunction to the Court of Lisbon, to declare war against Great Britain, to confiscate British merchandise, and to seize, as hostages, all the English merchants residing in Portugal, he adds, 'This *uncivilized proceeding was a regression to the usages of the barbarous times.*' And again, when noticing the Emperor's instructions to his generals in Spain, he quotes from Napier's 'History of the Peninsular War,' an order that '*every Spaniard taken with arms in his hands should be shot;*' but he neglects to quote the remark, added by Colonel Napier, that this related to Spaniards living within the French lines, and consequently, *de facto*, French subjects. This order, however, he calls ruthless.

Now, with respect to the first passage, we suppose that Mr Moore does not know that the English Government, before the war was declared in 1803, seized all the French merchant-ships in the English waters, and threw the crews into prison. We suppose that he does not know of this '*regression;*' nor that other slight '*regression,*' the bombardment of Copenhagen; but he cannot be ignorant that his own brother, Captain Moore, was ordered to capture the Spanish frigates in time of peace;—that immense treasures, private as well as public, were then seized, or destroyed, and many of the unfortunate owners slain,—which we take to be also a '*regression,*' if that is the right term. And, with respect to the ordering of the armed Spaniards to be shot, when taken within the French lines, we can again give him a parallel from his own family. We recollect Sir John Moore says, that while at St Lucia, a boat was captured with four men coming from St Vincent's, and that he ordered them to be shot; and in another place, that he hanged his prisoners;—proceedings which, simply stated, must appear very barbarous and unjustifiable.

Ay, but they were brigands!

True; but the French gave the same name to the Spanish peasants who opposed them.

But the brigands of St Lucia violated the usages of civilized warfare, and committed the greatest atrocities!

True, again; but the Spaniards also violated those usages, and tortured, as well as murdered, their prisoners: for example, they had, just before the period of this order, placed Colonel Réné, a man travelling unarmed, between boards, and sawed him in two while alive.

But the Spaniards were fighting for their independence!

No doubt; and the coloured brigands of St Lucia were fighting for their personal liberty, the gift of God, the birthright of man!

But if the brigands and republicans in the West Indies had not been put down by us, their example might have extended to Jamaica and Barbadoes, and our power in those places would have been shaken.

True; and if the Bourbons of Spain had not been driven away, the example of legitimacy might have extended to France, and have shaken the stability of things in that country.

Oh! but we were a very paternal government!

Were we, indeed? Then why did Sir John Moore declare that the West Indies was the only place in the world where industry and cultivation were no benefits to the inhabitants, because all went to the pampering of the many, at the expense of the few! Besides, Napoleon desired to ameliorate the bad government of Spain, and the English at St Lucia desired to restore and confirm black slavery!

Thus we see that the argument cuts both ways; and Mr James Moore must be content to restrain his indignation, or direct it against war in general, which necessarily occasions such violent proceedings.

We have now finished a disagreeable and a painful duty, and we have performed it unsparingly, because it is a duty. We have bared all the deformity of the work before us, that men may shrink from it; and we have not touched upon its merits, because they are so few, and of such a nature, that they can in no manner be felt as a counterpoise to its demerits. Mr Moore has exhibited his brother to the world, neither as a very amiable nor a very great man; and yet he was both. We do not mean to say, that no indications of Sir John Moore's real character have been given: it was impossible for his biographer to go so near the fire without being a little warmed; he could not face the bright flame without reflecting some rays of light and heat himself; he could not quench it entirely, nor could he bring away even an ember that did not glow and sparkle. The few letters, and the fewer abstracts from Sir John Moore's Journal, which he has given, are full of sense and spirit; and redolent, if we may use the expression, of that kindness of disposition, which was so remarkably blended with his daring courage and stern resolution. But it is not enough to show us that, upon one occasion, Sir John Moore expressed affection for his mother; that at another he was pleased at the success of his brother, or that he expressed now and then a deep love of his country;—it is not enough, we say, to do this, as it has been done in this work, accompanied with the spume of the author's own hatred of men and things. The task—and it was an easy one—should have been to show, that patriotism, disinterestedness, courage, frankness, gentleness, and kind-

ness, were the component parts of Sir John Moore's nature; that it was not once, but always, that these qualities predominated; that it was not in one or two letters, but in all his correspondence,—in his Journal, in his conversation, in his actions, that they were displayed; that in sickness and in health, in weal and woe, in danger, and in difficulty, and in prosperity, in every climate, and in all circumstances, he was still the same undaunted assertor of what was right; that his life was one clear, full, and strong current of honour,—never stagnating, never defiled, never broken, never deviating from the straight line; that his ambition, his daring, his capacity, and his honesty, were all on the same level, and that level so high, that few could reach it.

His failings, whatever they were, escaped the observation of his nearest acquaintances, but it would appear that they were not hidden from his brother!

We now take leave of the work, and deeply do we regret that it has ever appeared. Instead of a vivid description of Sir John Moore, we find in it the vapid discussions of his biographer; the enlarged views, penetrating observations, and manly feelings of the former, are suppressed, to make way for the narrow prejudices of the latter; the happy, graceful, colloquial manner of the Journal, has been superseded by a dry, contracted, and yet ambitious narrative. The loss sustained by this exchange cannot be judged of by the reader, from the few examples exhibited of the General's writings, because his Journal is not of that showy, dazzling nature which claims a sudden admiration. It is not a torrent, broken by picturesque waterfalls, but a deep, full, navigable stream, bearing in security on its bosom a thousand vessels laden with riches;—a stream whose value is only known when you quit it for the dangerous ocean of conjecture. Its great beauty consists in the natural turn of the expressions, and in the quantity of information conveyed in an agreeable manner,—always full, yet never tedious; above all, in the irresistible conviction produced, that you have the most secret thoughts of the writer before you, and that those thoughts are worth having. This is the charm, the merit of the Journal; this is what should have been given whole, or, at least, in such a manner, that those who have read the original should not turn away in disgust from the copy; some resemblance should at least have been preserved. This has not been done. Through all the book, we have sought for some enlarged traits, some striking indications of what Sir John Moore was; we have sought earnestly, but we have sought in vain; and are forced, by the bitterness of disappointment, to cry out, in the words of the Holy Book—Cain, Cain! where is thy brother!

ART. II.—*Fanaticism.* By the Author of Natural History of Enthusiasm. 8vo. London: 1833.

IT is, we fear, but too true a remark, that men of liberal and enlightened minds are usually inclined to view with more indulgence the errors which spring from want of belief, than those which arise from its excess or misdirection. Such persons, when reflecting on their own spiritual condition, are insensibly led to regard it rather in a negative than a positive light; to dwell more strongly on the dangers which they have escaped, and the prejudices from which they conceive themselves emancipated, than on the perilous snares which lie on the other side of the isthmus of their actual footing. Even if they belong, in philosophical opinion, to the party of those who hold extreme latitude on religious points a more dangerous evil to society than its opposite, they are apt to regard with disdain the views and capacities of those who form the body of their less instructed allies. They cannot divest themselves of the feelings of pride which tempt them to associate rather with the sceptic than the enthusiast. Much of this tendency may undoubtedly be ascribed to the mere circumstances of society, which throw into the ranks of unbelief a greater proportion of instructed persons, with a smaller admixture of that coarseness and vulgarity which are the great eyesores of modern fastidiousness. But we suspect that the ultimate causes of this partiality are to be found more deeply seated in the constitution of the human mind. Doubt is a situation of discontent, uneasiness, privation, if not of actual pain. Belief appears the more natural state of the mental system;—the fulfilment and satisfaction of a physical want. There is consequently a secret feeling of envy, possibly of fear, excited among those who are in the former condition, against such as seem to be in the enjoyment of the latter. They may be right; they have at least a support to lean upon, however frail and unfounded it may eventually prove; while their opponents are only endeavouring to remain self-balanced. Wherever, therefore, the desire to believe is not sufficiently strong to overcome the intellectual disposition to doubt, the uneasiness produced by the conflict of the two principles generally ends in a feeling of acerbity and dissatisfaction towards those whose devotion is, or appears to be, of a warmer character. Such is the sentiment, mixed in different proportions with a not ill-founded distrust of ostentatious pretensions to superior sanctity and piety, which appears to us to prevail pretty extensively among the higher classes of society in this and other countries.

If we are not mistaking the diseased sentiments of over-refinement for the natural propensities of the human heart, every symptom of a belief, either stronger in degree, or extending to a greater number of articles of faith, than that of which the observer is himself conscious, is apt to excite a species of dislike and a sense of inferiority: he will characterise such belief in general by the title of enthusiasm; in its higher state of exaltation, he will call it superstition, fanaticism, or bigotry.*

Enthusiasm, therefore, as the term is generally used by a person speaking with no invidious intent, implies a higher degree of faith than is possessed by himself. We use the term faith not in the religious sense, but simply to express the sensation of love and attachment for a particular doctrine which, in most minds, follows a strong conviction of its truth, and results, perhaps, from a distinct faculty in human nature. For belief, considered merely as the strongest assent of opinion to a proposition, is a mere operation of the intellect, unconnected with any emotion of the heart. There are minds which are unable to go beyond this mental assent or conviction. Martin Luther had a patient of this kind; one who sought his assistance and consolation, because, although she was conscious of a reasonable persuasion of the truths of Christianity, she *could* not believe. The reformer told her that it was a mere delusion of the devil; and, perhaps, modern philosophy would be puzzled to find a more satisfactory explanation of such a state of mind, than that it was owing to a deficiency in certain inherent sensibilities of our nature; such as, in former times, might have been ascribed to external malignant agency. For the reverse is so notoriously the ordinary case of humanity, that there are perhaps no topics, however indifferent, upon which the mind proceeds no farther than mere philosophical adhesion. There have been, and are, enthusiasts in science, history, and all other researches after truth. Who has not felt that indefinable glow of satisfaction, which follows the exertion of the intellect in comprehending and admitting an abstract truth, after an anxious process of deduction? It is a feeling partly compound-

* The language which we sometimes hear from persons who profess great liberality of religious sentiment, when speaking of those they term Fanatics, reminds us a little of old Howell the letter-writer's ingenuous declaration—'Difference of opinion may work a disaffection in one, but 'not a detestation; I rather pity than hate Turk and infidel, for they are 'of the same metal, and bear the same stamp, as myself: if I hate any, 'it is those schismatics that puzzle the sweet peace of our church; so 'that I could be content to see an Anabaptist go to Hell on a Brownist's 'back.'

ed of pride and self-congratulation; partly of the pleasurable emotions which arise by reaction after the fatigue of examination: yet it seems to have a basis, essentially different from all these,—a sensation of joy in the truth itself. And it would perhaps be difficult to show, that the faith of which we speak is a feeling at all distinct in its nature, however widely dissimilar in degree and effect. This exalted degree, these astonishing effects, it derives from the connexion of those truths whose perception it accompanies, with our personal hopes, fears, and interests: and hence we may have this sentiment from its weakest to its most powerful operation;—from questions of mere abstract knowledge, to those doctrines of practical philosophy and social policy, which are so fiercely agitated among mankind, until it reaches its most extreme intensity in matters relating to religion.

Fanaticism is a word used in still more various senses than enthusiasm. With many it is a mere phrase of reproach, which they apply indiscriminately to all evidences of strong religious impressions. Robert Hall has given one of the best definitions of it in another of its meanings, where he calls it, 'such an 'overwhelming impression of the ideas relating to the future 'world as disqualifies for the duties of life.' But it is, perhaps, to be desired, that the fashion of speech on these subjects should be a little more precisely regulated; and we do not know that a better criterion can be adopted, than that supplied by the author of the work before us, to distinguish the phrase in question from others applied to various characters of religious emotion. 'It 'will be found,' he says, 'that the elementary idea attaching to 'the term in its manifold applications, is that of fictitious fervour 'in religion, rendered turbulent, morose, or rancorous, by junc-'tion with some one or more of the unsocial emotions. Or, 'if a definition as brief as possible were demanded, we should 'say, that fanaticism is enthusiasm inflamed by hatred.' Religious fanaticism, he further proceeds to say, supposes three elements of belief—'the supposition of malignity on the part of the 'object of worship; a consequent detestation of mankind at large, 'as the subjects of malignant power; and then a credulous con-'ceit of the favour of Heaven, shown to a few, in contempt of 'the rules of virtue.' And, pursuing the analytical system which pervades these rhapsodical pages rather in form than in substance, the author divides his subject-matter into four varieties, which he has designated, by a sort of Baconic nomenclature, as the Fanaticism of the *Scourge*, of the *Brand*, of the *Banner*, and of the *Sword*.

The first, or the fanaticism which displays itself in self-inflicted austerities, is said, by our author, to comprehend 'all in-

'stances, wherein malignant religious emotions turn inward upon 'the unhappy subject of them.' How it happens that a feeling of malignity towards others should prompt the sufferer to multiply severities against himself, is not very clearly explained by this writer, whose tendency is rather to declaim on the symptoms of human errors than to analyze their origin. And there is, perhaps, a necessary distinction to be made between this and the other sorts of fanaticism. They seem all to originate in malignant feeling;—this to produce it by a sort of reflective action. Even where the practice of self-infliction arises from unmixed enthusiasm, (which it seldom does,) the temper which gives birth to it may, perhaps, be wholly untainted by virulent emotions. But the practice itself, by forcing the mind back on self-contemplation, is found to engender those emotions, or to render them more intense where they existed before. The spirit which is wholly engaged on the prospect of its own pain, imbibes a feeling of hatred towards the rest of mankind, merely on account of their exemption from the torments which it has voluntarily chosen to undergo. Hence we arrive at the curious result, that those monkish austerities which were practised avowedly as vicarious sufferings for the sins of others, (although it would be unjust to accuse their perpetrators of actual insincerity,) were accompanied by a feeling of hatred and contempt for that community in whose behalf they were exercised, and a benevolent principle was carried into effect by hearts overflowing with malignant jealousy. The habit of self-infliction, acting on ordinary human nature, is probably certain to produce a similar result, whether it spring, in the first instance, from egregious pride, or from a perverted mildness and timidity of heart. If a Dominic is necessarily an enemy of his kind, it seems no less certain, that a Pascal must eventually become, what Voltaire has called him, a sublime misanthrope. But instances of pure fanaticism, as our author admits, are rarer in proportion in this than any other of the classes into which he has arranged them. There are many species of strong emotion which may tend to one result; namely, to render the general society of men distasteful to the sufferer, and impel him to exhaust the passions of his soul in voluntary endurance. To one class of victims, far larger perhaps than legends or lives of saints would give us occasion to suspect, it has furnished a refuge for a broken heart, or a guilty conscience. In the ancient Eastern world, where asceticism arose, the gates of enormous cities, thickly peopled with luxurious and profligate dwellers, opened directly on the wilderness, on dry deserts, or impervious mountains. A single day's journey was sufficient to carry a man from the heart of civilisation to utter solitude. There, under a climate which render-

ed life a burden easy to support, the patient might dream away the memory of his crime or suffering in Oriental indolence, or seek, in sincerity, to expiate them by suffering. How many of the hermits of Syria, like the monks of the severer communities in the West, may have been men labouring under the consciousness of unatoned guilt! Such an ascetic would seldom make his miseries a matter of public display. Like the hermit described by Palladius, in a passage quoted in this book, he 'says nothing 'to any one, and betakes himself to the desert,'—*μηδενὶ μηδὲν εἰρηκώς, καταλαμβάνει τὴν ἔρημον.* He would not be traced among those who have attained the ostentatious dignity of sainthood; unless in those instances where the mental wound being fully cicatrized, had given way to the old excitements of vanity and ambition. But these more ordinary agents have, no doubt, influenced, in the outset of their career, a far greater proportion of those who have become famous for their austerities, than either despair or fanaticism. Nowhere do these impulses find easier gratification than in the idle parade of self-infliction; always, and in every form, a substitute for exertion. Penance is but a mode of avoiding a difficulty; of evading, instead of solving, the problem of raising our moral power to meet the degree of resistance which passions, tastes, and interests oppose to the course of duty. It is therefore a matter of curiosity, rather than of surprise, to observe, in this instance, what, perhaps, is without a parallel in any other;—the total abolition of a most important class (as was formerly thought) of religious observances, the religion which was supposed to enjoin them remaining the same. For fasting itself, which formed, down to a very late period, so essential a matter in the Christian discipline of our fathers, may be said to be on the point of actual extinction among the Protestants of this community: hardly do a few observances, still retained in some households rather from family tradition than from principle, remain to testify the recent existence of a practice once so highly praised, and so generally followed. Penance of any sort is, in fact, even more adverse to modern habits than to modern views of religion: perhaps we may add, as our author acutely remarks when speaking of the Jews, it is a practice which has never comported with the sentiments and habits of a trading people.

In approaching the next division of the subject, the consideration of that fanaticism which manifests itself in injustice to others, we are entering on a topic of widely different importance; and cannot wonder how far it is still enveloped in doubt, when we remember the extremely recent date at which reasonable sentiments respecting it have begun to prevail. Toleration is a principle of scarcely a century's growth; and, at this day, how widely

are parties at issue as to the full meaning and acceptation of the term!—from those who refuse to be tolerated, and hold that there is no religious freedom without equality, to those who would maintain the supremacy of a dominant church by every means short of violent persecution. In such a conflict of opinions, and with times approaching us, in which the constancy of men's professed sentiments on this subject will perhaps be more severely tried than it has been at any period since the Reformation, we should look with great interest to any expression of judgment from an enlightened and religious mind, unbiassed by party politics, as to the duty of individual men in following that difficult path which lies between want of zeal and want of charity. But we should vainly seek for such reasoning, or, indeed, for any reasoning on the subject, in the pages before us. Although the author professes to have in view the accomplishment of a great task, no less than to describe and define all the various forms of spurious religious sentiment in a series of works; yet in this, as in his former publications, we find no traces of any endeavour to analyze the emotions which produce them. He has shown some talent in stringing together a series of declamations on the most prominent and obvious topics connected with his theme; and has wandered, much at his ease, among the gloomy memorials of early superstition; but for any thing like a serious application of historical truths, or the lessons of moral philosophy, to the present state of parties in the Christian world, he has left himself no room at all. We looked for something more than a mere panegyric on rational piety, introduced by comparing it with those forms of devotion which every one will at once acknowledge to be false and extravagant, in a work bearing so high a title as the present. We did not expect the air of satisfaction and self-possession of a preacher, who is laying down truths which are recognised by all his hearers, and has no object except to enforce them on their attention. In a work professing to describe fanaticism, we expected not to be exhorted, but to be taught. But this writer keeps sedulously aloof from all the real difficulties of his subject; and parades the weapons of argument in a sort of σκιαμάχια, a contest with chimeras of his own creating. In conducting us through the various excesses of Roman, Mahometan, and sectarian zealots, he seems to have had no other view than that of collecting together a series of striking pictures, for which undoubtedly he possesses considerable talent. To parody a well-known criticism,—a bolder title, and more timorous contents, were never joined together. He is terrified by the aspect of the abyss which analysis opens before him; and whenever he touches at a

doubtful point, he immediately avoids it under cover of a few dogmatical sentences.

The title of one of his chapters is 'The Religion of the Bible 'not Fanatical.' To point out the true deductions which enlightened reason has made from the letter of the Scriptures, and contrast them with the partial conclusions of misdirected zeal—to mark the precise limit, in biblical interpretations, where sound judgment ends and fanaticism begins—is assuredly no easy task; as any one will perceive who attends to the startling assertions into which zealous preachers and writers are every day seduced, from mere ardour in pursuing the meaning of a favourite text to its extreme consequences. But to lay down a few general canons for our conduct in this respect, and teach us how to keep watch over our feelings, without wholly neglecting their admonition, would be one of the best offices a writer could render to mankind. On the other hand, to maintain the thesis, that the religion of the Bible, taken in a large sense, is not fanatical, requires nothing more than a few high-sounding paragraphs, and an appeal to our common sentiments, and to the pride which we feel in our own belief; for every one of us has been taught, that *his* religion is not fanatical. This, accordingly, is the manner in which our author has handled his subject. Instead of argument on this all-important topic, we find only a long, and in some parts an elegant, declamation, against scepticism. Where there is some show of reasoning, we fear it is of that superficial kind which rather gives advantage to the opponent, than serves to protect the reader against his sophistry. For example, in his anxiety to defend the Old Testament from the ordinary objections which are made to it on this score, he enters into a copious review—in some parts, of considerable beauty—of the moral proofs which it affords of divine inspiration. He enlarges on the display of justice and mercy which it exhibits,—on the exalted notions which it conveys of the Divinity, in the course of his dealings with a peculiar people. And he then concludes, 'the result of such an exami-'nation must be, as we undoubtedly believe, to establish the 'divine original of these books. This point secured—and it is 'secured, too, on every separate line of argument that is appli-'cable to the subject—and then the fact, that the Jewish law-'giver, and the prophets, and the poets of Israel, were men 'immediately commissioned and empowered by God, affords a 'proper solution of every apparent difficulty, arising either from 'the spirit and complexion of particular passages, or from the 'course of conduct enjoined in special instances. What can be 'more manifest than the propriety of this mode of treating such 'difficulties? For one man to accost another as the enemy of

'God, or to adjudge him to perdition, or to strike him to the 'earth, is indeed an outrage such as bespeaks in the assailant 'the most dire fanaticism, or absolute insanity. But the case 'is altogether altered if this same denunciator, or executioner of 'the wrath of Heaven, is able to show Heaven's credentials 'actually in his hand. He whom God sends, speaks the words 'of God—delivers a trust which he has no liberty to evade—and 'performs a part that can have no immorality, because it pro-'ceeds from the source of law. This rule applies, without an 'exception, to all those instances, so often and so idly produced, 'in which the question hinges exclusively upon the fact of a divine 'injunction given to the speaker or the agent. If the prophet or 'the chief were indeed inspired, then the words he utters, or the 'deeds he performs, are not to be accounted his; and though 'arrogant and vindictive if human only, are fitting and just if 'divine. Concede the divinity of the Scriptures, and then every 'such objection is merged, or becomes ineffably futile. Deny 'their divinity, and then the argument is altogether unimportant.'

Now, if we have fairly represented, as we believe we have, our author's exposition of this great branch of the evidences of religion, it appears to us, that although he may have a sufficient apprehension of that which is undoubtedly the true line of argument on the subject, his confused and verbose style of explanation has not only rendered him liable to the attacks of the sceptic, but has, in fact, led him into the very same partial and one-sided course of reasoning, by which the latter arrives at an opposite conclusion. We assume in common with you, infidels may say, as the basis of our argument, the boundless wisdom, mercy, and power of the Divinity. You cannot deny that this portion of your Scriptures does contain much which is revolting to that moral perception by which alone we estimate and worship that Divinity. You cannot deny that God is represented in the character of a temporal lawgiver, and yet that his dealings with his people in that character are such as may not be held out as examples to earthly potentates. You cannot deny that he appears in divers passages as a jealous, vindictive, implacable Deity; that his favour seems occasionally to have been granted, as that of a corrupt mortal sovereign might be, to submissive observance rather than active virtue; that he is displayed as overlooking the grossest violations of right in those who are designated as his favourites. But you say, that as the moral fitness of the Old Testament proves God to have been its author, therefore we have no right to judge of his actions, where they appear questionable, by the ordinary rules of morality! We arrive at a negative conclusion, precisely by the same process which

leads you to an affirmative. We admit the ethical majesty and beauty of many parts of those writings, but we rest confidently on the attributes of the Deity, and say, that a work which recounts deeds of violence and treachery, as perpetrated by his order, or unmarked by his disapprobation, cannot be divine. We conclude, therefore, that whatever signs of superior intelligence are manifested in that work, must be deceitful appearances—proofs, that the minds of its compilers had attained to a high degree of moral instruction, but no signs of inspiration.

If the first line of reasoning be such as may content the mind of a believer, we do not see how he can quarrel with those who adopt the second. His own assumptions give credit and currency to theirs. The only safe ground upon which he can controvert them, is by freely admitting that this branch of the evidence on which he grounds his faith is neither more nor less than a balance of conflicting probabilities. He must not open the Bible with the determination of stepping out of the way to avoid all the stumbling-blocks which its pages may contain. If he has persuaded himself that the preponderance of what Natural Religion points out as good and holy in the books before him is such as to render what is doubtful, or worse than doubtful, of comparatively no account—then, and not till then, he may dismiss the latter as a profitless subject of thought; or follow the firm guidance of Butler, and believe with him that the God of this mixed universe of good and evil was likewise the God of the Patriarchs, and of the dark and mysterious commonwealth of the Jews. If his mind cannot admit that the weight of probability inclines thus far to the side of belief, he has yet before him the prospect of arriving at the same result, when the other evidences of religion are placed in the scale,—the voice of history, the coherence of prophecy, and the overpowering dignity and beauty of the newer revelation.

Fanaticism is the union of enthusiasm with rancour. Throughout the annals of Christianity we find sectaries in abundance, who have believed themselves commissioned to execute the covenant of the men of Judah, to slay those who did not seek the Lord; that the enemies of their faith were given over to them by Providence to oppress, torture, and kill; and that Heaven was well pleased with the execution of its warrant. The history of this species of fanaticism is little more than matter of curiosity to us who dwell in a milder temperature; unless it be with a view of showing how the same spirit, in a community like ours, exerts itself in a different direction. Propose to the most violent of those whom we term enthusiasts and bigots, the work of doing harm to an unbeliever, and he will shrink from the design as a gross perversion of justice and Scripture. But, in order to exa-

mine more closely the motives which actuate him in his refusal, let us put the question to him in another form, and enquire of him concerning the propriety of withholding, not acts of justice, but those of social charity, from persons of whose religious sentiments he disapproves,—of doing good to a believer, rather than an unbeliever,—of preferring to render the kind offices of life to those who agree with us, rather than our spiritual opponents;—are there not numbers among us to whom the question, put in this shape, assumes an entirely new character? who daily act, without the slightest consciousness of malice or evil intention, upon a principle which, if our premises be correct, we can hardly avoid designating as fanatical? For, if we are to believe that the favour of God is the portion of believers, and his wrath directed against those who adopt erroneous opinions, and that we are entitled in any sense or shape to consider ourselves as the ministers of that favour or that indignation, it seems difficult to know when we are to stop short of the duty of extermination. If otherwise, then no motive whatever, save only the consciousness of personal danger from too close a contact with the seductions of unbelief, (a mean agreement at best,) can justify us in not adopting a precisely similar line of conduct towards all, however differing from us in shades of opinion. No process of analogical reasoning, either from the attributes of the Divinity, or the general bearing of Scripture, can warrant us in encouraging or discouraging by worldly influences this or that sect, doctrine, or opinion. And if the enthusiast take refuge, as usual, in the barren argument of texts, in defence of the practice of showing worldly favour to those who are of the household of faith, for any passage that he so adduces, others may be shown him, which, interpreted by similar canons, would justify warfare and oppression against the household of unbelief.

Thus far we conceive that Scripture and reason abundantly warrant us in extending the limits of toleration; although we question whether these remarks, as well as those which we have made on the interpretation of the Old Testament, will not expose us, in the estimation of this writer, and those who think with him, to the usual charge of infidelity. There is a peculiar sanctimonious diction which pervades a great part of his pages, and denotes the class to which he belongs as clearly as that tendency to prefer rhapsody to argument, on which we have already observed. However liberal in theory, he is not always peculiarly charitable in the construction which he puts on the sentiments of others. He finds no difficulty in charging those who dissent from his own favourite tenets with ulterior designs of hostility to religion itself. There can be no more ready answer to an antagonist

who invalidates some links in your chain of argument, than to declare that you will not reply to one who evidently refuses to admit your premises altogether! But if any writers are peculiarly bound to truth in their statements, and charity in their inferences, it is surely the case with writers on religion. The author of the 'Natural History of Enthusiasm' can have no personal ground of quarrel with us, for the flattering, although incidental, notice which we bestowed on his work. He has lately published a preface to a new edition of the well-known work of Jonathan Edwards; and we can only explain, by the blindness and bitterness with which any supposed difference in religious opinions affects certain minds, the charge he has thought fit to insert in it against an article in a former Number of this Journal.* We confidently refer any honest and reasonable reader to the scope of the general argument on that occasion, and to the nature of the reservation contained in the concluding paragraph. Divines, as pious, and to the full as intelligent, as our opinionated assailant, have seen no reason to suspect that there was an ulterior object in the background; or that the limit put upon the question there under discussion, implied any insinuation against the special miracles of Christianity; much less an exception in favour of universal infidelity. What little respect controversialists have for truth, when the least enquiry into any of their dogmas provokes the insulting declaration, that it would be a far more manly and candid course to make a direct avowal of unbelief!

One of the most distinctive signs of that class of thinkers to which this author belongs, is to be found in his constant tone of bitterness when speaking of the Church of Rome. Resembling, in this respect, a very able writer, with whom he has some qualities in common, (the author of the 'Book of the Church,') his imagination is haunted with a continual gloomy horror, from the assiduous perusal of the histories of Papal cruelty and extravagance. And he seems to be under constant apprehension, lest the apparent success with which Catholicism has been attended of late in its labours among the lower classes of several countries, will bring back the dark hour of its uncontrolled dominion. Above half the volume before us is nothing more than a recapitulation of the follies and enormities which have so long formed a favourite subject of Protestant invective. The discussion of Fanaticism of the *Brand*, or the subject of religious cruelty, furnishes, of course, abundant food for the peculiar contemplations which he loves. He has

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* No. CIV., p. 398.

gone through the miserable records of the sixteenth century, and described at great length, and with no small power, those terrible scenes which take so early and strong a hold on most imaginations. All this was quite unnecessary, if intended to strike the fancy; for every reader of ordinary sympathies has those recollections far too vividly impressed on his mind, to need refreshing by such pictures as are here elaborately detailed. And if it was our author's design to show how this worst species of Fanaticism, although having its origin in the natural perversity of men's dispositions, was peculiarly encouraged by the doctrines and discipline of Romanism, the view which he has taken of the subject is far too general to be accurate. It partakes of that indiscriminating method by which Protestant writers have too frequently confused this important section of the great controversy. It is one thing to accuse the Romish polity of intolerance, as a necessary consequence of the spiritual despotism upon which it rests — another thing to affirm that the spirit of its doctrines, acting on the individual mind, is peculiarly calculated to generate that rancour which, in combination with enthusiasm, forms the character of the Fanatic. In other words, one who admits that the Romish Church has been, and must ever be, more disposed to use tyrannical measures towards external sects than any Protestant community, may nevertheless hesitate to believe, that a devout Romanist is at all more likely to prove a fanatic than a devout Protestant attached to those exclusive doctrines which have long characterised some sects of Protestantism. Bearing this distinction in mind, the reader will perceive that these two charges against Rome, which should be separately proved, are entirely confounded together in the ostentatious invectives of this writer. 'The Waldenses, the Lollards, the 'Reformed of Germany, Italy, Spain, Holland, England, and 'the Huguenots of France, were the victims not of a cruel age, 'but of a cruel doctrine; and that doctrine is as cruel now, as it 'was in the pontificate of Innocent III.' Undoubtedly, nothing can be more true than that the rancour of Protestant churches against sectaries, is not for a moment to be compared, either as to malignity of character, or as to mischievous result, with that which founded and maintained the Inquisition. Churches founded on free discussion, could never err so grossly against the principles of their constitution. The insulated instances which are so repeatedly quoted in this controversy against the persecuting zealots of England and Geneva, prove nothing at all; or rather throw additional weight into the balance against the other party; because, on a close investigation, they stand out as evident and striking exceptions from the ordinary practice of countries under

reformed dispensations. But if it is meant that theological enthusiasm, in the minds of individuals, is not as likely to ferment into the spirit of bitterness in Protestants as in Catholics, and has not led to acts of as hideous cruelty, wherever the better polity of the Reformation, or the feelings of an enlightened age, did not interfere to check it, our author will not find it so easy to maintain his position. And this is the question, of which, in a treatise on Fanaticism, we are more inclined to desire the solution. The Romanist, we are told, believes in the impossibility of salvation out of the pale of his Church. Is it not now the doctrine of many Protestants, that fundamental errors in belief render salvation impossible? The first tenet involves a greater number of victims in its condemnation, but it cannot operate upon the mind which entertains it with a more corroding action; while both Puritan and Catholic alike, are frequently able to counteract such an influence by a humble reliance on the Divine mercy. And as to the historical fact, works of equally detestable cruelty have been perpetrated in the name of religion, and under strong fanatical impulse, by the professors of either belief.

But, says our author, 'nothing at all comparable to the blind 'ferocity of the Romish executions, has elsewhere been seen in 'the world.'—'The world has seen no such judges as her priests.' He has forgotten the history of Witchcraft—a chapter in the annals of Europe now almost buried in oblivion, or resorted to, like tales of ghosts and knight-errantry, for the mere purpose of exciting the imagination. But if rightly considered, it is a sad and terrible treasury of examples, calculated to moderate our pride in the milder character of the Reformed religion. Not that Protestantism had any thing to do with that dreadful aberration of the human intellect; or that the doctrines of one sect lend more *direct* countenance to the errors which produced it, than those of another. Epidemic seasons of terror at imaginary evils of this description,—which seized on the public mind in cities and provinces, and prompted occasionally to the destruction of much innocent life,—were common enough before the time of the Reformation. But we think it will be evident to those who have studied the history of this melancholy subject, that the peculiar cast of devotional sentiments which was generated at that eventful time, added a new feature to those atrocities;—that theological hatred and fanaticism, in the most rigorous sense, then began to communicate their acrimony to the popular prejudice. The corruptions of religion have flowed in so many instances from its best principles, that it will hardly be cause of astonishment if we find, on such investigation, that the extreme virulence of this superstition, in its latter days, may perhaps be traced to some of

those sentiments which were set afloat in men's minds, at that great epoch of intellectual regeneration.

Nothing, for example, was more strongly insisted upon by the preachers of those days, than the constant and perceptible interference of an overruling Providence in the affairs of its creatures: they perverted reason and Scriptures by contending, not only that Heaven did in fact direct every special incident to its own purpose, but that such interposition was distinctly traceable by man out of the ordinary course of cause and effect. Spirits angered by mutual invective, by fear of persecution in defeat, and by jealous suspicion in the midst of triumph, turned with singular eagerness to this dangerous subject of contemplation. Natural causes were disregarded; every one lived in a constant atmosphere of miracle, a tool in the hands of an imagined celestial or malignant power. How such doctrines, promulgated by the wise and good, must have acted upon heads in which judgment was weak, and malice powerful, may be easily imagined. No man willingly regarded the visitations which fell upon himself as proofs of divine anger, however he might be inclined to attribute such an origin to the misfortunes of others. Every accident which affected a neighbour was a judgment; every calamity occurring at home was interpreted as the malice of the Enemy. Hence the dispositions of men embraced with avidity a superstition, authorized at once by ancestral belief, and by the special countenance of their spiritual directors, and one which lent so fearful a sanction to jealousy and revenge. Other gloomy and exclusive tenets, then widely received, lent their assistance to produce a general savageness of character, and extinguish tenderness and remorse. If it be true that the belief of the Catholic, as asserted by our author, tends to make him regardless of the temporal sufferings of those whose souls his creed has consigned to condemnation, how much truer is this of the predestinarian! The belief in witchcraft thus became an article of religion—a test, by which opinion was tried. Its imaginary professors were punished, not merely as injurious to their fellow-citizens, but with a spiritual rancour as heretics and apostates; it became not only a civil crime, but *species hæreticæ pravitatis*, as has been remarked by a judicious German writer. Thus we find, that the epidemic *monomania* which infected the world so largely during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and produced such appalling results, principally exhibited itself either in Protestant countries, or in those Catholic districts where the long conflict between the two religions excited a habit of more serious and disquieting thought on supernatural topics, than the doctrine of Rome is apt to generate, or the policy of Rome to encourage;—

in Britain, Germany, Sweden; in France, where a sort of Catholic puritanism was extensively spread—where Calvin, and, at a later period, the disciples of Jansenius, disturbed the minds of many of their contemporaries, besides those who embraced their peculiar tenets; in the Low Countries, the common battle-field of European sects, as well as armies. In these regions, as has been often remarked, the two sects strove for preeminence in persecution. Jesuits and Lutherans vied with each other in exhibiting that hatred of the devil and his works, which was become in some sort a mark of orthodoxy, by acts of the extremest credulity and cruelty. Our author has drawn, with some talent for terrific portraiture, the often-repeated picture of the Inquisition, and introduced us again to the misery of the victim, and the different emotions which may be supposed to have swayed the minds of the men who sat in judgment on him. Let him, if he wishes to be impartial, contrast with it the scene which might be drawn of events which happened, not at insulated intervals, but every year, and in almost every city of Protestant Europe, for two centuries of miserable error. The wretched, friendless victims, half-driven by confusion and torture into admitting the imaginary crime of which they stood charged, looking round in vain for sympathy in the countenances of the mad populace, the cold lawyer, or the fanatical priest—the mob rendered clamorous and savage by fear—the judges (and this is perhaps the blackest part of the transaction) probably in but too many instances disbelieving, and deriding in heart the ridiculous figments which they were set to investigate, but acting under a Pilate-like submission to the multitude and the Church—and the bigoted theologians exulting in the sufferings of their victim, less as a criminal against mankind, than an enemy of God! Clergymen descended from a Protestant pulpit, to hear confessions extorted by the *Question*, and attended the innocent sufferer to the stake with prayer and thanksgiving, while the noble hymns of the Lutheran Church were sung around the pile! How little attention have these horrors met with, considered with reference to their connexion with religious sentiments! There are histories of the Church which treat at most wearisome length of the polemical controversies of the seventeenth century, and which hardly vouchsafe a few passing words to the long tragedy which was acted throughout the whole of it, in the name of Christianity. The enormous number of the victims who were then sacrificed, and the peculiar aggravations of their sufferings, are passed by with little notice, because their fate excites none of the sympathy which attaches itself to the martyrs of a persuasion; and because we have been accustomed to look on fanati-

cism rather in a contracted view, with reference to its effects in a particular direction, (namely, in sectarian quarrels,) than in its substantive character, as a canker of the human heart. It is forgotten, that in an enlightened age, execution followed execution, until towns and villages were actually rendered desolate. The lowest ministers of justice became rich by the massacres they were called on to perpetrate. Nor has it been sufficiently shown how the comparative mildness of darker ages was succeeded by refinements of cruelty, derived from a perverted sense of religion. The vulgar clamour, on this as on other subjects, was easily raised, and as easily silenced by a few examples. The spirit of persecution was not so readily satisfied. Victims were immured, as in the cells of the Inquisition, for long years, under repeated examination as to some frivolous and absurd fact which they persisted in denying; the ingenuity of artists was set at work to devise new engines, for the purpose of wrenching falsehood from them; and domestic treachery was put in action, in order to circumvent those more exalted victims, who could not be crushed by the same summary process which was applied to accused persons of the ordinary class. And it is especially remarkable, during the later period of this superstition, that the actions laid to the charge of the suspected were not generally of a very grievous kind, or productive of extensive mischief; they were not of a nature to excite the anger of the multitude,—a fact of great importance, as it proves that they were enquired into chiefly as the overt acts of the imputed mental heresy; and that witchcraft was punished more as a religious error than as a civil crime.

Assuredly we do not dwell upon these unfortunate prostrations of the human intellect with any perverse desire to attribute to Christianity enormities, of which the guilt lies upon our nature alone; but, in order to show how closely rancour accompanies perverted views of supernatural things, not in this or that sect only, but wherever reigning circumstances or opinions have given too wide a scope to the enthusiasm they engender. This is one of the most important steps in the progress of the humble and zealous enquirer, towards comprehending the all-important lesson of toleration; a lesson of all others the most difficult to acquire, and which, when he has learnt it, will, alas! but expose him to the suspicion and dislike of many of those whose good opinion he is most anxious to gain.

It is but a step from the Fanaticism of the *Brand* to the Fanaticism of the *Sword*, or of conquest for the sake of religion; but no two subjects of contemplation, so nearly allied in reality, can produce a stronger contrast in the mind. We feel as if we

had just emerged from the cells of some unwholesome dungeon, our hearts still oppressed with the clinging horrors of the vault—

'Fuor dell' aura morta,
Che c'avea contristato gl' occhi e'l petto,'—

into a wide plain covered with the pomp and circumstance of war, under the free light of heaven, glancing on the steeled ranks of the Crusaders, or the multitudinous array of the Caliphs,

'That world of tents and domes, and sun-bright armoury.'

But we cannot afford space to do justice to this portion of our author's labours, or to his last head, 'Fanaticism of the Sym-'bol, or of creeds, dogmatism, and ecclesiastical violence.' Indeed, although, as is observed by himself, this is by far the most important form which the passion assumes, when considered with reference to the manners and polity of modern communities; yet the reader will not find much more matter applicable to present times and feelings in this, than in the former divisions of the essay. A great part of it is taken up by a historical dissertation on the characters of Athanasius and Jerome. The *vexata questio* of Terms of Communion is just touched upon, in our author's usual fearful method of approaching a difficulty, but with some moderate and judicious remarks; and we extract the following passage, as it appears to us to notice a characteristic of the modern religious world, which has not been sufficiently attended to:—'A singular revolution has marked the 'progress of religious sentiment among us within the last few 'years; and it is this, that, while the tendency to admit enthu-'siastic or fanatical sentiments belonged, till of late, almost ex-'clusively to the lower and uneducated classes, it has recently 'deserted the quarters of poverty and ignorance, and taken hold 'of those who are clothed in purple, and frequent palaces..... 'Religious sentiments in a highly excited state, and not counter-'poised by the vulgar cares and sorrows of humble life—not 'taught common sense by common occasions, is little likely to 'stop short at mere enthusiasm: the fervour almost of necessity 'becomes fanatical. The progress of the feelings in such cases 'is not difficult to be divined. That sensitiveness to public opi-'nion, and that nice regard to personal reputation, and that keen 'consciousness of ridicule, which belong to the upper classes, and 'upon which their morality is chiefly founded, tend, in the in-'stance of the pious oligarch, to generate vivid resentments, when 'he feels that, having overstepped the boundaries of good sense 'and sobriety, he has drawn upon himself the public laugh. The 'intolerable glance of scorn from his peers, to which he has found 'himself exposed, must be—not retorted indeed—not avenged—

'but yet returned in some manner compatible with religious 'ideas. It is at this very point of commuted revenge that fana- 'ticism takes its rise. Interpretations the most excessive, ex- 'pectations the most dire, comminations the most terrible, and a 'line of conduct arrogantly absurd, set wounded patrician pride 'again upon its due elevation, repair the damage it has sustain- 'ed, and surround it with a hedge of thorns.'

We do not know whether the picture here drawn of the motives attributed to a class among us, may not be somewhat overcharged, or applicable only in a very small number of instances; but the fact itself is well worthy of attention, that since the revival of devotional feeling, which followed the French Revolution, not only fanaticism, which is the error of a few, but the enthusiasm out of which it arises, and which is common to many, are more prevalent in the upper than the lower ranks of society. What may be the cause of this diversity, we do not pretend to investigate. Perhaps the truth may be, as our author suggests, that the mutations which we have seen in the government of the world, have given rise to a feeling of insecurity, which naturally leads the mind to turn to supernatural consolations for support. But it is of importance to observe, that although the prevailing sentiments of the upper classes will always give a certain tone and fashion to those of the lower, yet such an outward show of religion as arises from this circumstance is but a bad security for its real prevalence, even in a country where Old Bailey audiences shudder at an avowal of atheism, and Trades' Unions promulgate their decrees in the name of Christ. It is therefore, we think, matter of serious concern, that there appears to exist at present a much stricter feeling with respect to religious observances, in the former than in the latter division of the community;—among those who make the laws, than among those who obey them. Should this tendency increase so far (which perhaps is not a very likely subject of apprehension) as to render successful any endeavours to enforce rigorous habits by penal laws of a character unsuited to the public mind, we should be more fearful of the possible results to religion from such misplaced severity, than from the utmost laxity of restraint. Nothing seems to us more dangerous than a state of things in which the law exacts observances which national habits do not countenance.

In conclusion, we have no doubt that the present work will acquire the same sort of popularity, among the same class of readers, with the former productions of this author. There are many who are fond of discussions on religious subjects in which every difficult point is taken for granted; who are delighted with an exhi-

bition of declamatory skill,—a panegyrical or vituperative oration clad with the argumentative form and title of an essay. There is also, we are sorry to add, a large and perhaps increasing number who are captivated with the florid style of diction, of which this author is no contemptible professor. But we cannot part from him without admitting that he has displayed extensive research in a curious, although not very profitable branch of religious history. And though we have thought ourselves called upon to animadvert upon the spirit which now and then breaks through the surface of his pages, we should be uncandid not to allow that their general character is moderate and impartial, as well as pious; that he seems actuated by a sincere desire to heal, as far as in him lies, the breaches of the Christian commonwealth; and to point out as subjects of rational rejoicing, those few steps which the world seems to have gained in its dark and vacillating progress towards better and nobler views of religion.

Art. III.—*Lives of the most Eminent British Painters, Sculptors, and Architects.* By Allan Cunningham. 6 vols. 12mo. London: 1830-1-2-3.

This is a very entertaining collection of biography—entertaining, much to the author's credit, in spite of the barrenness of the subject. The lives of painters are comparatively uneventful—their professional achievements have scarcely any influence upon the more important interests of society—and their works, however charming, have little interest in description. Nevertheless Mr Cunningham, by a lively style, the frequent interspersion of anecdote, much judicious quotation from good writers, and a prominent exhibition of his personages in their literary and social capacities, wherever circumstances admitted, has produced six volumes, containing more amusing reading, of a biographical kind, than it has often been our fortune to meet with. Perhaps it may be objected, that his anecdotes are sometimes trivial, irrelevant, and superfluous. For example—and this example shall suffice—of the forgetfulness of the Rev. Samuel Reynolds, the father of Sir Joshua, it is said, 'that in performing a journey on 'horseback, one of his boots dropt off by the way, without being 'missed by the owner; and of his wit—for wit also has been as-'cribed to him!—it is related, that in allusion to his wife's name,

'*Theophila*, he made the following rhyming domestic arrange-
'ment,

'When I say The,
Thou must make tea;
When I say Offey,
Thou must make coffee.'

As for the former of these anecdotes, it is probably a fabrication; perhaps sportively attributed, without the expectation of being seriously believed. Boot and stirrup must have been as remarkable in their idiosyncrasy as the worthy divine, and must have strangely conspired with absence of mind, to make any part of the story possible. As for the latter, though the Rev. Samuel Reynolds might, without serious impeachment of his understanding, *improvise* such nonsense to his wife and children by his own fireside, we think he would have marvelled not a little at the *labor ineptiarum* of succeeding ages, if he could have been told that nearly a hundred years afterwards, a biographer would insert, revise, print, correct, and publish such trash for the edification of the nineteenth century.

It may also be objected, that partialities and prejudices are but too apparent in this work. Some persons are the objects of eulogy, others of a dislike, which nothing recorded in the text appears to justify. Reynolds is evidently the object of ill-will. Praise is grudgingly bestowed, and censure industriously inserted, even sometimes at the expense of consistency. If a good trait is mentioned, it must be immediately neutralized by something unfavourable; and a qualification must be inserted in the midst of the praise, which makes it scarcely of any value. Thus —'Reynolds was commonly humane and tolerant; *he could in-*
'*deed afford*, both in fame and in purse, to commend and aid the
'timid and the needy. When Gainsborough asked sixty guineas
'for his Girl and Pigs, Sir Joshua gave him an hundred; and
'when another English artist of celebrity, on his arrival from
'Rome, asked him where he should set up a studio, he informed
'him that the next house to his own was vacant, and at his ser-
'vice.' Mark how Sir Joshua's merit is studiously lessened. He could 'afford' to do these gracious actions! Mr Cunningham has nevertheless, in another place, made Reynolds jealous of this same Gainsborough, whom he could thus 'afford' to encourage. But lest the qualifying clause should not sufficiently lower our estimation of Reynolds, we are told immediately afterwards, that 'he could be sharp and bitter on occasions;' and that one day,
'fixing his eye on a female portrait by a *young and trembling*
'*practitioner*, he *roughly* exclaimed, "What's this in your hand?

'A portrait! You should not show such things:—what's that 'upon her head—a dish-clout?" The student *retired in sorrow,* '*and did not touch his pencil for a month.*' How skilfully is this told! How well are our sympathies enlisted on the side of the young and trembling practitioner! How ably is our indignation excited against the brutality of Reynolds! How dexterously is our disapprobation ensured by the unfortunate result! Mr Cunningham does not give his authority for a statement so little in conformity with Sir Joshua's general character; but we presume he must have had authority, or he would not have made such a statement: we do not, therefore, dispute the fact,—we only admire the manner in which Mr Cunningham has introduced it. We will give one more instance of ingenious depreciation. Reynolds sometimes asked Burke's opinion about his paintings— 'it was given readily. Sir Joshua would then shake his head and 'say, "Well, it pleases you; but it does not please me; there is 'a little sweetness wanting in the expression, which a little pains 'will bestow. There! I have improved it." This,' adds Mr Cunningham, 'when translated into the common language of 'life, means, "I must not let this man think that he is as wise 'as myself; but show him that I can reach one step at least 'higher than his admiration."' We have seldom witnessed a more elaborate and wanton endeavour to affix an unfavourable construction to a very natural and innocent speech. Again, after saying that Reynolds 'had the singular art of summoning the 'mind into the face, and making sentiment mingle in the por-'trait,' he concludes, and neutralizes his eulogy, by adding, that 'he was a mighty flatterer;' and, had Colonel Charteris sat to him, 'he would,' Mr Cunningham doubts not, 'have given him an 'aspect worthy of a President of the Society for the Suppression 'of Vice.' We know not if Charteris looked the scoundrel that he was, or if he could assume the appearance of amiability. If he could, it was Reynolds' part to portray that appearance, and not to enquire if the sitter's private character corresponded with his benignant countenance. If Charteris could not help looking like a scoundrel, he could not have been painted with the countenance of a good man, except at the expense of likeness; and we are not told that Sir Joshua ever sacrificed likeness to this imputed disposition to flatter. Nay, it might have been remembered, that in the case of Johnson, to whom Reynolds surely would have been as much disposed to administer flattery as to a Colonel Charteris, that the rigid fidelity of his delineation piqued the vanity even of the Doctor, who protested against being handed down to posterity as 'Blinking Sam.' We therefore see no good ground for this assertion, on a point respecting which

Mr Cunningham can know no more than anybody else; and which serves only to convey the impression, that Reynolds was willing to prostitute his pencil to the despicable work of investing moral turpitude with a delusive charm.

We may here observe, that there is much confusion of thought in the verbiage lavished, both in this and other works on art, in praise of what is called an 'honest pencil.' Some persons speak as if portraits were painted for the public at large; as if any want of the most rigid fidelity of representation was a dereliction of duty towards that public; and as if the painter was bound to be as accurate as an historian. Now, though portraits *may* become 'historical,' they are almost invariably painted originally for some private individual—for the person represented, or his friend or relation; and their tastes must necessarily be consulted respecting pictures which are to become their property, and which they are about to purchase at considerable cost. This seems a very plain way of viewing the subject; yet, somehow, in the warmth of declamation, persons of very respectable acuteness contrive to lose sight of it altogether.

We find other instances of confusion of thought into which Mr Cunningham's imagination leads him. 'The painter,' he says, 'who wishes for lasting fame, must not lavish his fine colours and 'his choice pictures on the rich and titled alone; he must seek 'to associate his labours with the genius of his country.' It is painful to be obliged to interrupt this eloquence, to intimate the homely facts, that portrait-painters do not select their subjects, but must paint those who may choose to sit to them; and that if they are dependent on the profits of their profession, they must paint those who can afford to pay them. But let us listen again to Mr Cunningham, and we shall be informed, that 'the most 'skilful posture, and the richest colouring, cannot create the repu-'tation which accompanies genius; and we turn coldly away from 'the head which we happen not to know, or to have heard of. 'The portrait of Johnson has risen to the value of five hundred 'guineas; whilst the heads of many of Sir Joshua's grandest lords 'remain at the original fifty.' We should be glad if we could draw any appropriate conclusion from this tissue of truisms. Far from questioning the concluding facts, we will imagine a still stronger case of a similar description. The vilest daub, if it could be ascertained by indubitable proof to convey a faithful representation of the features of Shakspeare, would probably bear a higher value than the most exquisitely painted portrait of an undistinguished person from the hand of Vandyke. But what would this prove? Would it place the dauber, who was so fortunate as to have Shakspeare for a sitter, on a level with Vandyke? Would

it prove any thing with respect to *painting?* Just as much as the undubitable circumstance, that a lock of Shakspeare's hair would be infinitely more prized than a lock of one unknown to fame; and if Mr Cunningham had said that an autograph letter of Johnson's had been sold for a considerable sum, whilst the autographs 'of 'many of Sir Joshua's grandest lords' were held comparatively valueless, he would have adduced a fact as incontestable, and at the same time just as apposite, as that with which he has favoured us.

The portrait of a distinguished person may be valuable and admirable as a picture, but it is valuable chiefly as a memorial or relic; and the value which it thus acquires, belongs wholly to the subject. Mr Cunningham writes as if it had not occurred to him, that a portrait could be regarded in more than one point of view—that it could be valued on more than one account—and as if all the interest and estimation arising from the distinguished subject, was a clear addition to the reputation of the artist. Far from this being true, the reverse of it is the case. The tenfold increase in the case of Johnson's portrait was a tribute, not to Reynolds, but to Johnson. When the subject is eminently distinguished, we feel, while contemplating the portrait, that the fame of the artist is completely merged and lost in that of the eminent person he has painted; and, in fact, we can attend to the merits of the artist, and do full justice to his ability, chiefly while looking at the portraits of those who interest us comparatively little. We find many other instances of this want of correctness of thought. Thus he says, 'the capital old paintings of 'the Venetian school which Sir Joshua's experiments destroyed, 'were not few; and it may be questioned if his discoveries were a 'compensation for their loss. The wilful destruction of a work of 'genius, is a sort of murder committed for the sake of art, and the 'propriety of the act is very questionable.' The exercise of a little plain sense might have relieved the work from this last sentence. To attach any sort of moral guilt to what Reynolds did is absurd. The expediency of the attempt depended, of course, upon the probability of a successful result. It cannot be supposed that Sir Joshua would destroy valuable paintings, without the confident hope of a valuable discovery; and if his hope had been fully realized, and if the secrets of Venetian art had been so elicited, as to be thenceforward practised by him, and communicated to others, surely it would be as wise to say, that sowing wheat is shameful waste, as to complain, in a tone of sentimental regret, of the 'murder committed for the sake of art,' which was to bring forth fruit an hundredfold.

Of Mr Cunningham's partialities in favour of some artists, we

are inclined to speak much more indulgently than of his dislikes; for excess of praise is an amiable error, and to be visited only with our mildest censure: but we must observe, that partiality is a little shown even in the selection of some of those who have been recorded among '*eminent*' British painters;—that Cosway, Runciman, Ramsay, and perhaps Bird, are hardly entitled to the appellation of *eminent*—that Blake, the able, but, alas! insane author of some very striking and original designs, could scarcely be considered a painter—and that Sir G. Beaumont's highly commendable patronage of art, and presumed natural talent for painting (if 'fortune' had not 'rendered the gift unavailing'), cannot, in the absence of higher practical proofs of his talent than the world is acquainted with, quite entitle him to a place in these volumes. Still more leniently will we advert to symptoms of a national partiality towards the late excellent and accomplished Raeburn (in which, peradventure, we are fellow-culprits); and of a literary leaning towards artists in whom literary talent was more evident than pictorial merit—as, for example, Fuseli and Northcote. We must not, however, omit to state, that there is an evident partiality towards those who were coarse, unrefined, and repulsive in their habits, in preference to those who were polished and refined. We have seen how Sir Joshua's rebuke to a 'trembling' student, is made to appear harsh and odious. But when we turn to the life of Wilson, who was 'a drinker of ale 'and porter, one who loved boisterous mirth and rough humour '—things not always found in society which calls itself select'—it is curious to mark, how that which had been condemned in Reynolds is not merely described in milder terms, but actually made matter of commendation. 'Such was the *blunt honesty* of 'his (Wilson's) nature,' says Mr Cunningham, 'that when drawings were shown him which he disliked, he *disdained*, or was 'unable to give a *courtly* answer, and made many of the students 'his enemies.'

Having noticed these faults, we gladly return to the more pleasing office of commendation. We think that Mr Cunningham has not only collected, with commendable diligence, whatever was worthy to be recorded respecting the various subjects of his memoirs, but has portrayed them in a lively, picturesque, and attractive style—skilfully avoiding whatever was dull or unimportant, and introducing, easily and naturally, much pertinent and pointed remark.

The retrospect of British art is not a glorious and inspiriting theme. Horace Walpole assuredly erected no monument to the fame of his country, when he composed his 'Anecdotes of Paint-

'ing.' It is an elaborate record, not of our pictorial affluence and successes, but of our poverty and failures. There is no work by which we are more inevitably led to draw an inference as unfavourable as we now know it to be unjust. An examination of the history of painting in England, from the earliest times to the commencement of the reign of George I., would lead us only to this conclusion, that there was such an inaptitude in the English people, a spirit so uncongenial with the growth of art, that patronage, and example, and rivalry, and the presence of foreign competitors, and the sight of the collected treasures of foreign art, could not stimulate our sluggish natures to even a creditable aspiration after excellence in painting. If any one in the reign of George I. should have held it to be impossible that Englishmen could become painters, he might be considered excusable for an assertion which we should now hear only with pity and derision. Perhaps in no other art or calling was the supply so inadequate to the demand. Perhaps in no other branch, whether of art or manufacture, was the English public so long and so largely indebted to foreigners, and so sparingly to native skill. Of painters in England, from the commencement of the art, to the beginning of the reign of George I., Walpole enumerates 255. Of these, only 103 were English; and even this small number cannot be made up without including amateurs; and the list is swelled by some professed artists of such signal obscurity, that the diligent annalist who has recorded their names, could not even ascertain the kind of subjects which they painted. But the insignificance of this list (the harvest of two centuries) will be better understood, if we enquire who among the 103 had the slightest pretensions to celebrity. Unless we attach a very humble meaning to the term celebrity, it will be necessary to deny that there were any; for there were only *seven* English artists whose names will even be noticed —Hilliard and the two Olivers, painters in miniature—Dobson, who produced a few second-rate portraits, and fewer third-rate historical compositions—Barlow, a respectable painter of birds—and two portrait-painters, Walker and Riley. These were the most eminent native artists whom England produced during two centuries! Nor were there symptoms of improvement; on the contrary, the art declined. 'We are now,' said Walpole, in speaking of the reign of George I., 'arrived at the period in 'which the arts were sunk to the lowest ebb in Britain.' The two best who appeared in that reign were Richardson, better known as a writer than as a painter; and Sir James Thornhill, scarcely remembered but as the father-in-law of Hogarth, and the painter of some bad frescoes in the cupola of St Paul's, for which he was remunerated as if he were only a plasterer of a

more costly description, at the rate of forty shillings the square-yard.

We find it difficult to assign a satisfactory reason for this long-continued absence of even respectable proficiency. National inaptitude would be the sweeping reason which might have been plausibly offered a century ago; but we cannot admit that reason *now*, and we have no other to supply its place. There was no want of encouragement and demand. Mr Cunningham says, that artists never stood lower in the estimation of mankind, than on the accession of Henry VIII. 'They were numbered 'with the common menials of the court; they had their livery 'suit, their yearly dole, and their weekly wages.' True: but similar, at a later period, was the condition of players; yet these found among their ranks a Ben Jonson, and a Shakspeare. Besides, Henry VIII. honoured and encouraged painting. He first formed the nucleus of the Royal Collection, which was augmented by succeeding monarchs, but which contained at his death no less than 150 pictures. He patronised Holbein, employed him, and admired him; and told a petulant courtier, who complained of the painter, that 'of seven peasants he 'could make seven lords, but he could not make one Hans.' There is no evidence, as Walpole tells us, that Elizabeth had much love of painting; and there is evidence that she did not understand it; for she once ordered her portrait to be painted 'with the light coming neither from the right nor from the left, 'without shadows, in an open garden light.' But it was not absolutely necessary for the encouragement of painting that the sovereign should be a judge of art. Elizabeth loved to be painted, and to tax the skill of the artist in ingenious flattery. This was sufficient, if not to circulate a correct taste, at least to set a fashion favourable to artists, and to disseminate a love of portrait-painting among the more opulent portion of her subjects. In the reign of Charles I. there was positive encouragement given to art, and of a kind which ought to have elicited pictorial talent if the germs of it had anywhere existed. Charles understood and valued painting. He collected munificently and judiciously, thereby raising the standard of the public taste, and making his people familiar with the contemplation of excellence. The cartoons of Raphael, and the splendid gallery of the Duke of Mantua, were brought to England during his reign; and the royal collection at Whitehall was augmented to 460 pictures; among which were nine by Raphael, eleven by Correggio, sixteen by Julio Romano, and twenty-eight by Titian. Not only by the display of beautiful pictures, but also by the presence of distinguished artists, might the national taste have been stimulated; for Eng-

land was within a short period visited by Rubens and Vandyke. During sixteen years of the reign of Charles, the arts of peace might be securely cultivated; but no great artist was called into notice by all the encouragement and example with which that period had been more than usually replete. No native talent appears to have been elicited, which, struggling through the storms of civil war, and suppressed for a while by the discouraging frown of sectarian austerity, was ready to revive under the countenance of Cromwell (of Cromwell, who sat to Lely, and was chiefly solicitous that he might not be flattered, but that all the warts on his face should be accurately painted), and would have burst forth with elastic vigour in the joyous reign of Charles II., when all that the austerity of the puritan had discountenanced, was lauded and followed with prodigal excess. But no such Englishman appeared. Only one distinguished artist was alike favoured by the Protector and the King, and he was a foreigner, Sir Peter Lely. And who succeeded—some say supplanted—him? Another foreigner, Sir Godfrey Kneller. To four distinguished foreign artists, Holbein, Vandyke, Lely, and Kneller, we had thus been almost entirely indebted for portraits of the most eminent persons who had appeared in England during a century and a half. Scarcely any Englishman was found to follow, even at a humble distance, in the pursuit of so popular an art. We may lament the circumstance, but we cannot explain it. To say that the English of that period were of a nature too coarse and rugged to excel in an art requiring such delicacy and refinement of taste, is to advance a reason which facts will not support. We could certainly compete in refinement with Flanders; and there was in the dress, manners, and amusements of those times, much that was more akin to, and conducive to painting, than is to be found in the more sobered habits of the present day. Men who spent half an income in adorning their persons, were likely to desire that some memorials of their splendour might be handed down to posterity through that most appropriate channel—a portrait. Men who sought pleasures which addressed themselves to the eye, and planned and exhibited splendid pageants, were likely to desire to see them painted. We cannot, in a word, discover any specific cause of the fact in question; and must content ourselves with saying, that it fortuitously happened that England did not during that period produce any persons in whom the love of art, and the disposition to adopt it as a profession, so concurred, as to produce a great painter. Portrait-painting was throughout this period the style most cherished. Only one other kind enjoyed much vogue. It was introduced during the reign of the Stuarts, and might be called the architectural.

'It professed,' says Mr Cunningham, 'to be the handmaid of architecture; when the mason, and carpenter, and plasterer, had done their work, its professors made their appearance, and covered walls and ceilings with mobs of the old divinities—nymphs who represented cities—crowned beldames for nations—and figures, ready ticketed and labelled, answering to the names of virtues. The national love of subjecting all works to a measure-and-value price, which had been disused while art followed nature and dealt in sentiment, was again revived, that these cold mechanical productions might be paid for in the spirit which conceived them.

'The chief apostles of this dark faith were two foreigners and one Englishman—Verrio, La Guerre, and Sir James Thornhill. Rubens, indeed, and others, had deviated from nature into this desert track—only to return again to human feelings with a heartier relish. But Thornhill and his companions never deviated into nature. The Shepherdesses of Sir Peter Lely were loose in their attire, loose in their looks, and trailed their embroidered robes among the thorns and brambles of their pastoral scenes, in a way which made the staid dames of the puritans blush and look aside. But the mystic nymphs of Thornhill or La Guerre, though evidently spreading out all their beauties and making the most of their charms, could never move the nerves of a stoic. It is in vain that a goddess tumbles naked through a whole quarter of the sky. It is astonishing how much and how long these works were admired, and with what ardour men of education and talent praised them.'

The first native spark of what could deserve to be called genius, appeared in the person of Hogarth. Genius it certainly was, and of a very remarkable description, and one which has never yet found a successful imitator; but it did not afford us, what we still wanted—a great painter. We do not quite go the same length as the Royal Academician quoted by Mr Cunningham, who said that Hogarth was 'no painter;' and that Sir Joshua, who never mentioned him, might as well be censured for not naming Richardson and Fielding. But we concur with him to a considerable extent; and we feel that the merits of Hogarth were those of the moral satirist rather than of the artist. He was at any rate a designer rather than a painter. His fame rests upon his designs;—his being a painter was a circumstance of which that fame holds little cognizance. If Hogarth had never touched a brush—if he had been merely an engraver—nay, if his *Marriage-à-la-Mode*, and other admirable satires, had come from his hand merely in the simple form of drawings, from which engravings had been made by others, the fame of Hogarth would scarcely have been less, or of a different kind from that which his name enjoys at present. Yet Mr Cunningham devotes half a page to a most superfluous contention with Horace Walpole's very intelligible distinction, that 'as a *painter* Hogarth has slender merit.' 'I 'claim,' says Mr Cunningham very emphatically, 'a significa-

'tion as wide for the word painter as for the word poet.' When Mr Cunningham sets up a dictionary of his own, he may of course claim his own signification for that or any other word at his own will and pleasure; but, in this case, it would have been more profitable to consider, first, what Walpole meant by the word 'painter,' and, next, what is commonly meant by the public at large.

Our first great painter was undoubtedly Reynolds. 'He was,' in the words of Burke, 'the first Englishman who added the 'praise of the elegant arts to the other glories of his country.' No man has ever raised art from such low estate to the height at which he left it. At the commencement of his career, Thornhill, Jervas, and Hudson, were the best representatives of English art. He died the brightest star among a thick galaxy of great names. He was the imitator of none. He formed a style which was all his own. 'To portrait he communicated,' says Burke, 'a variety, a fancy, and a dignity, derived from the higher 'branches, which even those who possessed them in a superior 'manner, did not always perceive when they delineated individual 'nature. His portraits remind the spectator of the invention 'and the amenity of landscape. In painting portraits, he ap-'peared not to be raised upon that platform, but to descend upon 'it from a higher sphere.'—'His influence,' says Mr Cunningham, 'on the taste and elegance of the island was great, and will 'be lasting. The grace and ease of his compositions were a 'lesson for the living to study, while the simplicity of his dresses 'admonished the giddy and the gay against the hideousness of 'fashion. He sought to restore nature in the looks of his sitters, 'and he waged a thirty years' war against the fopperies of dress. 'His works diffused a love of elegance, and united with poetry 'in softening the asperities of nature, in extending our views, 'and in connecting us with the spirits of the time. His cold 'stateliness of character, and his honourable pride of art, gave 'dignity to his profession: the rich and the far-descended were 'pleased to be painted by a gentleman as well as a genius.'

Since the death of Reynolds, we can scarcely speak with correctness of the *progress* of British art. Its condition is certainly as good as it was then—perhaps at some intervening periods it has been better; but it cannot be said that from that time there has been any progressive advancement. Neither in landscape, in portrait, nor in historical composition, can we now boast of better artists than flourished in the days of Reynolds. Yet we do not doubt that the average is raised; and we can certainly point to one branch of art which in his time scarcely existed, but in which British artists have now attained an excellence unrivalled in any other country. We mean the art of painting in water-colours,—

an art of rapid growth, and which, for the representation of some subjects, is, in our opinion, superior to painting in oil.

The dewy freshness of a spring morning—the joyous brightness of a summer's day—the passing shower—the half-dispelled mist—the gay partial gleam of April sunshine—the rainbow—the threatening storm—the smiles and frowns of our changeful sky, or their infinite effects upon the character of the landscape—the unsubstantial brightness of the grey horizon—and the fresh vivid colouring of the broken foreground—all these features in the ever-varying face of Nature can be represented by the painter in water-colours, with a grace, a vividness, a freedom, a fidelity, a soft, yet day-like brightness and truth, which we will not say *cannot* be produced in oil-painting, but which we at least have never yet witnessed. There is a look of daylight in a water-colour painting, which oil-painting has never yet so successfully expressed. Nature, in the former, is represented as we really see it—in the latter, as it appears reflected in a blackened glass. The effect of daylight has, it is true, sometimes been tried in oil-paintings, and with some success; but too much of the truth, force, and richness of colouring, has invariably been sacrificed in the attempt. There is a chalkiness in the colouring which prevented them from being entirely successful. They cannot, while clear, bright, and day-like, combine softness, richness, and vividness, so well as is possible in water-colour painting. Many able approaches towards a successful representation of daylight landscape have been made by painters in oil, ancient and modern. Rubens made a few coarse, but brilliant experiments, and attained brightness without being chalky. But still he did not succeed. His landscapes are not nature—they want softness, delicacy, and truth. They overshoot the mark. They are only dim and somewhat eccentric hints at what ought to be the true effect,—failures, but still the failures of a man of genius, and perhaps as useful for the consideration of artists as the more successful performances of inferior men. Teniers is bright and clear; but we have always a feeling as if his landscapes were painted, not on wood or canvass, but on *tin*, and the cold hue of the metal shone through, and mingled itself with his painting. Hobbima is sometimes day-like; but there is apt to be a blackness in the shadows, and a rawness in the lights of his fresh-coloured landscapes, which is to our eyes neither true nor agreeable. Cuyp has perhaps united softness and richness of tint with daylight brilliancy as skilfully as any artist; but he effects this combination chiefly by means of that golden haze which he sheds so beautifully over all his landscapes. Even in the clearest and brightest, there is always a haze. Perhaps from consciousness that he would fail

without it, he seems never to have ventured to dispense with it; and therefore never to have achieved that undimmed clearness of perfect daylight, which is our grand desideratum in landscape. Neither Wilson nor Gainsborough seem to have attempted to carry the experiment very far. Among recent artists, we have seen this effect most successfully expressed in some of the few, too few, paintings of which we have not been deprived by the untimely death of Bonnington; and amongst those still living, sometimes in the works of Collins, Callcott, Constable, and Lee. The last-mentioned has succeeded, perhaps, better than any other in expressing the fresh clear natural mid-day tint of English scenery, and approximating in his oil-pictures to the brightness and pearliness of a water-colour painting. Still it is only approximation; and all that we have yet seen inclines us to think, that, in the representation of land, sea, and sky, the art of water-colour painting which has so recently begun to be cultivated, and is probably so little advanced towards its possible perfection, is superior to the long-established art of painting in oil. The depth, strength, and richness of the latter, it cannot emulate; but it is more applicable to those subjects which demand clearness, vividness, and airiness of effect.

The claim of any kind of superiority for water-colour over oil will, we doubt not, seem strange and unpalatable to many of the admirers of art. It seems to be regarded as a settled point, that oil-painting is the superior branch. Art has its etiquettes and its titles of precedence, and the painter in oil is held to stand higher than the drawer in water-colour. What is the ground of this assumed superiority? It is a more difficult art, say some. Perhaps it is; but enamel painting is more difficult still. If difficulty is to be the true criterion, let painters in enamel take the lead. It is more durable: very true; but painting in enamel is more durable still—so is painting on glass—so, too, is mosaic. The painter in enamel and on glass, and the worker in mosaic, would be entitled to preeminence on the ground of durability. But these distinctions are vain and puerile. Those only who take a grovelling and mechanical view of art can attach importance to the mere material with which it works, and can consent to investigate seriously the respective dignities of canvass and pasteboard, oil and water. As for durability, it is, unquestionably, an important merit; but we cannot allow art to be measured by this standard as exclusively as Napoleon did. 'A fine immortality!' said he contemptuously to Denon, when he told him a picture would last 500 years; and he preferred the statue solely because it might probably last as many thousands. The conqueror regarded art, not as a source of present gratification, but as a means of transmitting the

fame of his exploits. Viewing it as he did, he was justified in his preference; but to the generality of the lovers of painting, who regard it as a source of present pleasure, durability is a consideration of less vital importance. Still it is not to be denied that even present pleasure may be much affected by the want of durability; for an impression that the work we are viewing is of a very frail and perishable nature, will cause a feeling of regret to be mingled with our admiration, painful in the same proportion as that admiration is strong. Durability, however, is not an essential quality in art, nor to be taken into account in our estimate of the abilities of the artist. Canova might have modelled a figure of snow, as beautiful as some of those models formed in clay, which he afterwards transferred to the more durable marble. The figure melts and disappears, but, during its brief existence, it might as plainly have borne the stamp of the creative genius of the artist, and conveyed to those who saw it an impression of his skill, as if it had been cast in brass. Durability is highly to be prized; but it is to be prized upon grounds entirely distinct from an abstract admiration of art; and we must not fall into a too common confusion of ideas, by blending together considerations so different. The more durable work of art is of course more valuable as a possession; but considered simply as a work of art, it is neither better nor worse than that which may possess the quality in a minor degree.

The durability of painting in water-colours remains to be tried. No really good ones have been painted long enough to afford any satisfactory proof. The purchaser of a water-colour painting can only rest assured, that, with tolerable care, it will probably remain unimpaired during his own lifetime. Whether his children's children are likely to view it unfaded and undecaying, is more than he has the means of judging. The question is deserving of much attention among artists; for if it be proved that the colours are not permanent, and no means can be discovered to obviate the evil, it is unquestionable that the encouragement of the public would be considerably withdrawn from this very beautiful branch of painting. Many of its admirers will be unwilling to purchase that which they know will quickly fade, and it will then cease to be cultivated with equal success.

It is difficult to speculate upon the *prospects* of painting in this country. It must be evident to whoever looks back upon its history, that it is greatly dependent upon chance. Encouragement and demand may do much; but they cannot create the genius which is a fortuitous and spontaneous gift of nature, and which is essential to the production of real excellence in painting. For two hundred years there had been demand sufficient to have call-

ed forth a great painter, if any such had happened to have been born amongst us; and when, at length, Reynolds, Hogarth, Gainsborough, and Wilson, shone forth about the same time, it was not in consequence of increased encouragement, but in spite of that deadening apathy towards native talent which the long absence of it had naturally produced. The appearance of great painters will be in a considerable degree accidental; yet it is not to be denied that the stimulus of demand will effect much. We must, however, look for its effects less in the production of pictorial excellence, than in the determination of the line it is to follow. A talent for painting is a gift of nature; but the selection of that branch of art in which this talent is to display itself, is greatly influenced by the public taste. If, therefore, we seek to know what species of painting is most likely to be successfully cultivated, we must enquire in what direction individual patronage will most probably tend. First in request will be portraits; landscapes, sea-pieces, and paintings of animals, will occupy a prominent place; then what, in the language of art, are called 'conversation pieces,'—subjects such as have been so beautifully illustrated by Wilkie, and in various agreeable styles by Newton, Leslie, Knight, Landseer, Collins, Inskipp, and M'Clise. Historical painting, of the old academic style, is not, and will not, be popular amongst us. Some pieces there will be of which the intrinsic excellence will force their way into public favour; but they must either descend from their epic dignity, and partake a little of the domestic interest of the 'conversation piece,' like Wilkie's 'Knox preaching,' or 'Russell's trial' by Hayter, and some paintings by Allan and Cooper,—or they must attract, like Etty's, by the graces of colouring,—or they must be such as, by their poetical power, take a strong hold upon our imaginations, like Danby's 'Passage of the Israelites,' and Martin's 'Belshazzar's Feast.'

We are often told that historical painting ought to be encouraged. We ask, 'Why?' We are informed by some, 'because it is the 'highest branch of art.' Now, in this there may be *some* truth; because, unquestionably, the production of a first-rate historical painting is a very high—if not the highest—exercise of pictorial genius; but nevertheless, in the sense in which it is commonly made and accepted, much error lurks in this assertion. The error lies in the application of the word 'high' rather to the subject, than to the manner in which it is treated—in attaching to classification an undue importance—and in giving to the accidents and accessories of painting that preeminence which is due only to the essential qualities inherent in what is universally good in art. If 'high' means difficult, an historical picture is

doubtless always a high exercise of a painter's skill; and even so, an epic poem is a high exercise of the powers of the poet. But there is no better reason for forcing the production of historical pictures, than for giving premiums for epic poems. Happily, we believe, the time is past when an epic poem was held entitled to precedence, merely because it was an epic—when it was regarded as the greatest exertion of poetical genius, not on account of the genuine spirit of poetry which it contained, but chiefly by reason of the vast amount of *un*poetical labour, ingenuity, and arrangement, which had been expended on its composition. No British successor to the Blairs of the last century would now marshal our epics in the front ranks of his poetical array, and attempt to settle the respective claims of different countries, according to the number of these literary giants which they could bring into the field. Critics have agreed that the fine and subtle spirit of poetry cannot easily be weighed and measured; and that form, bulk, and dimensions, may be omitted in their estimate. The vital spark of poetry, if embodied in a sonnet, will outlive the uninspired bulk of twenty cantos. The lamented author of an elegy on the death of Sir John Moore, has gained as sure a renown by those few stanzas, as if he had turned a hundred gazettes into verse,—described the retreat in Spain with allegories and machinery in twelve 'books,' and called it 'The Corunniad.' An improved spirit of criticism equally prevails with respect to historical painting. It is not the subject, but the manner of treating it, which is held entitled to estimation; and though perhaps less than usual is now said about the propriety of encouraging historical painting, we believe that at no time would an historical picture, really well treated, be so thoroughly appreciated by the public at large. There is, however, no reason to believe that historical painting will be much encouraged in this country by private patronage—the only patronage which it is necessary to consider; for it would be useless to take into account the very small patronage that can be expected from the Government, or from corporate bodies. That individuals will not buy pictures of a size unsuitable to the scale of their rooms, must be obvious almost to a child; but it may with equal truth be said, that there is no probability of an extensive demand for historical paintings, even of moderate dimensions. In the first place, the number of those who can relish the excellence of a really good historical painting, is much smaller than that of those who can comprehend the merits of portrait, landscape, animals, or 'still life.' Historical painting is addressed to persons of cultivated and imaginative minds, and these are comparatively few. The majority would rather see the likeness of something they have seen before, than stretch

their faculties to understand a story told on canvass, or try to imagine whether a great event in history is adequately represented in the picture before them.

But if it is difficult to attract and inform the *un*imaginative, it is also difficult, in the next place, to satisfy the imaginative. Persons of a lively and powerful imagination, the highest class of those to whom this branch of art is peculiarly addressed, are apt to form in their minds a visible image of a recorded event, to which no representation will appear comparable. Like the scene, or the music of a dream, which seem more beautiful or sublime than any scene or music that was ever viewed or heard in reality, their unembodied impressions will have a force and splendour, compared with which, the actual picture set before their eyes will probably appear tame, mean, and cold. Even if not inferior, it will at any rate be different; and this will cause a certain feeling of disappointment. How rarely do we see the imaginary representation of some great personage, real or fictitious, without feeling that it is a very inadequate personification of those great attributes with which he is invested in our minds! Though the picture is still a fiction, yet it is, as compared with our impressions, a substantial truth; and we feel the sort of disenchantment which, to every imaginative person, a descent from romance to reality too often produces. Some artists are aware of this difficulty, and prudently avoid the dangerous combat with preconceived impressions, by selecting subjects that are little known, or have hitherto excited little attention, and of which few persons have previously attempted to form to themselves a distinct image. Those artists are most safe who can grapple with subjects which scarcely any have ventured to figure to themselves,—who can far outsoar the imaginations of others, and leave spectators wondering at a distance. But those are the possessors of a rare gift,—exceptions in art, and not to be circumscribed by common rules. Such were Fuseli and Blake;—such, each different, and in a higher degree, are Martin and Danby—of which two, the former overwhelms with the vastness of his conceptions, the latter dazzles and surprises with the magic light of a poetical fancy.

In speculating upon the prospects of art, it is, perhaps, not immaterial to consider whether it is likely to be more widely cultivated; and whether there is reason to hope that its practitioners may be supplied from a more extensive circle than they are at present. 'Art,' as Mr Cunningham says with truth, 'has not 'yet become with us a fashionable profession for the gentleman 'and scholar.' The parents of the best born among our artists have belonged scarcely to the class of gentry, and many have

been of still more humble extraction. Sir Thomas Lawrence was the son of an innkeeper—Jackson, of a tailor; Gainsborough and Bird were the sons of clothiers—Opie and Romney, of carpenters—and Mortimer, of a miller. No one, of what is called 'a good family,' or nearly connected with persons of rank, has ever yet become a painter; nor is painting considered a liberal profession, and one of those which the junior members of our aristocracy are at liberty to embrace. The first nobleman in the land may practise painting as an amusement, may devote to it much of his time, and may attain a proficiency equal to that of a professional artist, without its being considered derogatory to his rank; but if the tenth son of the lowest Baron were to follow painting as a profession, there would be many well-meaning persons who would hold up their hands in surprise and horror at the degradation of such a step. They could scarcely be more shocked at his keeping a shop, than at the idea of his painting for money. Painting is treated as a mechanical art, and the man of rank would be considered to lose caste by following it. Now, without summoning to our aid that undeniable principle, that there is no real disgrace in any honest calling, or taking higher and sounder ground of argument than the customs and prejudices of society, we must say, that there seems to be something very unreasonable in this exclusion of the art of painting from the list of such professions as a gentleman is considered at liberty to follow. Why should the announcement from a nobleman that one of his younger sons discovers a strong bent for painting, and will, therefore, become a painter by profession, be answered (as it would) by a stare and a shrug, and remain a theme for wonder and reproach? Society admits that a peer may, without shame, sell the productions of his pen: why might he not dispose of the productions of his pencil? If the Honourable Mr Such-a-one, a barrister, may take guinea fees without contamination, why may he not, equally without disgrace, paint a picture, send it to an exhibition, and sell it for a hundred pounds? But literature and law, it will be said, are more dignified, useful, and important, than painting. True: nor do we claim for painting an equality with them in those respects. We only mean to show, that what is analogous in the mercenary part of the profession, has no adverse effect in the case of literature and law; and we can conceive no other grounds on which the profession of painting can be placed under the ban of society at all.

There is nothing degrading in the course of study which is necessary to prepare the student to be a successful painter. He need undergo no humiliating apprenticeship to art. It is no dull drudgery to which he is bound. He must love his art, and follow it with

enthusiasm. He must be naturally gifted, and be directed to painting by the bent of his genius, if he would hope to be eminently successful. It is not unrefined, or unintellectual. On the contrary, it is allied to refinement and intellectual pursuits. Every branch of painting requires somewhat of a poetical turn of mind—many require imagination—and some, that the artist should be conversant with society. The highest excellence in portrait-painting, for example, is unattainable, without that delicate perception of manner and expression, and the graces of deportment, which only habits of society can give. Painting is no bar to cultivation of mind; on the contrary, it is often found connected with literary ability. Our own brief history of the fine arts, contains a larger proportion of instances of the combination of pictorial with literary talents than that of any other country. Hogarth, Richardson, Reynolds, Gainsborough, Opie, Barry, Romney, Lawrence, Fuseli, and Northcote, were all men who, if they did not employ the pen much, at least evinced the power of using it with respectable ability; and we can close this list of learned artists with an eminent living example—the present President of the Royal Academy. But the caprice of society is the more remarkable and unreasonable, because, though it refuses to smile upon the painter's outset, and frowns upon the adoption of painting by those who are of gentle blood, it warmly hails the successful artist, and accords to him a social position as secure and honourable as to the untitled followers of other professions. Sir Joshua Reynolds, West, Cosway, Hoppner, and Lawrence, were the companions even of royalty, and mixed with the most aristocratic society in the land; and the same may be said of some eminent artists of the present day. We trust that the favour never withheld from such successful artists as may choose to seek it, will erelong be extended to the art. Our refusal to extend such favour, is, we fear, a proof of imperfect civilisation;—a proof that the spirit of feudalism is not yet extinct amongst us. There have been times and countries, in which no profession but that of arms was deemed worthy of a gentleman; and in some of the least civilized parts of Europe, that of law is still held to be degrading. As civilisation advances, it tends to liberalize, to break down prejudices, and to throw open a wider sphere for the exercise of each man's ability. We shall be glad if, in course of time, it throws open the study of painting to all whose circumstances forbid them to be idle, and who are directed, by the inborn gift of nature, to seek this species of employment. Since painting can be successfully cultivated only by those few who are imbued with a natural genius for the art, it is more desirable than in the

case of professions, which depend comparatively little upon a peculiar bent, that the sphere out of which its votaries are collected should be as extensive as society can make it.

Many lovers of painting sincerely regret that we have no Public Collection worthy of the country. We can sympathize not a little with the wounded spirit of national vanity, which, after contemplating the splendour of the Louvre, or of the galleries at Dresden or Munich, contrast with these magnificent and well-stored repositories the meagre homeliness of that handful of good but ill-arranged pictures which were huddled together in the National Gallery in Pall-Mall. We can enter into this feeling, and should be well pleased if we could have pointed out, as the property of the nation, to a foreign friend, who might be visiting London, something more dignified than the very small collection just mentioned. If the nation were to possess a gallery of painting, equal to that at Paris, or Dresden, or Florence, the lover of painting would, of course, rejoice in the facilities afforded him for the frequent contemplation of excellence in art, and would, as one of that body of joint-proprietors—the nation—feel a certain satisfaction in his fractional proprietorship, akin to that which he would feel, in a greater degree, in possessing a good collection exclusively his own. We sympathize with this feeling; but if seriously asked, whether we believe that the possession of a national collection of paintings, as good as those of Paris, Dresden, and Florence united, would give a vast impulse to British art,—would render the annual exhibitions of the works of our artists much better in all the essential elements of excellence than they are at present,—we cannot answer in the affirmative. Far from being certain that the effect would be favourable, we are not even without fear of the reverse. We fear the possession of such standards would tend to check the spirit of originality, and convert our artists into servile copyists. They would look more at art, and less at nature. They would gaze at excellence beyond their reach; and their emulation, depressed by the sight, would too probably prefer the safer and easier course of mechanically following in the steps of their predecessors, to the bolder effort of seeking to catch inspiration from the same source. The contemplation of certain attained and recognised beauties in painting would too probably contract their view of the domain of art—would bind them down to the narrow faith, that nothing good could be done in painting that did not resemble and conform to something approved and distinguished that had been done already—and would render them insensible to the inexhaustible wealth of that extensive sphere in which the painter may expatiate.

If we want some practical criterion, by which to judge of what a great collection would do for this country, let us ask what it has done for others. Has modern art been found to spring up refreshed and exuberant wherever a splendid public gallery has been opened? Does it thrive at Dresden and at Munich? Have even all the treasures of Italy saved the modern paintings of that land from tame mediocrity and imitative stiffness? Does that land, so long the favoured dwelling-place of art, send back its foreign pupils evidently imbued with the fruits of example, exhibiting an increased proficiency which can be attributed solely to the contemplation of Italian art? Is it so? Or is it not rather to the contemplation of nature under another and a more attractive aspect, that we may attribute all the truly remarkable proficiency and success that some of our travelled artists have attained? Wilson studied not Claude, but Italy; and the paintings of Eastlake, the most successful of our modern artists who have resided for any length of time in Italy, though they bear indisputable evidence of his having successfully studied in that country, treat subjects such as were never treated by the great masters of Italian art, and handle them in a style which these masters never exhibited; and we would say, not in disparagement of his performances, but admiring and approving, that we can conceive that they might equally have been painted, if the galleries and churches of Italy had been emptied of their treasures, and nothing were left but its picturesque people. Painting, although, like poetry, it is imaginative and inventive, is, still more than poetry, an imitative art; and it signifies much whether imitation be at second or at first hand, whether it is merely the copy of a copy, or is drawn directly from the natural object. The latter of these processes will exhibit an originality, a vigour and a truth, which in the former will be greatly wanting. Now, unquestionably, a study of even the most approved standards of excellence in painting would tend to produce that which should be rather the copy of a copy, than a performance exhibiting that subtle spirit of grace and truth, that unequivocal reflex from nature itself, which constitute the principal merit of the great originals. 'I consider general copying,' says Sir Joshua Reynolds, 'a delusive kind of industry. The student satisfies him-'self with the appearance of doing something; he falls into 'the dangerous habit of imitating without selecting, and of la-'bouring without any determinate object. As it requires no 'effort of the mind, he sleeps over his work; and those powers of 'invention and disposition, which ought particularly to be called 'out and put in action, lie torpid, and lose their energy for want 'of exercise. How incapable of producing any thing of their own

'those are who have spent most of their time in making finished 'copies, is an observation well known to all who are conversant 'with our art.' Let us not, however, be supposed to deny, that great advantage may be derived by the artist from the study of excellent paintings. They may be highly useful, if rightly treated. But in order to be profitable to modern art, they should be employed not as constant guides, but as occasional tests,—rather to correct and elevate the taste, than to exercise an influence on the minutiæ of art. The artist who would truly profit, should try rather to imbue himself with their *spirit*, than to adopt their *manner*. He should attempt, by their aid, to place himself in imagination on that vantage-ground, on which stood the great painters who conceived and executed them. From models treated in this spirit great benefit might accrue to art. But this is not, as it may at first appear, an available argument in answer to our fears respecting the probable effect of a great national collection. We must consider, not how it *may*, but how it *will* be employed; and we fear the *abuse* is more probable than the *use*. It is easy and tempting to employ these models of excellence in such a manner as would be injurious to art. For one who catches the subtle spirit of the original, and attempts to paint with a kindred feeling, twenty will exercise their ingenuity in acquiring the trick—the manner—the handling—the accessories, and not the essentials—the marks and signs by which indeed the master may be distinguished, but which do not constitute his merit. We say, therefore, not that the frequent contemplation of the works of the old masters cannot do good, but that the good is too often more than counterbalanced by the harm.

But it may be urged, that the sight of celebrated paintings may have a favourable effect, not by direct impression upon the artists, but indirectly through the public. It will raise the standard of public taste; it will create a demand for works of art of a superior class; and the artist will be stimulated to greater care and exertion by the increased fastidiousness of his employers. In this we admit there is some degree of truth, and the whole sounds plausible in theory. But it has been practically proved, that adoration of the works of the great masters of Italian art is quite compatible with the most chilling disinclination to encourage a contemporary—with the most depressing apathy towards modern merit—with the most supercilious and pedantic derision of all originality, all deviations from recognised standards. How was the proud spirit of Hogarth made to writhe under the neglect and parsimony of those would-be patrons of art, who were squandering hundreds on bad copies of the old Italian masters, of which even the originals did not display half the genius which

might have been discovered in his despised performances! His 'Strolling Actresses,' that 'wondrous picture,' as Mr Cunningham justly calls it, of which 'the wit, the humour, are without 'end;' where 'into the darkest nook the artist has put meaning, 'and there is instruction or sarcasm in all that he has introduced,' —this picture was sold for L.27, 6s. to the wealthy Beckford, who 'thought the price *too much*, and *returned* it to the painter!' In 1745, Hogarth sold this and eighteen others of his best pictures, —the paintings of the 'Harlot's Progress,' the eight paintings of the 'Rake's Progress,' and the 'Four Times of the Day,'— for L.427, 7s., or little more than L.22 a-piece. Such was the reward of the only artist of whom, at that time, England had reason to be proud. Yet these pictures wanted not such advantages as competition could afford—for they were sold by auction, and the sale, we are told, was well attended. Discouraging as was the result, Hogarth, despairing of other means, attempted, five years afterwards, to dispose also by auction of his celebrated series, the 'Marriage-à-la-mode.' The result of the experiment shall be told by the purchaser, Mr Lane:—'On the 6th of June, '1750, which was to decide the fate of this capital work, when 'I arrived at the Golden Head, expecting, as was the case at 'the sale of the Harlot's Progress, to find his study full of noble 'and great personages, I only found Hogarth and his friend Dr 'Parsons, secretary to the Royal Society. I had bid L.110; 'no one arrived; and, ten minutes before twelve, I told the 'artist I would make the pounds guineas. The clock struck, 'and Mr Hogarth wished me joy of my purchase, hoping it was 'an agreeable one; I said, perfectly so. Dr Parsons was very 'much disturbed, and Hogarth very much disappointed, and 'truly with great reason. The former told me the painter had 'hurt himself by naming so early an hour for the sale, and Ho-'garth, who overheard him, said in a marked tone and manner, '"Perhaps it may be so." I concurred in the same opinion, said 'he was poorly rewarded for his labour, and, if he chose, he 'might have till three o'clock to find a better bidder. Hogarth 'warmly accepted the offer, and Dr Parsons proposed to make it 'public. I thought this unfair, and forbade it. At one o'clock, 'Hogarth said, "I shall trespass no longer on your generosity, 'you are the proprietor, and if you are pleased with the purchase, 'I am abundantly so with the purchaser." He then desired me 'to promise that I would not dispose of the paintings without 'informing him, nor permit any person to meddle with them 'under pretence of cleaning them, as he always desired to do 'that himself. The excellence of these six noble pictures was 'acknowledged by the whole nation, and they were in frames

'worth four guineas each; yet no one felt them to be worth 'more than ninety pounds six shillings.' These six *chef-d'œuvres* of Hogarth's pencil were then valued by the public at less than a fourth of what was given at an auction a few years afterwards for a single moderately good picture,—'Sigis-'munda,' attributed to Correggio, but really by Furino, and which now owes its whole celebrity to the rivalry which it excited in Hogarth. But Hogarth was not doomed to perpetual neglect. The pictures thus contemned by the discerning public of 1750,—who professed more than at any other period to idolize the works of the old masters,—were sold in 1797 to Mr Angerstein for L.1381, and are now among the ornaments of our National Gallery. The history of the period when Hogarth lived thus affords abundant proof, that an admiration of works of established artists, and a reverence for great names, is, if not absolutely inimical to the encouragement of modern art, at any rate compatible with extreme neglect of it.

But if we are sceptical with respect to the benefits to art to be expected from the possession of a great national collection, we are not insensible to the useful stimulus afforded by frequent exhibitions of the works of living artists, and of those selections, both of old and modern art, which pass annually in review before the eyes of the public, in the rooms of the 'British Institution.' By these, interest in the fine arts is kept alive—the energies of the artist are advantageously stimulated by comparison and competition, and the taste of the public is improved. It is essential to the improvement of the taste of the public, that they should see good pictures; but it is still more essential that they should see them often, and in great variety. Frequent exhibitions do not the less tend to improve the public taste, because the majority of these pictures may be bad ones. A taste for the fine arts becomes matured and polished by the frequent exercise of the faculty of comparison; and the more extensive are the means of comparison, the more perfect will that taste become. Some connoisseurs appear to think that it is desirable to exclude the sight of all but the best models, and that the sight of bad pictures is capable of neutralizing whatever benefit to taste is derivable from good ones. We cannot admit this narrow doctrine: we hold, on the contrary, that he who has seen both good and bad, will be better able to appreciate the former, than he who has seen the former only. We should have more confidence in the taste and discrimination of one who had viewed all the manifold varieties of art, from the 'Transfiguration of Raphael,' to the lowest daub that deserves to be dignified by the name of a picture, than of one

whose attention had been exclusively occupied by twenty of the finest paintings in the world.

Since the chief object of a National Gallery is the encouragement of national art, through the improvement of the public taste—and since it is no longer a question whether we shall have one or not, it only remains to be asked, What kind of collection is to be preferred? Some will tell you it ought to be extremely select; it should contain, if possible, none but paintings of 'the highest class;' it should be such as might purify the public taste, as might guide the artist, and not mislead him; it should be a collection of such pictures as might be safely followed as models; and none but 'pictures of the highest class' can be safe models to the student in painting. Now, what is the 'highest 'class?' If the forty Royal Academicians were called upon to define it, we doubt not they would furnish a considerable number of definitions widely different. And as for its consisting of eligible models, far from assenting to this, we do not believe that any painting can be named in which it would not be possible to detect something that should render it unfit to be implicitly followed as a model for imitation. Be it remembered, too, that it can scarcely with truth be said that there is any thing absolutely high or low, or good or bad, in works of art, although the oracles of taste are often pleased to make a peremptory use of these sweeping distinctions. Even if we could render excellence in painting something much more positive and definable than it is, we should still find that it is merely comparative—that it has infinite degrees, —and that the best is merely an approximation to some ideal point of unattained and unattainable perfection. No work of art is so good that we may not find in it some imperfection; and few so bad that the acute and candid observer may not discover in them some particle of merit. Instead of the well-winnowed *élite* of a fastidious selection, from which all should be excluded except celebrated *chef-d'œuvres*, we would rather see a more numerous collection, less exquisite in quality, but more diversified. It should exhibit, as much as possible, an illustrative history of painting; it should contain at least one good specimen of every artist of merit and celebrity, both foreign and native; it should comprise all styles, all schools, all subjects. The humblest subjects, if ably treated, should find a place, as well as the most elevated. Such early specimens as might enable the visitor to trace the progress and improvement of the art, should also be included; in short, it should be a collection which, although containing much that failed to satisfy the fastidious critic, might tend to imbue the visitor with an extensive knowledge of painting—might display

to him the wide domain of art, its capabilities and varieties—might correct a narrow and exclusive taste, and a slavish veneration for great names (that blinding impression which leads some persons to think that every *soi-disant* Raphael must be good, and that no nameless picture can be worth looking at)—might give extensive exercise to the faculty of comparison, and a liberal and quick appreciation of excellence, under however humble a form it may appear before him. Such a collection would be very extensive: some will object that it would be too extensive, and that attention would be distracted by variety and number. But this is not an unavoidable evil—it is one which may be obviated by classification and dispersion. Nor would it be an evil seriously felt, except through indulgence in the foolish vanity of a very large and splendid room. The *coup-d'œil* of the Louvre is very magnificent; but it is not an example to be followed. If we had funds sufficient to build such a gallery, and pictures enough to fill it, we should decidedly prefer, instead of a gallery a quarter of a mile long, to have twenty rooms of moderate dimensions. We have sketched our *beau-ideal* of a National Collection, but without much expectations that our own in London will at any time resemble it closely. It is not probable that extensive purchases will ever be made at the public expense; and the accumulation will chiefly take place by means which will set at nought the power of selection,—namely, by gift and bequest, of which numerous examples are before us already. We have, nevertheless, stated our opinion of what such a collection ought to be, in the hope that those who may happen to agree with us, and intend to give or bequeath any paintings to the public, may promote that object by their contributions. They will remember that a picture, good of its kind, but which is not of the highest class, may, nevertheless, be an acceptable accession, if it be of a style, or school, or master, of which the National Gallery already possesses no good specimen.

Art. IV.—*Journal of a West India Proprietor.* By the late Matthew G. Lewis. 8vo. London: 1834.

THIS book possesses three recommendations—its subject, its writer, and its intrinsic agreeableness—recommendations not very powerful separately, but sufficient, when conjoined, to make us feel that it is one of those works which we would not

willingly suffer to pass unnoticed. The subject is undoubtedly interesting—but then the latest date in this journal is May 2, 1818. We require more recent information, or, at least, more full and important information, than Mr Lewis's journal either gives, or teaches us to expect. As for the name of the writer, it excites a feeling, for which *interest* is perhaps too strong a term, and for which *curiosity* is more appropriate. We may naturally feel curious to see the recorded impressions of such a person, without any expectation of being enlightened by his knowledge, or swayed by his opinions. Mr Lewis owes much of whatever celebrity his name enjoys to the barrenness of the period in which he appeared. He first gained a name during that dark interregnum of our poetical literature when Hayley and Darwin were supreme—when Cowper had ceased to write—and Scott, Byron, Moore, and Southey, had scarcely emerged above the literary horizon. It was exactly the moment for a man like Lewis to obtain popularity; and he did obtain it, but not in a manner which entitled his popularity to be very long-lived. He startled by an eccentricity which was called original, and pampered a morbid appetite for strong excitement. Our literature had then its 'Reign of Terror.' We know not whether *Monk* Lewis or Mrs Radcliffe is most entitled to be considered the harmless Robespierre of this gloomy time—and the palm of preeminence is not worth settling. To whichever it might be due, we owe them little thanks for their endeavours to inspire adult readers with the half-forgotten terrors of their nursery days; and for staking their success so largely upon the excitement of no nobler passion of the mind than fear. Of the lady, however, it is but justice to say, that her writings were free from those impurities with which Lewis's 'wonder-working' system was mixed up. As for him, he too often wrote in a style which might have befitted the amorous Goule of Arabian fiction, who supped with the sorceress by the side of a grave—if that Goule could have turned author. It had not even the merit of being original, for the source of these horrors was German. Lewis was familiar with the language of Germany, but he turned his knowledge to poor account. In that temporary dearth of native originality, we would gladly have received some invigorating contributions from so fertile a source. But whilst some were culling the mawkish sentimentalities of German fiction, Lewis was transplanting nothing but its horrors. *Diablerie* and exaggerated sentiment became inextricably associated, in the minds of all save a discerning few, with the rich literature of that land;—the lash of the 'Anti-Jacobin' was deservedly incurred, and the study of

German literature as undeservedly retarded. Lewis, however, certainly was a popular writer. He is mentioned in the titlepage of this posthumous work as author of 'The Monk,' 'The Castle Spectre,' 'Tales of Wonder,' &c.,—poor passports to fame, if this were all. But it is only justice to say, that his works, not here named, deserve more praise than the three which are;—the 'Bravo of Venice,' (for instance, though it is not original,) a Tragedy, and some of his Poems. The 'Monk,' with all its notoriety, was a poor book, which, like persecuted sedition, was perhaps rather raised than depressed by its demerits; and never could have been regarded as dangerously seductive, if it had not been banished from decent drawingrooms.

As a Member of Parliament, Lewis seems to have been a cipher; and, if we may judge by the testimony of his friends, he was little more important as a member of society. The goodnature of Sir Walter Scott endeavoured to treat it as a matter of congratulation, that he was one 'whose faults are only ridicu-'lous;' while Lord Byron, on hearing of his death, poured forth his friendship in the coarse assertions that he was 'a d—d bore,—'tedious as well as contradictory to every thing and every body;' and concluded this tribute with the consistent couplet, which, separated from the context, has been thought worthy of insertion as a motto in the titlepage of this work—

> 'I would give many a sugar-cane,
> Monk Lewis were alive again.'

Lewis appears to have been regarded as thoroughly kind-hearted—boyish in character as in appearance, and alive to all the generous impulses of amiable childhood—as one for whom even his cleverness could not obtain respect, but whose goodness of disposition made it difficult not to like him.

In no more imposing light than this stood the name of Lewis, in the eye of the world, previous to the publication of the present work. But its position is now improved. It is not easy to believe that the writer of this agreeable Journal could have been 'tedious' and 'contradictory.' It seems to afford evidence which it is difficult to resist, that the writer was not only a pleasant companion, but a sensible and practical man—keen-sighted without bitterness—a good-natured noter of passing absurdities, without any cynical disposition to censure—seeing things through no discoloured medium of sentimentality or romance, but taking a plain, correct, man-of-the-world's view of all that passed around him. This Journal also tends to raise his literary reputation. We believe it to have been an unstudied production, never intended for publication; but whether this was strictly the case or not, it stands

high among works of a similar kind, for grace, lightness, pleasantry, descriptive power, felicity of expression, and conversational fluency and freedom. We will give a few extracts in support of our praise. Most of those who have had experience complain of the tedium and monotony of a sea voyage. Yet the recital of a rather tedious and unprosperous voyage by no means partakes of this quality in Mr Lewis's Journal; and though fifty pages are occupied in relating it, we are not impatient to get on shore. His 'miseries' are made amusing in the same vein of humour with which various minor miseries were rendered mirthful in Mr Beresford's pleasant book. He thus bewails the perversities of the weather:—

'The weather continues intolerable. Boisterous waves running mountains high, with no wind, or a foul one. Dead calms by day, which prevent our making any progress; and violent storms by night, which prevent our getting any sleep.

'Every thing is in a state of perpetual motion. "*Nulla quies intus* (nor *outus* indeed for the matter of that), *nullâque silentia parte.*" We drink our tea exactly as Tantalus did in the infernal regions; we keep bobbing at the basin for half an hour together without being able to get a drop; and certainly nobody on ship-board can doubt the truth of the proverb, "Many things fall out between the cup and the lip."'

'The wind continues contrary, and the weather is as disagreeable and perverse as it can well be; indeed, I understand that in these latitudes nothing can be expected but heavy gales or dead calms, which make them particularly pleasant for sailing, especially as the calms are by far the most disagreeable of the two: the wind steadies the ship; but when she creeps as slowly as she does at present (scarcely going a mile in four hours), she feels the whole effect of the sea breaking against her, and rolls backwards and forwards with every billow as it rises and falls. In the meanwhile, every thing seems to be in a state of the most active motion, except the ship; while we are carrying a spoonful of soup to our mouths, the remainder takes the "glorious golden opportunity" to empty itself into our laps, and the glasses and salt-cellars carry on a perpetual domestic warfare during the whole time of dinner, like the Guelphs and the Ghibellines. Nothing is so common as to see a roast goose suddenly jump out of its dish in the middle of dinner, and make a frisk from one end of the table to the other; and we are quite in the habit of laying wagers which of the two boiled fowls will arrive at the bottom first.

'N.B. To-day the fowl without the liver wing was the favourite, but the knowing ones were taken in; the uncarved one carried it hollow.'

A storm is thus described:—

'At one this morning, a violent gust of wind came on; and, at the rate of ten miles an hour, carried us through the Chops of the Channel, formed by the Scilly Rocks and the Isle of Ushant. But I thought that the advance was dearly purchased by the terrible night which the storm

made us pass. The wind roaring, the waves dashing against the stern, till at last they beat in the quarter gallery; the ship, too, rolling from side to side, as if every moment she were going to roll over and over! Mr J—— was heaved off one of the sofas, and rolled along, till he was stopped by the table. He then took his seat upon the floor, as the more secure position; and half an hour afterwards, another heave chucked him back again upon the sofa. The captain snuffed out one of the candles, and both being tied to the table, could not relight it with the other: so the steward came to do it; when a sudden heel of the ship made him extinguish the second candle, tumbled him upon the sofa on which I was lying, and made the candle which he had brought with him fly out of the candlestick, through a cabin window at his elbow; and thus we were all left in the dark. Then the intolerable noise! the cracking of bulk-heads! the sawing of ropes! the screeching of the tiller! the trampling of the sailors! the clattering of the crockery! Every thing above deck and below deck, all in motion at once! Chairs, writing-desks, books, boxes, bundles, fire-irons and fenders, flying to one end of the room; and the next moment (as if they had made a mistake) flying back again to the other with the same hurry and confusion! "Confusion worse confounded!" Of all the inconveniences attached to a vessel, the incessant noise appears to me the most insupportable! As to our live stock, they seem to have made up their minds on the subject, and say with one of Ariosto's knights (when he was cloven from the head to the chine), "*or convien morire.*" Our fowls and ducks are screaming and quacking their last by dozens; and by Tuesday morning, it is supposed that we shall not have an animal alive in the ship, except the black terrier—and my friend the squeaking pig, whose vocal powers are still audible, maugre the storm and the sailors, and who (I verily believe) only continues to survive out of spite, because he can join in the general chorus, and help to increase the number of abominable sounds.

'We are now tossing about in the Bay of Biscay: I shall remember it as long as I live. The "beef-eater's front" could never have "beamed more terrible" upon Don Ferolo Whiskerandos, "in Biscay's Bay, when he took him prisoner," than Biscay's Bay itself will appear to *me* the next time that I approach it.'

By way of contrast, take the annoyances of a calm, which seem equally unable to disturb his equanimity:—

'Our wind is like Lady Townley's separate allowance: "that little has been made less;" or, rather, it has dwindled away to nothing. We are now so absolutely becalmed, that I begin seriously to suspect all the crew of being Phæacians; and that at this identical moment Neptune is amusing himself by making the ship take root in the ocean; a trick which he played once before to a vessel (they say) in the days of Ulysses. I have got some locust plants on board in pots: if we continue to sail as slowly as we have done for the last week, before we reach Jamaica my plants will be forest trees, little Jem, the cabin-boy, will have been obliged to shave, and the black terrier will have died of old age long ago.'

The following is an amusing sketch of the intellectual occupations of the crew :—

'On this day, from a sense of propriety no doubt, as well as from having nothing else to do, all the crew in the morning betook themselves to their studies. The carpenter was very seriously spelling a comedy; Edward was engaged with "The Six Princesses of Babylon;" a third was amusing himself with a tract "On the Management of Bees;" another had borrowed the cabin-boy's "Sorrows of Werter," and was reading it aloud to a large circle—some whistling—and others yawning; and Werter's abrupt transitions, and exclamations, and raptures, and refinements, read in the same loud monotonous tone, and without the slightest respect paid to stops, had the oddest effect possible. "She did not look at me; I thought my heart would burst; the coach drove off; she looked out of the window; was that look meant for me? yes it was; perhaps it might be; do not tell me that it was not meant for me. Oh, my friend, my friend, am I not a fool, a madman?" ("This part is rather stupid, or so, you see, but no matter for that; where was I? oh!") "I am now sure, Charlotte loves me: I prest my hand on my heart; I said, 'Klopstock;' yes, Charlotte loves me; what! does Charlotte love me? oh, rapturous thought! my brain turns round:—Immortal powers—how!—what!—oh, my friend, my friend," &c. &c. &c. I was surprised to find that (except Edward's Fairy Tale) none of them were reading works that were at all likely to amuse them (Smollett or Fielding, for instance), or any which might interest them as relating to their profession, such as voyages and travels; much less any which had the slightest reference to the particular day. However, as most of them were reading what they could not possibly understand, they might mistake them for books of devotion, for any thing they knew to the contrary; or, perhaps, they might have so much reverence for all books in print, as to think that, provided they did but read something, it was doing a good work, and it did not much matter what. So one of Congreve's fine ladies swears Mrs Mincing, the waiting maid, to secrecy, "upon an odd volume of Messalina's Poems." Sir Dudley North, too, informs us, (or is it his brother Roger? but I mean the Turkey merchant)—that at Constantinople the respect for printed books is so great, that when people are sick, they fancy that they can be *read* into health again; and if the Koran should not be in the way, they will make a shift with a few verses of the Bible, or a chapter or two of the Talmud, or of any other book that comes first to hand, rather than not read something. I think Sir Dudley says, that he himself cured an old Turk of the toothach, by administering a few pages of "Ovid's Metamorphoses;" and in an old receipt-book, we are directed for the cure of a double tertian fever, "to drink plentifully of cock-broth, and sleep with the Second Book of the Iliad under the pillow." If, instead of sleeping with it under the pillow, the doctor had desired us to read the Second Book of the Iliad in order that we *might* sleep, I should have had some faith in his prescription myself.'

Though amused during the voyage, the reader will be most interested by the accounts of negro life in the West Indies. These

are abundant; for Lewis seems to have been very observant, to have lived much among his negroes, and to have evinced an amiable desire to render himself conversant with their habits and feelings,—to learn their wants, and ameliorate their condition. Whatever may have been the errors of his head, it is impossible not to esteem the man who has shown such genuine benevolence of heart. Nevertheless, this Journal does not afford much that can be called information, and it is difficult to draw from it any general inferences. It is an evil commonly attendant upon journals, that, recording as they do the impressions of the moment, they are not unfrequently contradictory in their tone, do not generalize and abstract, and do not give us the conclusion at which the writer arrives upon a reconsideration of all that he has witnessed. This is more especially the case, when the work is one emanating from a sensitive and imaginative mind, easily wrought upon, and deriving its colour from the passing events.

There was much of this chameleon-like quality in the mind of Lewis; and he was disposed by nature rather to observe what played upon the surface, than to attempt to penetrate beneath. In his estimate of the condition and happiness of the West India negro, he was perhaps too much inclined to accept as a criterion that light-hearted gaiety in moments of relaxation, and that noisy exhibition of child-like mirth, which is not incompatible with degradation and oppression, and is greatly the result of natural temperament. That negro slaves seem very happy, a great deal of concurrent testimony compels us to believe; but to use this appearance as a serious argument in defence of their condition, is as little reasonable as it would be to cite the gambols of May-day chimney-sweepers as a proof of the humanity with which climbing-boys are treated. It is highly creditable to Lewis's feelings, that even the noisy gaiety, which his arrival and the subsequent holiday created, could not blind and reconcile him to the sight and sound of slavery.

'Soon after my reaching the lodging-house at Savannah la Mar, a remarkably clean-looking negro lad presented himself with some water and a towel: I concluded him to belong to the inn; and, on my returning the towel, as he found that I took no notice of him, he at length ventured to introduce himself, by saying,—"Massa not know me; *me your slave!*" —and really the sound made me feel a pang at the heart. The lad appeared all gaiety and good humour, and his whole countenance expressed anxiety to recommend himself to my notice; but the word "slave" seemed to imply, that, although he did feel pleasure then in serving me, if he had detested me he must have served me still. I really felt quite humiliated at the moment, and was tempted to tell him,—"Do not say that again; say that you are my negro, but do not call yourself my slave."'

His presence and indulgence produced, in these excitable people, an expression of pleasure which delighted him.

'Certainly (he says) they at least play their parts with such an air of truth, and warmth, and enthusiasm, that, after the cold hearts and repulsive manners of England, the contrast is infinitely agreeable.

"Je ne vois que des yeux toujours prêts à sourire."

'I find it quite impossible to resist the fascination of the conscious pleasure of pleasing; and my own heart, which I have so long been obliged to keep closed, seems to expand itself again in the sunshine of the kind looks and words which meet me at every turn, and seem to wait for mine as anxiously as if they were so many diamonds.'

The kind-hearted proprietor seems, however, to have relaxed discipline a little too suddenly; and to have unwisely imagined, that his slaves, having tasted the charms of indulgence, ought to work the harder afterwards, and be more orderly and obedient, out of gratitude to him.

'Since my arrival in Jamaica, I am not conscious of having omitted any means of satisfying my negroes, and rendering them happy and secure from oppression. I have suffered no person to be punished, except the two female demons who almost bit a girl's hands off (for which they received a slight switching), and the most worthless rascal on the estate, whom for manifold offences I was compelled, for the sake of discipline, to allow to pass two days in the bilboes. I have never refused a favour that I could possibly grant. I have listened patiently to all complaints. I have increased the number of negro holidays, and have given away money and presents of all kinds incessantly. Now for my reward. On Saturday morning there were no fewer than forty-five persons (not including children) in the hospital; which makes nearly a fifth of my whole gang. Of these, the medical people assured me that not above seven had any thing whatever the matter with them; the rest were only feigning sickness out of mere idleness, and in order to sit doing nothing, while their companions were forced to perform their part of the estate-duty. And sure enough, on Sunday morning they all walked away from the hospital to amuse themselves, except about seven or eight: they will, perhaps, go to the field for a couple of days; and on Wednesday we may expect to have them all back again, complaining of pains, which (not existing) it is not possible to remove. Jenny (the girl whose hands were bitten) was told by the doctoress, that having been in the hospital all the week, she ought not, for very shame, to go out on Sunday. She answered, "She wanted to go to the mountains, and go she would." "Then," said the doctoress, "you must not come back again on Monday at least." "Yes," Jenny said, "she *should* come back;" and back this morning Jenny came. But as her wounds were almost completely well, she had tied packthread round them so as to cut deep into the flesh, had rubbed dirt into them, and, in short, had played such tricks as nearly to produce a mortification in one of her fingers.'

Again he says, but in a tone of perfect good-humour,—

'The negroes certainly are perverse beings. They had been praying for a sight of their master year after year; they were in raptures at my arrival. I have suffered no one to be punished, and shown them every possible indulgence during my residence amongst them; and, one and all, they declare themselves perfectly happy and well treated. Yet, previous to my arrival, they made thirty-three hogsheads a-week; in a fortnight after my landing, their product dwindled to twenty-three; during this last week they have managed to make but thirteen. Still they are not ungrateful, they are only selfish; they love me very well, but they love themselves a great deal better; and, to do them justice, I verily believe that every negro on the estate is extremely anxious that all should do their full duty, except himself. My censure, although accompanied with the certainty of their not being punished, is by no means a matter of indifference. If I express myself to be displeased, the whole property is in an uproar; every body is finding fault with every body; nobody that does not represent the shame of neglecting my work, and the ingratitude of vexing me by their ill conduct: and then each individual—having said so much, and said it so strongly, that he is convinced of its having its full effect in making the others do their duty—thinks himself quite safe and snug in skulking away from his own.'

Experience, however, made him wiser;—not less benevolent, but more judicious in his benevolence. The foregoing passage was written in the spring of 1816. He visited Jamaica again the following year; and, on the 14th of July, 1818, we find the following gratifying entry:—

'I think that I really may now venture to hope that my plans for the management of my estate have succeeded beyond even my most sanguine expectations. I have now passed three weeks with my negroes, the doors of my house open all day long, and full liberty allowed to every person to come and speak to me without witnesses or restraint; yet not one man or woman has come to me with a single complaint. On the contrary, all my enquiries have been answered by an assurance, that during the two years of my absence my regulations were adhered to most implicitly, and that, "except for the pleasure of seeing massa," there was no more difference in treatment than if I had remained upon the estate. Many of them have come to tell me instances of kindness which they have received from one or other of their superintendents; others, to describe some severe fit of illness, in which they must have died but for the care taken of them in the hospital; some, who were weakly and low-spirited on my former visit, to show me how much they are improved in health, and tell me "how they keep up heart now, because since massa come upon the property, nobody put upon them, and all go well;" and some, who had formerly complained of one trifle or other, to take back their complaints, and say, that they wanted no change, and were willing to be employed in any way that might be thought most for the good of the estate; but although I have now at least *seen* every

one of them, and have conversed with numbers, I have not yet been able to find one person who had so much as even an imaginary grievance to lay before me. Yet I find that it has been found necessary to punish with the lash, although only in a very few instances; but then this only took place on the commission of absolute *crimes*, and in cases where its necessity and justice were so universally felt, not only by others, but by the sufferers themselves, that instead of complaining, they seem only to be afraid of their offence coming to my knowledge. To prevent which, they affect to be more satisfied and happy than all the rest; and now when I see a mouth grinning from ear to ear with a more than ordinary expansion of jaw, I never fail to find, on enquiry, that its proprietor is one of those who have been punished during my absence. I then take care to give them an opportunity of making a complaint, if they should have any to make; but no, not a word comes; "every thing has gone on perfectly well, and just as it ought to have done." Upon this, I drop a slight hint of the offence in question, and instantly away goes the grin, and down falls the negro to kiss my feet, confess his fault, and "beg massa forgib, and them never do so bad thing more to fret massa, and them beg massa pardon, hard, quite hard!" But not one of them has denied the justice of his punishment, or complained of undue severity on the part of his superintendents. On the other hand, although the lash has thus been in a manner utterly abolished, except in cases where a much severer punishment would have been inflicted by the police, and although they are aware of this unwillingness to chastise, my trustee acknowledges that during my absence the negroes have been quiet and tractable, and have not only laboured as well as they used to do, but have done much more work than the negroes on an adjoining property, where there are forty more negroes, and where, moreover, a considerable sum is paid for hired assistance.'

In spite of the alleged necessity of the lash, we find the following satisfactory statement of the successful substitution of another species of punishment:—

'During the whole three weeks of my absence, only two negroes have been complained of for committing fault. The first was a domestic quarrel between two Africans; Hazard stole Frank's calabash of sugar, which Frank had previously stolen out of my boiling-house. So Frank broke Hazard's head, which in my opinion settled the matter so properly, that I declined spoiling it by any interference of my own. The other complaint was more serious. Toby, being ordered to load the cart with canes, answered, "I won't"—and Toby was as good as his word. In consequence of which, the mill stopped for want of canes, and the boiling-house stopped for want of liquor. I found on my return that for this offence Toby had received six lashes, which Toby did not mind three straws. But as his fault amounted to an act of downright rebellion, I thought that it ought not by any means to be passed over so lightly, and that Toby ought to be *made* to mind. I took no notice for some days; but the Easter holidays had been deferred till my return, and only began here on Friday last. On that day, as soon as the head governor had

blown the shell, and dismissed the negroes till Monday morning, he requested the pleasure of Mr Toby's company to the hospital, where he locked him up in a room by himself. All Saturday and Sunday the estate rang with laughing, dancing, singing, and huzzaing. Salt-fish was given away in the morning; the children played at ninepins for jackets and petticoats in the evening; rum and sugar was denied to no one. The gumbys thundered; the kitty-katties clattered; all was noise and festivity; and all this while, "qualis mœrens Philomela," sat solitary Toby, gazing at his four white walls! Toby had not minded the lashes; but the loss of his amusement, and the disgrace of his exclusion from the fête, operated on his mind so forcibly, that when on the Monday morning his door was unlocked, and the chief governor called him to his work, not a word would he deign to utter; let who would speak, there he sat motionless, silent, and sulky. However, upon my going down to him myself, his voice thought proper to return, and he began at once to complain of his seclusion, and justify his conduct. But he no sooner opened his lips than the whole hospital opened theirs to censure his folly, asking him how he could presume to justify himself when he knew that he had done wrong? and advising him to humble himself and beg my pardon; and their clamours were so loud and so general, (Mrs Sappho, his wife, being one of the loudest, who not only "gave it him on both sides of his ears," but enforced her arguments by a knock on the pate now and then,) that they fairly drove the evil spirit out of him; he confessed his fault with great penitence, engaged solemnly never to commit such another, and set off to his work full of gratitude for my granting him forgiveness. I am more and more convinced every day, that the best and easiest mode of governing negroes (and governed by some mode or other they must be) is not by the detestable lash, but by confinement, solitary or otherwise; they cannot bear it, and the memory of it seems to make a lasting impression upon their minds, while the lash makes none but upon their skins, and lasts no longer than the mark. The order at my hospital is, that no negro should be denied admittance; even if no symptoms of illness appear, he is allowed one day to rest, and take physic, if he choose it. On the second morning, if the physician declares the man to be shamming, and the plea of illness is still alleged against going to work, then the negro is locked up in a room with others similarly circumstanced, where care is taken to supply him with food, water, physic, &c., and no restraint is imposed, except that of not going out. Here he is suffered to remain unmolested as long as he pleases, and he is only allowed to leave the hospital upon his own declaration that he is well enough to go to work, when the door is opened, and he walks away unreproached and unpunished, however evident his deception may have been. Before I adopted this regulation, the number of patients used to vary from thirty to forty-five, not more than a dozen of whom perhaps had any thing the matter with them; the number at this moment is but fourteen, and all are sores, burns, or complaints the reality of which speaks for itself. Some few persevering tricksters will still submit to be locked up for a day or two; but their patience never fails to be wearied out by the fourth morning, and I have not yet met with an instance of a patient who had once been locked up with a ficti-

tious illness, returning to the hospital except with a real one. In general, they offer to take a day's rest and physic, promising to go out to work the next day, and on these occasions they have uniformly kept their word. Indeed, my hospital is now in such good order, that the physician told the trustee the other day, that "mine gave him less trouble than any hospital in the parish." My boilers, too, who used to make sugar the colour of mahogany, are now making excellent; and certainly, if appearances may be trusted, and things will but last, I may flatter myself with the complete success of my system of management, as far as the time elapsed is sufficient to warrant an opinion. I only wish from my soul that I were but half as certain of the good treatment and good behaviour of the negroes at Hordley.'

We are happy to think that the humane conviction, expressed more than fifteen years ago by Mr Lewis, '*that the best and easiest* '*mode of governing negroes is not by the detestable lash*,' should have so far spread, and should have produced such fruits, as to enable Mr Stanley, in the House of Commons, on the 17th of March in the present year, to make the following gratifying statement:—'That the Court of Policy of Demerara, composed 'in a great measure, as to one moiety at least, of colonial planters, utterly unconnected by any tie with Government, and not 'very sparing, in the course of the last few years, in venting their 'feelings of disgust at some of their measures, had unanimously 'passed an ordinance, without one dissentient voice, *abolishing*, 'from the 1st of March, 1834, *the power of the masters to inflict* '*corporal punishment to any extent and for any cause whatever*; 'thus, by five months, *anticipating* one of the principal enactments of the British Legislature.'

Other highly agreeable communications were made in the same speech. It was stated, on the authority of two Despatches from the governor of Demerara, that the total number of punishments awarded in two districts of that colony during the month of December, 1833, amounted only to thirteen; 'no one 'of them being of a corporal nature, and varying from one to 'three weeks' imprisonment;' and, farther, that the total number of complaints laid before the Slave Protector during the same 'time, from 80,000 slaves against their masters, amounted also 'to thirteen; while all of them were of the most trivial and insignificant nature.' It was besides stated, on the authority of the same Despatches, that there had been an increased quantity of colonial produce during the last year, though the season had not been peculiarly favourable; which increased quantity 'is *solely* '*attributable to the increased goodwill and diligence of the slaves*; 'and this goodwill and diligence of the slaves, are the *consequences* of the *milder treatment they now experience, and the* '*cheering prospect they have before them*.'

May we presume to ask the prompt advertiser of this volume,

in a certain Quarterly Journal, how, supposing he had not been in such haste to announce it to the public before the public could read it, he would have contrived to reconcile the above statements with those views of the late great measure, in which he indulges? Here we have it proclaimed officially, that the colonists of Demerara had themselves 'anticipated one of the princi-'pal enactments of our Legislature;'—one of the principal provisions of a measure which, according to this candid gentleman, was the unfortunate result of the Ministry having 'succumbed to 'pertinacity, ignorance, rashness, blind audacity, mean shuffling 'and intriguery, and hot, heavy, dogged stupidity!'

Before we close our notice of this work, we must extract the following specimen of slavery in the 'good old times,'—times long anterior to those 'last ten years,' on the history of which, as the enlightened philanthropist above alluded to assures us, 'fu-'ture times will pause with mingled wonder, contempt, and pity.'

'There is a popular negro song, the burden of which is,—

"Take him to the Gulley! Take him to the Gulley!
But bringee back the frock and board."—
"Oh! massa, massa! me no deadee yet!"—
"Take him to the Gulley! Take him to the Gulley!
Carry him along!"

This alludes to a transaction which took place some thirty years ago, on an estate in this neighbourhood, called Spring-Garden; the owner of which (I think the name was Bedward) is quoted as the cruelest proprietor that ever disgraced Jamaica. It was his constant practice, whenever a sick negro was pronounced incurable, to order the poor wretch to be carried to a solitary vale upon his estate, called the Gulley, where he was thrown down, and abandoned to his fate; which fate was generally to be half-devoured by the john-crows, before death had put an end to his sufferings. By this proceeding the avaricious owner avoided the expense of maintaining the slave during his last illness; and in order that he might be as little a loser as possible, he always enjoined the negro bearers of the dying man to strip him naked before leaving the Gulley, and not to forget to bring back his frock and the board on which he had been carried down. One poor creature, while in the act of being removed, screamed out most piteously "that he was not dead yet;" and implored not to be left to perish in the Gulley in a manner so horrible. His cries had no effect upon his master, but operated so forcibly on the less marble hearts of his fellow-slaves, that in the night some of them removed him back to the negro village privately, and nursed him there with so much care, that he recovered, and left the estate unquestioned and undiscovered. Unluckily, one day the master was passing through Kingston, when, on turning the corner of a street suddenly, he found himself face to face with the negro, whom he had supposed long ago to have been picked to the bones in the Gulley of Spring-Garden. He immediately seized him, claimed him as his slave, and ordered his attendants to convey him to his house; but the fellow's cries attracted a crowd

round them, before he could be dragged away. He related his melancholy story, and the singular manner in which he had recovered his life and liberty; and the public indignation was so forcibly excited by the shocking tale, that Mr Bedward was glad to save himself from being torn to pieces by a precipitate retreat from Kingston, and never ventured to advance his claim to the negro a second time.'

There is a good deal of pleasing poetry interspersed throughout this volume, of which the following stanzas of a song, forming part of a metrical tale, called 'The Isle of Devils,' may serve as an example.

1.

'When summer smiled on Goa's bowers,
They seem'd so fair;
All light the skies, all bloom the flowers,
All balm the air!
The mock-bird swell'd his amorous lay,
Soft, sweet, and clear;
And all was beauteous, all was gay,
For *she* was near.

2.

'But now the skies in vain are bright
With Summer's glow;
The pea-dove's call to Love's delight
Augments my woe;
And blushing roses vainly bloom;
Their charms are fled,
And all is sadness, all is gloom,
For *she* is dead!'

In conclusion, we must add, that the pleasant impression which this work has produced, makes us desire to learn more respecting Mr Lewis. The man who left so good a journal, must have been an agreeable correspondent. He had, moreover, many distinguished literary friends. Did he correspond with them? and are any of his letters preserved and producible? If so, they would probably be found interesting. We should be glad, too, to see something of the nature of a memoir; and hope we may draw a favourable augury with respect to the probable appearance of some such production, even from the laconic brevity of the 'advertise-'ment' to this journal; for, assuredly, it cannot be supposed that the reading world will be quite satisfied with being informed merely, that 'the following Journals of two residences in Ja-'maica, in 1815-16, and in 1817, are now printed from the MS. 'of Mr Lewis, who died at sea, on the voyage homewards 'from the West Indies, in the year 1818.'

Art. V.—1. *Historical Researches into the Politics, Intercourse, and Trade of the Carthaginians, Ethiopians, and Egyptians.* By A. H. L. Heeren, Professor of History in the University of Goettingen. Translated from the German. 2 vols. 8vo. Oxford: 1832.

2. *Historical Researches into the Politics, Intercourse, and Trade of the Principal Nations of Antiquity.* By A. H. L. Heeren, Professor of History in the University of Goettingen. Translated from the German. Asiatic Nations. 3 vols. 8vo. Oxford: 1833.

These five volumes contain a translation of the fourth edition of the celebrated *Ideen* of Professor Heeren. The title of the second portion of the translation ought to stand as the title of the whole; but it appears that the translation of the two volumes on the African Nations was published as a separate work, when no purpose was entertained of translating the remainder. The circumstance, that the two portions of the work were thus translated separately, and presented separately to the English reader, has occasioned some dislocation of the parts. In the original, the disquisitions on the Asiatic nations precede those on the African states; and the latter contain very frequent references to the former. An English student, therefore, who begins with the portion of the translation first published, will be somewhat perplexed by finding himself in the midst of a connected series of investigations. The General Introduction to the whole work, which contains Heeren's views of the origin of civil government in the nations of antiquity, of the political influence of religion, and of the distinctive characters of ancient and modern commerce, has been removed from its place, and prefixed to the volume on the Carthaginians. Of course, if the work in its English garb attracts the attention which it deserves, a second edition will give the opportunity of correcting these accidental changes, and of restoring the work to its original form.

In the two volumes of the translation which were first published, we had noted sundry inaccuracies and errors; but we were disarmed of our critical weapons, when we discovered, by the address prefixed to the second part of the translation, that the translator of the former part was the publisher himself—Mr Talboys. All students of classical antiquity in this country, and especially the students of the University of Oxford, are indebted to Mr Talboys for the judgment and the zeal which he has exerted in endeavouring to make the works of Heeren accessible to English readers.

He first reprinted, with corrections and emendations, an American translation of the Sketch of the Political History of Ancient Greece; a treatise which made a part of the earlier editions of the *Ideen*. He then published, in like manner, a reprint of a translation of the Manual of Ancient History, with corrections and alterations supplied by Professor Heeren himself. He afterwards himself became a translator, and presented an English version of the two volumes on the Nations of Africa. These were speedily followed by the three volumes on the Asiatic Nations. The greater part of these volumes has been translated, we are told, by more professed scholars than Mr Talboys; but we conceive that it is to his good example that we are indebted for the benefit of their labours. And finally, we observe that Mr Talboys has continued to exercise his function as the introducer of Heeren to the English public, by publishing a translation of the Historical Manual of the Political System of the States of Europe and of their Colonies, since the discovery of the Indies. The discernment and the enterprise which he has manifested in the publication of this series of translations of works so valuable as Heeren's, raise him above the mere mercantile character of his vocation, and entitle him to be considered as a promoter of learning in this country. We trust that his labours are appreciated, as they deserve to be, in the venerable seat of learning to which he has attached himself.

The translations which are now before us have been revised by Professor Heeren himself, and have received his sanction. Some articles are added in the Appendix, which were not published with the German work. Among these are two very valuable dissertations, on the Commerce of Palmyra, and on the Ancient Commerce of the Island of Ceylon, which were written by Heeren in Latin. He has supplied, likewise, some articles which have never been published before.

We wish to present to our readers a brief summary of the contents of the whole work. The researches which are pursued in it are so various, and involve such abundant references, not merely to ancient authors, but to the narratives of modern travellers, that a complete examination of it would be a labour of great difficulty and great length. We shall, therefore, point out the general course of Heeren's investigations; and we shall direct the attention of the student to those theories which are the most original and the most ingenious, and which appear to be supported by adequate proof; but we shall do more than intimate our doubts, where the learned writer seems to have built upon his authorities more than the foundations will bear.

In the General Introduction, Heeren speculates upon the ori-

gin of civil society and of government. We are not disposed to controvert the theory by which civil government is traced up to patriarchal and paternal authority; but it was, certainly, with some degree of doubt that we encountered the position, that the formation of cities implied the original equality of the citizens, and necessarily involved a democratical constitution; and our incredulity became astonishment, when we found this hypothesis followed by the conclusion, that Senates or Councils were of later origin than General Assemblies of the citizens, and that the appointment of Magistrates, with special offices and powers, was a yet later fruit of social experience. However specious this theory may seem, we believe that it is in direct contradiction to all that we know, from historical tradition, of the earliest constitution of the cities of Greece and Italy. Surely hereditary Chiefs (for such in all cases were the earliest Magistrates, even of the cities), and Councils of the Elders, were institutions derived from the patriarchal form of society. These speculations apply to the republican states of the ancient world. The great monarchies were formed by conquest. The conquering people held a supremacy over the subject nations; but in order to effect their conquests, and maintain their dominion, it was necessary that they themselves should be subject to a military despotism.

Throughout his work, Heeren insists strongly upon the intimate connexion of religion with the polity of the nations of antiquity. It is a profound and most instructive observation, that, the further back we trace the history of any nation, the greater appears to be the influence of religion upon the civil government. Even in the smallest republics, the sentiment of a common religion was necessary as a bond of union among the citizens. All others were liable to be broken by the dissensions of parties. But the bitterest political opponents acknowledged that they were the children of one mother, when they assisted at the customary rites of their native gods, and worshipped in the temples erected by the piety of their ancestors. Religion was, in an especial degree, the principle of unity in all the confederations of antiquity, and infused into them a spirit of *nationality*. Thus the temple of the Tyrian Hercules became the centre of the Phœnician league; that of Jupiter Latialis of the Latin confederacy; and the Greeks, notwithstanding their perpetual contests, felt that they were one people, when they were assembled to celebrate the festival of the Olympian Jupiter.

In the great monarchies, which were composed of a mixed multitude of nations of different religions, religion could not act as a bond of union; but it was of the greatest importance, inasmuch as it interposed the only species of legislation which had power

to moderate the despotism of the military rulers. It frequently happened, that among the sovereign people, before they issued as conquerors from their own abodes, peculiar veneration had been paid to a sacerdotal caste; and, though the inevitable effect of foreign conquest was to elevate the military order and its chiefs above the priestly order, the priests still retained sufficient influence to act as a wholesome check upon the monarch, and their interposition might be beneficial not only to their own people, but indirectly to the remotest subjects of the empire.

Heeren's investigation of the ancient state of Egypt affords a full illustration of these general principles. He shows, that in that most ancient monarchy, religion was the great bond of national unity, and the great check upon the power of the kings.

The commerce of the ancient nations is the point to which Heeren's researches are mainly directed. He does not venture to investigate the origin of commerce, but wisely contents himself with pointing out the circumstances which distinguish the commerce of antiquity from that of modern times. Modern commerce is carried on chiefly by sea; ancient commerce was, for the most part, an intercourse by land. Heeren conceives that it is the discovery of America which has caused this characteristic difference. The continents of the Old World were contiguous; they made, in fact, but one great continent; and it was possible for a communication between the most distant parts of them to be maintained by land. The inland sea which partially separated them, afforded but a narrow space for commercial voyages. The traffic of the Mediterranean was, in general, only an appendage to the land traffic, which brought the produce of remote regions to its shores. The voyage of the shipowner was short, in comparison with the long and toilsome journey of the merchant of the caravans. In modern times, a new continent has been added to the world, which cannot be reached without traversing the ocean. In this region the nations of Europe have planted their colonies; to this region the efforts of commerce have been especially directed; and the maritime character which it has thus acquired, has determined the mode of communication with all other parts of the earth.

Such is Heeren's view. He has seized with just discrimination the point of difference, and marked with truth the great event which decided the change; but he might have gone farther back in tracing its causes. The discovery of America was not an accident; nor did it produce a revolution for which men's minds were unprepared. Merchants had, with purpose and forethought, betaken themselves to the sea, because the old ways of communication by land were blocked up and broken. The religious hostility

of Islam and Christendom had long interrupted the intercourse of the East and West, and made commerce dangerous and uncertain. The articles of commerce the most highly valued in that age, as in all preceding ages, were the produce of India; but the regions between Europe and India had fallen under the dominion of the Turks, a race more barbarous, and less disposed to commerce, than any of their predecessors in the empire of Asia. At the same time, the growing civilisation of Europe was causing a greater demand for the produce of the eastern world. The navigators of Portugal, the people of the extreme west, under the directing genius of Prince Henry, entered resolutely upon the design of reaching India by sea. The circumnavigation of Africa, and the voyage of Vasco de Gama, would have greatly modified the commerce of the world, even if America had never been discovered. The change might have been less decided. Navigation, as Heeren argues, might still have been long confined to coasting voyages; but the path of commerce would have been no less surely transferred from the land to the waters. But the far more scientific project, and the far bolder attempt, to reach India by sailing directly to the west, showed that a spirit of enterprise was awake, which was sure to open for itself some course entirely new. If America had had no existence, and if the original purpose of Columbus had been executed by himself, or by some later navigator, the change would have been wrought as decisively as it has been now. But the philosophic seaman of Genoa encountered an obstacle, which, although in name and in form it prevented the fulfilment of his conception, in reality only brought about more quickly the great revolution in commerce which it was the tendency of his enterprise to accomplish. In mid ocean a new world was opened to the merchant; but this discovery was not an accident which caused a change in the direction of commerce; it was the splendid prize which rewarded its efforts in a new career upon which it had already entered.

Heeren sketches with the hand of a master the prominent features of a land traffic, in regions where the merchant must prepare himself to encounter the desert, and the dwellers of the desert. He cannot travel singly: the caravan must be mustered at a stated place at a stated season. Its route across the wilderness is marked by the springs, and the palm-trees, and the islands of verdure, which are thinly scattered over the waste. If these resting-places can support a fixed population, a town is formed, which becomes the depository of the wealth of distant nations, and their place of exchange. It grows, it may be, into a mighty city; and when the stream of commerce is turned into another channel, the

modern traveller marvels at the splendour and the desolation of Palmyra or Balbec.

A traffic by land requires a multitude of beasts of burden, and the camel, the gift of a bountiful God to the inhabitants of the desert, is the unwearied servant of the caravan merchant. The nomad tribes, the breeders of the camel, are often induced to take a part in a traffic, conducted in a manner by no means alien to their habits, and they become the leaders of the caravans. Strong as the camel is, and large as the caravans may be, such a method of transport cannot be employed for bulky goods; and the articles of trade are generally those of which a little weight is of great value, such as fabrics of silk, or the finer cottons, spices, and jewels, and the precious metals.

In ancient times, and in the regions of Asia and Africa, in which the caravan trade still subsists, the communication by posts, which affords such facilities to European commerce, was and continues to be unknown. Commercial transactions, therefore, could not be carried on by bills of exchange, or any similar device, but were effected chiefly by barter. For the same reasons, commissions were unknown; and it was necessary for the merchant to be also a traveller, and to accompany his goods to the market where they were to be sold. Hence, his life was a life of toil and adventure, very different from the life of the trader who sits in his counting-house, waiting for the reports of his correspondents and agents.

Heeren's great delight throughout his work is in exploring the course of the land trade of the ancients, and in catching glimpses of authorities for laying down caravan routes in his maps. He does not, however, neglect the navigation either of the Indian Ocean or of the Mediterranean Sea. He points out most clearly the advantages of the easy communication which the latter sea afforded to the nations which occupied its coasts. 'They would,' he observes, 'beyond all question, have continued as uncivilized 'as the inhabitants of Central Africa, if the basin of the Mediter-'ranean had been a *steppe*, like those of Mongolia.'

The period which Heeren has selected for his review of the civilisation and commerce of antiquity, is the period of the consolidation of the Persian Empire, under Darius the son of Hystaspes, and his immediate successors. The civilized nations of Asia were then united in one vast empire; and it cannot be questioned, that their communication with one another was much facilitated. If we view them as a whole, this probably was the period in which their social condition was at its highest pitch. If we took our stand at an earlier epoch, we should be destitute

of contemporary authority. At this date, we can avail ourselves of the full and honest testimony of Herodotus. If we waited till a later time,—for example, the era of the Macedonian conquest,—with a greater multitude of witnesses, we should probably find less solid information; and, by that time, the most important of the ancient states, Babylon, and Egypt, and the cities of Phœnicia, had sunk deep into decay. Besides, after the Macedonian conquest, the peculiar character of the several nations was thrown into the background, and the spirit of the restless and enterprising Greek pervaded the whole ancient world. Of course, however, this selection of a period, to which the attention is particularly directed, does not preclude Heeren from investigations into a more remote antiquity, nor compel him to shut his eyes to the facts presented in subsequent ages. The unchanging character of Eastern habits and manners enables us, from the testimony of a later time, to conjecture the state of affairs at an earlier period; and where, as frequently is the case, we find the same customs existing in ancient times, and at a more recent date, we may reasonably assume their continued existence throughout the intervening periods.

Heeren tells us honestly, that as his researches embrace a much wider range of objects than his readers might generally expect, he has thought it right to develope their extent gradually, and, by prefixing some outlines and brief indications of his proposed track, to prepare the mind of the student for the course in which he is to follow him. In these gradual approaches to the subject, we necessarily encounter some repetitions; but we believe that the author has followed the right plan for enabling the historical enquirer to take a comprehensive view of the multitude of facts submitted to his contemplation. After the General Introduction, he commences his work by a disquisition upon Asia, in which he describes the geographical conformation of that vast continent, and presents a theory of its history, a summary view of its commerce, and some brief remarks upon its languages.

Central Asia is an immense table land, lifted up upon the shoulders of two ranges of mountains, which enclose it on the north and south, and traverse the whole continent from west to east. The most elevated portion of each range is nearly at its middle point. The Northern or Altaic range appears to attain its greatest height in longitude 100° east; and, on the one hand, extends through the territory of the Tungusians to the Pacific Ocean; and, on the other, passes to the north of the Caspian Sea, and takes a northern direction, under the name of the Ural Mountains. The southern range, the centre of which contains the gigantic peaks of the Himalaya, on the one hand, passes

through Thibet, and subsides into the plain of China; on the other hand, under the name of the Hindoo Koosh (the Paropamisus of the Greeks), it stretches towards the southern extremity of the Caspian, and, after skirting that vast lake, it divides itself into branches, of which the north-western joins the Caucasus, between the Caspian and the Euxine, while the western, the ridge of Taurus, traverses the whole length of Asia Minor. The loftiest regions of these two great ranges are connected by a transverse range, the Belur-tag, or Mountains of Cashgar, the direction of which is from the south-west to the north-east. On the east of this transverse range is the great sandy desert, the Desert of Cobi. On its western side is the region watered by the Jaxartes and the Oxus, the great rivers which fall into the Lake Aral, and which are believed by some geographers to have found their way, in ancient times, to the Caspian Sea. This latter region is the country of the Tatars. The Desert of Cobi is the proper country of the Mongols, who have also spread themselves over the adjacent region on the north of the Jaxartes. The Tatars and the Mongols are the two great nomad races of Central Asia; and nomads they have been in all ages, through the necessity imposed upon them by their bare and interminable plains.

Northern Asia, or Siberia, which spreads its vast expanse from the Altaic mountains to the Arctic Ocean, was almost unknown to the ancients, and scarcely comes within the scope of Heeren's work. The regions to which he chiefly directs the attention of his readers, are the countries of Southern Asia, Asia Minor, Syria, Assyria, Persia, and the peninsulas of Arabia and India. Some of these countries are blest with an abundantly fertile soil, and with various species of natural wealth, and have been, from the earliest ages, the abode of nations dwelling in fixed habitations, elevated to a greater or less degree of civilisation, and actively engaged in commerce. The great rivers of this part of the continent, the vast extent of sea-coast, and the way in which the masses of land are broken and divided by the gulfs of the Indian Ocean, are circumstances eminently favourable to commerce. Even in this part of the continent, however, are tracts which are fitted for the dwelling only of nomad tribes. The great desert belt of Africa appears to be prolonged across the peninsula of Arabia and the central districts of Persia, and to extend even beyond the Indus.

A knowledge of the habits of the people of the different regions of Asia,—habits, founded on the physical peculiarities of the countries which they occupy; in other words, a knowledge of the habits of the fixed population of the fertile regions, and of the

barbarous or nomad tribes of the mountains, steppes, and deserts,—is the key to a philosophic knowledge of the history of this quarter of the world. The great empires of Asia seem all to have been founded either by mountaineers or by nomad tribes, who issued from their barren fastnesses, and overran the more wealthy and less warlike regions which invited their attacks. Such was the origin of the Chaldæan Empire, the Persian, the Parthian, and the Saracen. Such were the conquests of the Mongol Khans; and such was the origin of the dominion of their descendants in India and China. In all these instances, the nomad conquerors, when the first impulse of conquest was exhausted, have become a settled people, and have adopted the manners and habits of the conquered nations, till, enervated by ease and luxury, they have been unable to resist the attack of a fresh horde of barbarian spoilers. An empire, founded by wide and rapid conquests, which partake of the character of a national migration, and comprehending within its dominion distant nations, differing in language, and customs, and religion, continues necessarily to be a military despotism. Even if it were possible to confer a regular civil constitution and organization upon such an empire, its lawless masters know not how to establish it. The provinces are delegated to military governors, who are charged with the collection of the tribute; and, provided that this be paid, the conquered people are generally suffered to retain their national institutions. The disposition of the Persian monarchs to leave the government of conquered states in the hands of their native princes, reduced to the rank of tributaries, Heeren attributes, with apparent justice, not to clemency or generosity, but to ignorance and inaptitude for civil government.

The essentially military character of the great empires which have succeeded one another in Asia, is an obvious cause of the perpetuity of despotism in that region of the world. But, nevertheless, it might be supposed that the spirit of political liberty would have found, in the course of so many ages, some favourable season in which it might develope itself. Heeren has traced the evil to a profounder source, and has shown, with a fine moral discernment, that society is degraded below the state of moral feeling necessary for the maintenance of civil liberty, in consequence of the practice of polygamy. Society is thus corrupted in its simplest elements, and becomes incapable of a wholesome developement in its wider relations.

In the remarks on the commerce of Asia, we have little but an exemplification of the general positions laid down in the introduction. Heeren points out the uniformity of the routes by which the inland traffic has been carried on in all ages, and the advantages

of position, which made certain regions and cities the centres of commerce, and the common marts of nations. Bactra was the point to which the routes converged from the banks of the Indus, from Thibet, and through the great Desert of Cobi from the extreme regions of the East, Serica, or Northern China. Babylon was the great centre at which all these united streams met the commerce of the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf, and from which the wealth which they brought was dispersed in different directions to the countries of the West. Some portion of it was diverted to Asia Minor and the shores of the Euxine; but the main stream flowed across the desert, to the cities of Phœnicia. There it was augmented by all the commerce of Arabia; by the productions of the Peninsula itself, and by the still more precious fruit of its maritime intercourse with India and Southern Africa. From Phœnicia the wealth of the Eastern world was spread over all the countries which bordered on the Mediterranean, and distributed to Egypt, to Carthage, and to Greece.

Among the objects of Asiatic commerce, Heeren enumerates the cotton fabrics of Southern India, and the woollen fabrics of its northern regions, of Cashmire and Belur. He is inclined to support the hypothesis, that, even as early as in the age of the Median monarchy, silk was imported from the distant Serica. Furs also were an article of commerce; and must have been drawn from the central or northern parts of Asia. Spices, and the aromatic resins, which were consumed so prodigally in Grecian sacrifice and Egyptian sepulture, formed a great part of the burden of the caravan. Frankincense was procured from Arabia, or imported by the Arabians from the adjoining coast of Africa. Cassia and cinnamon came from the remotest regions of India, or even more probably, from Ceylon and the Indian islands. Precious stones were the produce chiefly of the northern parts of India. Pearls were fished then, as now, in the Persian Gulf, and on the shores of Ceylon. Gold, which, in the earliest records of Asiatic history, appears to have been used and displayed with magnificent profusion, was partly procured by the Phœnicians, either immediately, or through the medium of the Arabians, from the African Continent; and partly obtained by the Northern Indians from the Desert of Cobi, and the mountain ranges which enclose it. Such are a few of the chief branches of commerce, of which Heeren undertakes to demonstrate the existence at the early period which he has chosen to illustrate. It is manifest that such enquiries must involve much minute research, and much discussion of authorities. We present to the reader a summary of his introductory enumeration; but we cannot pretend to

follow up, within our brief limits, the investigations contained in the body of the work.

The remarks on the languages of Asia, with which Heeren closes his prefatory discussion, are a fitting introduction to the detailed review of its many nations, which occupies the greater part of the remainder of the first volume. In Asia Minor, the chief language of the interior of the country was the Phrygian, which was connected with the Armenian. The Carians, Lydians, and Mysians, used dialects of a common language; but whether this was the same as the Phrygian, Heeren does not affirm. From the upper part of the Halys, eastward to the Tigris, and from the mountains of Armenia, southward to the borders of Egypt and the extremity of Arabia, one great and very peculiar family of languages prevailed, which is a sufficient proof that the natives of these regions were the descendants of a common stock. These languages are called the Semitic tongues. Of this great language, the Chaldæan, the Syriac, the Hebrew, the Phœnician, the Arabic, were dialects, some of which exist at this day. Beyond the Tigris, a new family of languages presents itself. The ancient languages of Media and Persia, the Zend, the Pehlevi, and the Parsi, had a peculiar character, and appear to have been connected by a close affinity with the Sanscrit. It is a singular and most interesting fact, of which the researches of philologers are continually adducing more abundant proofs, that this language is much more closely connected with the languages of Europe, than the Semitic tongues which intervene between them. Heeren has some ingenious remarks on the mode in which ancient languages, like the Zend and Sanscrit, have been preserved with religious veneration for religious purposes, when they have ceased to be the speech of ordinary intercourse; and he points out how narrowly we missed, in Europe, seeing a repetition of the same phenomenon in the case of the Latin language.

In order to present a comprehensive view of Asia, Heeren selects, as the first object of his research, the Persian Empire. He begins by enumerating the authorities on which the ancient history of Persia rests: the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther; Herodotus, Xenophon, and Arrian the historian of Alexander, and the extracts of Ctesias preserved by Photius. We know, both from sacred and profane authority, that the Persian Empire had its archives; and that all great events, and especially those which affected the person of the monarch, were carefully registered. These were the Books of the Chronicles, in which, by a grateful and generous policy, the *Benefactors* of the Kings were scrupulously recorded (see Esth. ii. 23, vi. 1). Ctesias, the physician of Artaxerxes, professed to draw much of his history from

these records. Heeren has shown reason for believing that Herodotus also made use of written documents, although he has nowhere asserted the fact. The remark, we believe, is new; but when the suggestion is once made, we think that the internal evidence of its truth will command the assent of critics. The passages which most clearly testify their origin and authority, are, the enumeration of the twenty satrapies established by Darius, and the tributes imposed upon them; the account of the forces of the several nations which composed the army and fleet of Xerxes, which, we are expressly told by Herodotus himself (vii. 100), were registered by the royal scribes at the great review at Doriscus; and, lastly, the measurement of the stages of the royal road from Susa to Sardis. In this point of view, the anecdotes which Herodotus relates of the Persian kings and the Persian court acquire a tenfold value and interest.

The genuine Persians were originally a rude and hardy race. Several of their tribes were nomads; and all inhabited a mountainous and barren country. Their conquest of Asia was such a sudden revolution as we have described above. The reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses were entirely occupied with foreign conquest. So far was their empire from having yet received any regular organization, that no stated amount of tribute was imposed upon the conquered people. The nations 'brought gifts;' that is, arbitrary contributions, exacted from their hopes or fears. Darius took the first step to the internal arrangement of the empire, by dividing it into twenty large provinces, over each of which a satrap, or governor, was appointed, whose duty it was to transmit to the royal treasury a fixed amount of tribute. Heeren, in his review of the Empire, has not followed the account of the twenty satrapies, as it is given by Herodotus; partly because there are difficulties and uncertainties in the geographical arrangement of them; partly because this division was manifestly a first and rude attempt at civil organization, and was much modified in subsequent reigns. He has preferred following a natural geographical order; and surveys first the provinces west of the Euphrates; then the region between the Euphrates and the Tigris; then the countries from the Tigris to the Indus, which include Persis, or Proper Persia, and all the regions which we commonly comprehend under the name of Persia; and, lastly, Persian India, by which name we are to understand the territories on the northern branches of the Indus to the borders of Cashmir.

In this survey he collects, under the head of each nation, all the information afforded by Herodotus, and other ancient writers. As it is by no means our intention to follow him in his methodical course, we pass at once to Proper Persia, and the

description of Persepolis. The account of the ruins of this ancient seat of Persian empire occupies nearly a hundred pages, and is one of the most interesting portions of the work. Heeren relies chiefly upon the descriptions of Chardin and Niebuhr, and, above all, of Sir Robert Ker Porter, whose description is illustrated by drawings at once beautiful and accurate. Of the sculptures with which the palace was adorned, the most curious appear to be the relievos on the walls of the great staircase, which forms the ascent to the second terrace. On the left hand are a multitude of figures irregularly grouped, some in the flowing Median costume, others in the close native dress of Persia, and manifestly designed to represent the courtiers conversing in the halls of the palace. On the right hand are a series of groups, divided into compartments, and representing the deputies of subject nations bearing presents to the Great King. The chief of each group is led by the hand by an officer of the court, bearing a staff of office. His attendants follow with their gifts, and all are represented in their national costume; one company in dresses of fur, another with only a slight covering round the loins. It is curious, that the number of compartments and of separate groups is twenty; and they thus appear to correspond to the twenty satrapies established by Darius. Heeren maintains, with apparent probability, that the palace of Persepolis was the work of Darius and Xerxes. He considers it to have been in a peculiar sense the capital of the empire; not the residence of the monarchs, who usually made their abode at Susa, Ecbatana, and Babylon, but a place of solemn ceremony, where the kings, upon their accession to the throne, were consecrated by the Magi, and invested with the robes of Cyrus (Plutarch, *Artax.*); where they performed the rites of the religion of Zoroaster; where, at stated seasons, they received the homage of all the subject nations; and whither, after their decease, their bodies were conveyed for burial.

The opinion that the buildings of Persepolis are of the age of Darius and Xerxes, is supported by strong historical probability; but it is placed beyond doubt, if the Persepolitan inscriptions have been rightly deciphered. The wedge-shaped, or arrow-headed characters in which they are engraven, had long been an enigma to the learned. The solution of it was first presented to the world in 1802, by Grotefend. The second article in the Appendix is from the pen of Grotefend himself (with a postscript by Heeren), and contains an exposition of his principles and method. Whether he be successful or not, his method is rational, and appears to proceed upon no unjustifiable assumption. Of the result we can say no more, than that he determines the

character to be truly alphabetical, and to be written from left to right. Plates of the alphabet, and of some inscriptions, are prefixed to the volume. A singular circumstance is stated by Heeren, in a note in his Egyptian volume: 'Upon an Egyptian urn at 'Paris, made known by Caylus, is an inscription in the arrow-'headed writing, and in hieroglyphics. In the first, M. Grote-'fend found, according to his method of deciphering, the name 'of Xerxes. When Champollion applied his method of deci-'phering to the second, he found exactly the same. How can 'such a coincidence be accounted for, except by the accuracy of 'the methods?' It is manifest, however, that we cannot place entire confidence in any method of deciphering the arrowheaded character, until the Zend language, of which it is supposed to be the vehicle, is more accurately known. And, in like manner, the students of hieroglyphics, if they mean to proceed beyond proper names, must devote their attention for the present, not to the monuments, but to the remains of the Coptic language.

In the neighbourhood of Chehl-Menar, or Persepolis, are the sepulchres of the Persian kings, which are chambers excavated at a considerable height in the face of a perpendicular rock. A person can reach them only by being drawn up from above. It was thus that Sir Robert Ker Porter examined the similar sepulchres of the Sassanian race of kings at Neksh-i-Roostem, not without considerable risk. Ctesias tells a story, that the parents of Darius being desirous of seeing the tomb which he had prepared for himself in the (double?) mountain, were drawn up by the priests; but that the priests, being alarmed, let go the ropes, and they fell and were killed.

The ruins of Persepolis stand in a level valley, now called Merdasht. In the plain of Mourghaub, which is a continuation of Merdasht, at the distance of more than forty miles to the north-east, are the remains of Pasargada, the capital of the genuine Persians; which is said to have been built by Cyrus, to commemorate his victory over the Medes, by which he achieved on this spot the independence of his country. The site of this ancient city was first indicated by Morier. Of the monuments at this place, by far the most interesting is the tomb of Cyrus, which exists at this day. At least an edifice exists, not of great size, but of a massy and singularly solid style of architecture, which answers closely to the description of the tomb of Cyrus which has been preserved by Arrian from Aristobulus.* There is a

* Besides Heeren's remarks on this subject, there is a learned article in the Appendix, by Grotefend.

piece of gigantic rock sculpture at Bistoon, on the borders of ancient Media, representing a king as receiving a long line of prisoners, which Heeren conjectures to be designed to represent the same heroic prince. It may possibly belong to a yet earlier period.

Heeren is disposed to agree with Rennell, Kinneir, and Sir John Malcolm, in placing Susa on the site now called Shus, on the Kerah or Haweeza, and not at Shuster on the Karoon. The magnitude of the ruins at Shus, which extend eleven miles along the river, appears to us decisive of the question, independently of geographical measurements. Ecbatana, the ancient capital of Media, has been always believed, and truly enough, to have been on the site, or in the neighbourhood of the modern Hamadan. Its exact position has been ascertained by Morier and Porter. It was built on a steep eminence, an outlying hill of Mount Orontes, now called Elwund. The terraces on which the splendid palace of Deioces stood may still be recognised; but of the building scarcely a vestige remains. The accounts which we possess of this royal abode are a testimony to the abundance of the precious metals at an early period of Asiatic history. The description which we read in Herodotus of the seven concentric walls, rising tier above tier, with their battlements painted of different colours, and those of the sixth circle covered with silver, and those of the seventh covered with gold, sounds like a story of the Sultana Scheherazade; but it is really less marvellous than the account of the cautious and fact-loving Polybius. He tells us that the pillars and rafters of cypress and cedar were all overlaid with plates of gold and silver, and that the palace was roofed with silver. It was stripped and spoiled in the invasion of Alexander, and in the time of Antigonus and Seleucus Nicanor; yet, after these successive spoliations, Antiochus the Great carried off so much silver, that little less than the sum of 4000 talents (£960,000) was coined from it. How was such a treasure amassed by the Median kings?

In the Section on Persian India, Heeren shows that the notices of India which we find in Herodotus, and the accounts which are preserved from Ctesias, relate chiefly to Northern India, Afghaunistan, and the region of the Himalaya, and even the regions on the north of those mountains. The desert whence the Indians carried off the golden sand, and which the lively fancy of the East peopled with ants as large as foxes, which pursued the plunderers by the scent, he supposes, with good reason, to have been the Desert of Cobi. Whether the gold was stolen from ants, or from griffins, according to a similar legend of the Scythians, the Indian provinces of the Persian empire paid an annual tribute of

gold dust, which must have amounted nearly to £1,200,000. Caspatyrus on the Cophenes, the chief city in these parts, Heeren supposes to be the same with the modern Caubul. This was the point from which, in the reign of Darius, Scylax of Caryanda began the voyage of discovery down the Indus, which he terminated at the head of the Red Sea; a voyage more remarkable than that performed by Nearchus at the command of Alexander, which ended at the Euphrates. The indefatigable researches of our countrymen, especially in the Himalaya mountains, and the negotiations of the Indian government with Runjeet Sing, are making us daily better acquainted with these regions.

We have purposely passed without remark Heeren's observations upon the north-eastern provinces of Persia upon both sides of the Oxus. Since the publication of his last edition, the adventurous journey of Lieut. Burnes has thrown a new light upon these countries, which had become almost unknown to Europeans. A European traveller has at length visited Balkh, which, if it be the ancient Bactra, may dispute with Canoge or Oude the honour of being the oldest of existing cities; and which, according to Persian tradition, was the birth-place of the civilisation, the laws, and the religion of Media and Persia.

It may not, however, be uninteresting to observe, that Heeren is convinced, by the evidence of several who have accompanied the Russian caravans from Orenburg to Bokhara, and of Muravief, who, in 1819 and 1820, travelled from Bacou across the Caspian Sea to Khieva, not only that the Gihoon and the Sirr-Daria (the Oxus and the Jaxartes) anciently reached the Caspian Sea, but that at a still earlier time the sea of Aral was united with the Caspian, and that the two formed but one vast inland sea. This certainly would be a sufficient reason why the former has not been mentioned by ancient geographers, if such a change can have taken place within an assignable period. But we fear, that, even if the fact be true, the ages required by geologists for such revolutions are too vast to allow it to be an apology for the silence of Herodotus and Strabo.

In discoursing on the constitution of the Persian empire, and the national institutions of the Persians themselves, Heeren has well observed, that, of the ten tribes which, according to Herodotus, composed the Persian nation, the nomad tribes must always have been rude and uncivilized; and these and the agricultural tribes must be considered as subject to the three noble tribes. It follows, therefore, that what is told us as Persian history, is not the history of the whole nation, but of the dominant tribes, and very probably only of the noblest of all the tribes, the Pasargadæ. The distinctions of lineage were carried yet further.

In the tribe of the Pasargadæ was included a clan, the Achæmenidæ, the noblest of all the Persians; and to this clan belonged the family of the kings. Nobility, therefore, among the Persians, was measured by consanguinity to the king. It is evident that the city of Pasargada took its name from the tribe of the Pasargadæ. Here they were assembled by Cyrus around the palace of the monarch, and constituted his court. They were the officers of his household, the ministers of his empire, the commanders of his armies, the guards of his person. The history of Persia, like that of all despotic empires, is a history of the court; and from this generic division of the nation it becomes the history of its highest and purest tribe. When we consider the Persian history in this point of view, it assumes a new aspect; and, in particular, much that is related by Xenophon in the 'Cyropædia,' which sounds like a romance, and which is manifestly impossible if it be received as relating to a whole nation, becomes probable if it be understood as pertaining only to a single noble tribe. For example, his account of the education of the Persian youth seems like the speculation of a philosopher constructing a visionary polity on the scale of the petty republics of Greece; but that the children of the Persian nobles should be so trained, under the eye of the king, is at least possible, and not unlikely.

In discussing the origin of the Persian nation, and in examining the check which the national religion imposed upon the power of the kings, Heeren receives the 'Zendavesta,' or at least the portion of it which is called the *Vendidat*, as a genuine monument of antiquity, ascending beyond the foundation of the empire of Cyrus, and belonging to the age of the Bactrian kingdom, which probably preceded even the Median dynasty. The opinions of Oriental scholars have been much divided with respect to the date and the authenticity of this work, ever since Anquetil du Perron professed to translate it. Sir William Jones regarded it with more than suspicion. Schlegel has run into an extreme of incredulity, which seems even more unreasonable than the faith of Heeren. Not content with supposing the 'Zendavesta' to be a comparatively recent forgery of the Parsees of Guzerat, he questions the reality of the Zend language itself.* The Parsees must have forged the language also. The boldness of this theory, promulgated at a time when the original text of the 'Zendavesta' is in a course of publication at Paris,—when other learned Oriental

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* *Réflexions sur l'étude des Langues Asiatiques*, par A. W. de Schlegel: Bonn, 1832: cited by the translator of Heeren in a note on Grotefend's Appendix on the Persepolitan Inscriptions, vol. ii. p. 347.

critics recognise in its language all the characters of a genuine ancient dialect, and are engaged in tracing its etymological connexion with the Sanscrit,—seems to us to be surpassed only by the hypothesis, that the Sanscrit was a language concocted by the Brahmans out of the Greek which they picked up from Alexander's soldiers. The present editor of the 'Zendavesta,' M. Eugene Burnouf, and Bopp, who has carefully compared the published text with Anquetil's imperfect translation, agree in considering the work as ancient, but give no more definite opinion concerning the period of its composition. Mr Erskine (in the second volume of the Bombay Transactions) thinks that the greater part of the 'Zendavesta' was written under the Sassanian dynasty, about 230 A.D. But Rask and Rhode are of opinion, that the Zend writings which we now possess must have existed before the time of Alexander the Great. Heeren assents to this opinion. He admits with full belief the personal existence of Zoroaster, and the genuineness of the 'Zendavesta;' and he assigns to the most ancient part of it the remote date which we have mentioned. We confess that we cannot share his faith, when he seriously propounds his opinion, that the first *Fargard* (or Section) of the *Vendidat* contains a truly historical tradition of the age, when the table-lands of Central Asia enjoyed seven months of summer, and were the habitation of the elephant and the mammoth;—that is, of an age anterior to the revolution or convulsion which has changed the climates of the world.

As far as a judgment can be formed from the circumstances of the case, without a knowledge of the language, we are disposed to believe that the substance of at least a part of the 'Zendavesta' is of high antiquity; but we think it must be difficult to determine how much of it is entitled to this character, and still more difficult to decide what degree of antiquity can be assigned to the *form* in which we now possess it. After the overthrow of the ancient Persian monarchy, a period of five hundred and fifty years elapsed under the dominion of the Macedonian and Parthian kings, during which the religion of Zoroaster was not the religion of the court, or of the ruling race. Then came the dynasty of the Sassanian princes, who professed to restore the Persian monarchy and religion; who pretended to be descended from the ancient Persian kings, assumed their titles, and imitated their buildings and sculptures, and their singular mode of sepulture. By these princes the Magi were restored to all their honours and influence in the state, and their religion was cultivated with assiduous devotion. This restoration endured for four hundred years, till Zoroaster was once more overthrown by the conquests of the Saracens. If, therefore, we possess any of the genuine

writings of the ancient Persian Magi, they must have been preserved by the zeal of individual worshippers, not only through twelve centuries of Mahometan intolerance, but through the preceding period of the Parthian and Macedonian dynasties; and, what we esteem yet more difficult and doubtful, they must have passed without corruption through the period of the revival of the ancient religion. We think it not unlikely, that portions of the ancient books were preserved under the barbarous dominion of the Parthians; but we think it certain that they must have been interpolated and remodelled under the Sassanian kings,—an age in which it was the policy of the rulers, and the disposition of the people, to give an aspect of antiquity to every part of the public institutions, however recent it might really be. Nor can we doubt that they have sustained some further corruption from the zeal or ignorance of the modern Parsees. European learning has stepped in for the preservation of these monuments of antiquity, when they were becoming unintelligible even to the priests of the outcast and persecuted sect to which they belong.

Heeren, as we have seen, believes in the personal existence of Zoroaster, and assigns him to an age prior to the foundation of the Persian and Median monarchies. The scanty notices which can be gathered from Greek authors led the learned Hyde to suppose him contemporary with Darius the son of Hystaspes. If this last opinion be true, Zoroaster was not the founder of the religion of the Magi; for the Magi were a Median tribe, and were the priests of the Medes before the Persian empire had any existence. But it appears probable, that the religion of the rude and simple Persians was not exactly the same with that of the more civilized Medes; and though the first two Persian conquerors, as they assumed the Median dress, and adopted in other respects the customs of the Median court, so also paid due reverence to the Median Magi, and admitted them to situations of honour and power, yet that under Cyrus and Cambyses the Magi could not be regarded as the priests of the popular religion. The usurpation of the false Smerdis, and the attempt to restore the sovereignty to the Medes, excited the indignation of the Persians against the Magi, and caused a partial massacre of the caste. If, then, in the subsequent reign of Darius, a religious union took place, by which this animosity was appeased, and the religion of the Magi established as the national religion of the Persians, as it undoubtedly was in the time of Herodotus, it would be a very natural consequence that the author of the Magian worship should be referred by the Greeks to this period. Zoroaster may have been really the reformer by whom such a union was effected; or he may have belonged to an earlier period, according to

Heeren's opinion; or, if we prefer Vico's general theories of traditional history, we may consider him as a mere name, the individualized symbol of the teachers of the worship of fire. According to the 'Zendavesta,' Zoroaster addressed his doctrine to a King Gushtasp, who reigned over the eastern provinces of the Persian empire. These are certainly the regions in which his religion survived the longest; and in the northern districts bordering on the Caspian it is not yet quite extinct. Whether this is the cause of the prominence given to these countries in the 'Zendavesta,' or whether they were really the birthplace of the religion of fire, is a question which we shall probably determine according to our belief in the freedom of the 'Zendavesta' from modern forgery. The first two *Fargards* of the *Vendidat* are given in the appendix. The interrogations of the prophet, and the replies of his divine instructor, remind us of the form of the Scandinavian Edda.

The remarks of Heeren on the constitution of the Persian empire, the administration of the provinces, its military force, and the causes of its decay, are sensible and satisfactory; but there is nothing in them so original or profound as to call for special observation. He shows, that originally the satraps, or civil governors, were not intrusted with military command; and that the dissolution of the empire was mainly caused by the neglect of this wise division of power.

Two of the most remarkable nations included in the Persian empire Heeren has reserved for separate consideration,—the Phœnicians and the Babylonians. The second volume begins with the Phœnicians. He observes with truth, that ancient history has suffered no greater loss than the destruction of all the records of these free commercial states. The great monarchies of Asia, all originating in rapid conquest, and all tending, through indolence and luxury, to the catastrophe in which the conquerors became the conquered, would present a repetition of similar events. The intrigues of the court and the harem would be alike in all; and the history of Persia may stand as an example of the whole. But we have nothing to guide us in our conceptions of a free Asiatic community. Menander of Ephesus wrote at Tyre a history of that city, compiled from her own annals. The citations from this work in Josephus determine a few points in Phœnician history. The Greek geographers supply some scanty information respecting the Phœnician commerce and colonies; but the most ancient and copious sources of information are the Hebrew Scriptures.

The Phœnicians were a branch of the great Semitic or Aramean race. Ancient tradition related, that they once dwelt on the coasts of the Indian Ocean. But their settlement in their

proper territory must have taken place at a very early period, since Moses describes Sidon as the first-born of Canaan. They occupied the coasts of the Mediterranean in a line extending from Tyre to Aradus, about a hundred and twenty miles, and broken by many promontories and islands. Their territory was merely a long narrow strip of land between the range of Libanus and the sea, and did not extend into the inland country. Their cities were colonies founded in succession by one from the other. The mother of all was Sidon. They were governed by kings; but, as might be expected in small commercial states, there was a strong spirit of republican freedom in their institutions, and contests of parties were not unfrequent in their history, and gave rise to several of their foreign colonies. The cities were independent in their internal government; but they were united by a confederation; and the most powerful generally exercised a species of supremacy over the rest. In their later period, in which they fall within our historical knowledge, this eminence was held by Tyre. That it was not always held without oppression, appears by the record preserved by Josephus from Menander, that when Salmanasser, king of Assyria, extended his conquests to Phœnicia, the allied cities revolted from Tyre, submitted to the invader, and assisted him with a fleet against the Tyrians. The Tyrians were victorious, and escaped subjection (about B.C. 720). The most flourishing age of Tyre seems to have been the reign of Hiram, the contemporary of David and Solomon. Its siege and capture by Nebuchadnezzar is known only by the prophecies of Ezekiel and Isaiah. From the latter prophet it appears, that, like its ancient ally Jerusalem, it remained in a state of weakness, and almost of ruin, during the seventy years which measured the dominion of the Babylonian empire, and revived when the Chaldæan monarchy was overthrown. Heeren has shown from Josephus, that the vulgar opinion, that New Tyre, on the island, was not built till after the destruction of the old city on the continent, by Nebuchadnezzar, is erroneous; and that the island city existed at the time of the attack of Salmanasser, and that its founder was probably Hiram. It is likely enough that the old city may never have been rebuilt. The Phœnicians submitted voluntarily to the supremacy of the Persians in the reign of Cambyses; but the degree in which they preserved their independence may be seen in their resolute refusal to serve against their descendants the Carthaginians. Their fleets always constituted the main strength of the Persian navies. The kings of Sidon and Tyre attended Xerxes in his expedition against Greece, and took part in his council of war. The Phœnicians remained faithfully attached to the Persian empire, till the invasion of Alexander. The

other cities submitted to him. Tyre was reduced by a cruel siege; and its ruin was completed by the foundation of Alexandria, which diverted the trade of the East into a new channel.

The Mediterranean was necessarily the first and chief field of the maritime commerce of the Phœnicians, and many Phœnician colonies were planted on its shores. Cyprus was filled with Phœnician settlements, and was subject to their dominion. The Paphian goddess, the Aphrodite of the Greeks, was the Phœnician Ashtoreth; and the legend of Adonis was of Syrian origin. The Greeks learnt the worship of Aphrodite from Phœnician navigators; and hence, perhaps, arose the fable, that the goddess was sprung from the foam of the sea. To this origin her worship in Cythera is expressly traced by Herodotus; and this cause explains the fact, that her temples were commonly erected upon islands and promontories. Heeren does not allude to these mythological indications of the intercourse of the two nations; but they appear valuable to us, because they are proofs of the existence of the intercourse at a period antecedent to all historical records. We have a most graphic description of the dealings between the foreign traders and the rude and simple Greeks, in the story of Eumæus in the Odyssey (Od. xv. 414—483); which accords exactly with the representations of Herodotus, in the introductory chapters of his history. Of the extent and permanency of Phœnician commerce in the Grecian seas we may judge from the fact, that they settled a colony in the island of Thasos, and worked its gold mines. They planted colonies also in Thera, and other islands of the Ægean Sea. There are traces likewise of their presence in Crete; and, notwithstanding the bold effort of the learned Müller to prove Minos to be a Dorian chief, we are inclined to the less startling hypothesis of Mitford, that he was the head of a Phœnician settlement. But though there are these vestiges of the intercourse of the Phœnicians with Greece in the mythic and heroic ages, when we come to the historical times, we find them altogether excluded from the Grecian seas. This change may be explained with little difficulty, if we consider, that the period in which the Phœnician cities were beginning to suffer from the aggression of the Assyrian kings, and in which Tyre was reduced and almost ruined by the great Babylonian conqueror, was the very period in which Greece was rising in civilisation, and wealth, and political power; and in which the Grecian states, and especially the Ionian cities, were beginning to pay attention to naval affairs, and to establish a naval power. Whilst the power of Tyre was thus severely checked, Miletus was founding colonies round the Euxine, and Phocæa was trading to Gaul and Tartessus. When the Phœnicians began to recover

their ancient vigour, they found the Grecian seas occupied by hardy navigators, and adventurous merchants. After a little while, the Phœnicians, as subjects of Persia, became the enemies of Greece, and the Greek sailors encountered the Phœnician fleets only to destroy them. It is probable, that much of the produce of the East, which the Phœnicians exported to the other nations on the shores of the Mediterranean, the Greeks received through the cities of Asia Minor; and that the spices, and the aromatic resins, which they certainly received from the Phœnicians, were chiefly imported in Grecian bottoms.

The Phœnicians, at an early period, had planted settlements round the island of Sicily; but the Greeks began to colonize it in the very season of Phœnician weakness, which we have described above, and the Phœnicians withdrew to the western extremity of the island, which was the most remote from Greece, and the nearest to their settlements in Africa and Spain. Their few remaining towns fell under the dominion of the kindred people of Carthage. The temple and worship of Venus Erycina long remained a monument of Phœnician superstition. As the Carthaginians were frequently called Phœnicians by Greek writers, it is sometimes difficult to determine, when we read of a Phœnician settlement, whether it was made by the parent nation or the colony. If we may trust an incidental statement of Diodorus, the proper Phœnicians made a settlement in Sardinia. Malta was one of their naval stations; and they occupied the smaller islands along the coast of Africa. But their most important colonies were in Africa itself. Of these, Utica was the most ancient. Carthage, Leptis, Adrumetum, Tysdrus, and others of less note, were founded at different times; some by public authority; others, as Carthage itself, in consequence of the secession of a party, after civil contests in the parent state. These colonies, no doubt, were the channel of a trade with the interior parts of Africa; and they were valuable, also, as intermediate stations in the voyage to Spain. Spain was to the Phœnicians, what Mexico and Peru were to the Spaniards of a later age. It was rich in metals, and especially in silver; and, when the Phœnicians first visited it, they obtained from the simple natives cargoes of the precious metal, in exchange for commodities of trifling value. The tradition was handed down, that they not only filled their ships, but loaded the weights which were used for anchors with silver in the place of lead. They speedily founded colonies in these alluring regions; and, when the native metal became less abundant, they reduced the Iberians to subjection, and compelled them to work the mines. The part of the country which they occupied is included in the modern Andalusia. Of the names of

their settlements, Tartessus is the most famous; but it is unfortunately the most indefinite and uncertain in its application. Heeren thinks it probable, that the river Tartessus was the Guadalquiver, and that the first settlement of the Phœnicians, which bore the same name, was on an island at its mouth. But the name Tartessus was also applied to a district, and, in fact, to the whole Phœnician province. In this sense, the name Tarshish is used in the Hebrew Scriptures; and as Tarshish was supposed to be the extreme point to which the navigation of the Phœnicians was extended, the ships in which their long voyages were performed were called 'ships of Tarshish:' and this phrase was applied to them even when they were sailing on another ocean. Gades, the modern Cadiz, was one of the most ancient of the Phœnician colonies. Its foundation was contemporary with that of Utica, and preceded the foundation of Carthage by 270 years; so that it is carried back to the twelfth century before the Christian era. The wisdom with which its site was chosen is testified by its continued existence and prosperity. Calpe, or Carteia, was near the site of the modern Gibraltar; and Seville and Malaga may also be traced to a Phœnician origin.

The great national deity of the Phœnicians was known to the Greeks by the name of Hercules. Herodotus, who visited his temple at Tyre, laboured to prove to his countrymen, that this ancient deity had nothing in common with their hero Hercules. Nevertheless, the legends of the Grecian Hercules have been mixed with tales drawn from Phœnician sources. Heeren has shown, that the story of Hercules setting sail with a great armament from Crete, and conquering Libya, and founding in it a city of a hundred gates, and then passing over into Spain, and making war upon Geryon, the son of Chrysaor, who was rich in gold and silver, and erecting his mighty columns at the entrance of the ocean, is a Phœnician mythus, describing the progress of Phœnician discovery and colonization, and the establishment, in their distant settlements, of the worship of their national god.

It appears that the Phœnicians did not confine their navigation within the Pillars of Hercules, but made Gades a starting point, whence they sent out expeditions along the coasts of the ocean. They explored a portion of the coast of Africa, and seem to have accidentally discovered Madeira, or some other of the islands adjacent to that continent. In the opposite direction, they sailed as far as the northern coast of Spain; but whether they penetrated further is exceedingly doubtful. Heeren embraces, with full belief, the theories which represent them as trading to the British islands for tin, and to the recesses of the Baltic for amber. If this were the case, it is difficult to understand how the voyage of

the Carthaginian Himilco should be a voyage of discovery, as it undoubtedly was. Himilco was sent with a fleet, probably in the fifth century before the Christian era, and explored the Bay of Biscay, and the western coasts of Gaul, and sailed as far as the British islands; and this was a voyage of discovery. If the Phœnicians had been in the habit of sailing thus far, and even farther, it is inconceivable that the Carthaginians should have been ignorant of the fact, or should have suffered this navigation to be utterly forgotten. We do not doubt that, after the voyage of Himilco, the Carthaginians traded to Britain, and even to Ireland, and freighted their vessels with the tin which was the produce of the British mines. At this time, therefore, the descriptive name of the Cassiterides, or Tin Islands, might be applied to the extremities of Cornwall. But such a name as this must not be considered as always applied to the same place. Any countries from which tin was procured would be called Cassiterides; and, therefore, little can be gathered from the vague traditions in which this name occurs. Tin was to be found in the mountains of Gallicia; and, as far as we can understand the confused account of Avienus in the Ora Maritima, the Œstrymnian promontory, and the Œstrymnid islands, to which the Tartessians traded, and which Heeren identifies with the Cassiterides, are to be sought on the north-western extremity of Spain. With regard to the amber trade, we are inclined to adopt the theory proposed by the ingenious author of the 'History of Maritime and Inland Discovery,' in Dr Lardner's 'Cyclopædia.' He shows, that, under the Romans, there was a trade over land, by which amber was conveyed from the shores of the Baltic to the head of the Adriatic Gulf. He supposes that the same trade existed in earlier times, and was the cause of the fabulous river Eridanus, with its amber-weeping trees, being identified by the poets with the Po.

Although the navigation of the Phœnicians, from the situation of their country, was mainly directed to the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, yet the Indian Ocean also was traversed by their fleets. David, by the conquest of the Edomites, or Idumeans, extended his dominion to the head of the Arabian Gulf; and Solomon availed himself of his alliance with the Tyrians, and of their maritime skill, to establish, in conjunction with them, a trade from the ports of Eloth and Eziongeber to the wealthy regions of the East. Heeren considers Ophir as a general name for all the countries bordering on the Indian Ocean, whether in India, or in Africa, or on the coasts of Arabia; but, from the length of the voyage, and from the peacocks which Solomon's ships brought home, it is manifest that they must have sailed to the peninsula of India, or even to the Indian islands. The Edomites revolted

from the successors of Solomon, and this trade was broken off. The attempt of Jehoshaphat to revive it was frustrated. But the Phœnicians had another channel of communication with the Indian Ocean. They not only carried on a trade with the marts on the Arabian coast, but they themselves had planted colonies on Tylos and Aradus, two islands in the Persian Gulf, which are now called the Bahrein Islands; and from this point they carried on a direct commerce with India. They seem likewise to have formed settlements on the continent of Arabia, especially at Tur, on the coast of Oman.

It appears, that the Phœnicians were, in a very high degree, a manufacturing people. They imported raw materials, and exported manufactured goods. Weaving and dyeing,—working in the precious metals, especially the fabrication of ornaments and trinkets,—and the manufacture of glass, were the chief branches of their domestic industry. Sidonian cloths were celebrated for their beauty in the age of Homer; and as the famous purple was dyed in the wool before it was woven, it is manifest that their cloth must have been a home manufacture. The wool was imported from the Nabathean Arabs, and was the produce of the flocks of Kedar.

The Phœnicians are so celebrated as a maritime nation, that their extensive land trade has been commonly overlooked. Heeren has taken particular pains in tracing the routes by which it was carried on. By far the most copious source of information on this subject, is the magnificent description of the wealth of Tyre, contained in the twenty-seventh chapter of Ezekiel. By the careful examination of this valuable record, and a comparison of it with other sources of information, Heeren has shown, that, besides the commerce with Egypt, which was carried on by land, there were three great divisions of the Tyrian land trade,—the trade with Arabia, with Babylon, and with the Caucasian countries. From Arabia Tyre received not only frankincense and gold, and other articles, which were the produce of Arabia itself, or the adjacent regions of Africa, but cassia and cinnamon, and the other precious spices, which were imported into Arabia from India. The Arabian trade was followed by two routes on the opposite sides of the peninsula. The caravan road from Yemen, or the Happy Arabia, followed the coast of the Red Sea. The other road was from Gerrha, a most important mart on the Persian Gulf, probably the modern Lachsa, by which the communication was maintained with the eastern coast of Arabia, and with the islands of Tylos and Aradus, which we have mentioned above. This road led through Petra, in the valley on the south of the Dead Sea. On the caravan road to Babylon, the city of Tad-

mor or Palmyra sprung up, which continued to flourish as a mercantile station, and became a powerful state, long after Tyre had utterly fallen. The appendix on the commerce of this city is one of the most learned and most satisfactory of the investigations which are incorporated with this work. With the Caucasian countries the Phœnicians traded for brass or copper, and still more for slaves:—'Javan, Meshech, and Tubal, traded the persons of men and vessels of brass in thy market.' As the territories which lay between Phœnicia and Caucasus were all cultivated and thickly peopled, it is probable that this trade followed no regular track, like those through the Arabian deserts, but that the merchant chose his own course.

In the section on the Babylonians, Heeren has first presented a lively picture of the country on the banks of the Euphrates, and between the Euphrates and the Tigris. He has shown, by reference to sacred and profane authority, that the city of Babylon was of very high antiquity, and that it was one of the earliest seats of civilisation; but that its marvellous magnificence was the fruit of the period, when the Chaldæans, a people who issued originally from the mountains of Armenia, overpowered the Assyrians, by whom they seem to have been employed as mercenary soldiers, and erected an independent empire. This empire was extended by the conquests of Nebuchadnezzar to the coasts of the Mediterranean; and by him the city was adorned with its largest and most splendid buildings. From the descriptions of Niebuhr and Rich, and more especially from the very accurate researches of Sir Robert Ker Porter, Heeren has given a full account of the present state of the ruins of Babylon; and by comparing its remains with the descriptions of Herodotus, Diodorus, and Arrian, he has presented a clear picture of the ancient city. He has mentioned one particular, which takes a strong hold of the imagination. It is in describing the ruins, which he supposes to be the remains of the terraces which Nebuchadnezzar erected and planted to gratify the taste of his Median Queen. 'Amongst these ruins stands a solitary tree of a 'species altogether strange to this country. It bears every mark 'of high antiquity, its originally enormous trunk being worn 'away, and shattered by time, while its spreading and ever-'green branches are particularly beautiful, and adorned with 'long tress-like tendrils; probably the last descendant of those 'hanging gardens, which were numbered among the wonders of 'the world.'

In a few remarks on the domestic industry of the Babylonians, he shows that they were celebrated for their weaving, both of

carpets and coverlets for couches, and of finer fabrics for dress. He might have mentioned, that 'a goodly Babylonish garment' was an object coveted even in the days of Joshua, and that it had been conveyed by traffic as far as Jericho (Josh. vii). He has pointed out the principal routes of the Babylonian inland trade. The great eastern road divided itself into two branches at Aria or Artacoana, (in the fertile district around the Lake Zurrah); of which one proceeded by Arachotus and Ortospana (Arokhage, and probably Kandahar) to the Indus; the other turned in a more northerly direction to Bactra. From Bactra a trade was maintained with Northern India, that is, with Belur-land and Thibet, and the Desert of Cobi, and, as Heeren thinks, even with the distant Serica, or the borders of China. He grounds this latter opinion on a passage of Ctesias, in which he speaks of caravans which were absent three or four years, and upon the presumption that silk was known in Western Asia at a very early time. The more southerly road of course was the channel of communication with India; but there was also a road from the banks of the Indus to Bactra, and it is likely that much commerce with the west was carried on by this more circuitous route. Herodotus has described the mode of traffic between Armenia and Babylon down the stream of the Euphrates. The current was too rapid to be ascended by the light boats which came down it; and it is probable that the return trade was carried on by the land route along the eastern bank of the Tigris, which took this circuitous course, in order to avoid the desert of Mesopotamia. Under the Persian empire, this was the direction of the royal road from Susa and Babylon to Sardis, the chief city of the satrapies of Asia. The road to Phœnicia ascended the Euphrates a journey of five-and-twenty days, before it crossed the river and turned to the west.

The most interesting part of this section is the account of the commerce of Babylon on the Persian Gulf. Gerrha, the mart on the Arabian coast which we have already mentioned, was built by a colony of Chaldæans from Babylon; and it not only maintained an intercourse with Phœnicia, by caravans, across the deserts of Arabia Petræa, but its merchants carried the spices, and the other precious articles which they received from the Arabians, up the Euphrates to Babylon, and even as far as Thapsacus. By this channel, therefore, the Assyrians and Babylonians received the Arabian frankincense. Pearls, which the banks along the western coasts of the Persian Gulf produce at this day in great abundance, and of singular hardness and beauty, were an article of this commerce; and the island of Tylos was celebrated

for its plantations of cotton, and for its excellent timber; productions which were sure to be in great demand in Babylonia, where the staple manufacture was weaving, and where the country was bare of all trees but the palm. But Nearchus has preserved to us the highly interesting information, that Cape Makae, on the Arabian side of the entrance of the gulf, was a mart for cinnamon and similar merchandise, which was conveyed to the Assyrians. It appears, therefore, that a commerce with India and Ceylon, and possibly with the Indian Spice Islands, was carried on from the coast of Oman by the Arabians and by the Phœnicians who had settled among them; and that this commerce was extended to Babylon, along the western coast of the Persian Gulf. This communication, which probably was regulated by the monsoons, reached to remoter regions, and yet must have been safer and more expeditious, than that which Alexander endeavoured to establish by the coasting voyage of Nearchus, from the mouths of the Indus, and along the eastern side of the gulf. But under the Persian empire, the maritime commerce of Babylon and the adjacent regions had received a very serious check; and Alexander might be ignorant how great it once had been. The Persians were so fearful lest some maritime power should surprise the great cities of their empire, which were situated on navigable rivers, Susa, and Opis, and Babylon, that they blocked the channels of the rivers by dams, and caused artificial falls. The removal of these obstacles was one of the great objects upon which Alexander was employed at the time of his death.

One section of Heeren's work is devoted to the Scythians, under which name he includes not only the proper Scythians of Europe, between the Danube and the Don, but the Sarmatians between the Don and the Caspian Sea, and the more eastern tribes, the Argippæi and the Issedones, whom he believes to have belonged to the great Mongolian race, as well as the Massagetæ, who dwelt more to the south, along the river Jaxartes. In order to avoid the confusion which would necessarily arise from taking accounts of nomad nations from authors of different ages, he has restricted himself solely to the authority of Herodotus. The student ought to check his geography of the Scythian tribes, by comparing it with the profound disquisition of B. G. Niebuhr on the Scythians; which has been translated and published at Oxford, together with his essay on the geography of Herodotus. It is singular that Heeren, even in this last edition, has made no use of Niebuhr's treatise. In his 'Manual of Ancient History,' likewise, he has shown a disposition to undervalue his investigations;—a disposition which detracts from nothing but the value of his own

work. In the present investigation, he shows satisfactorily, on the authority of Herodotus, that the Greeks of Olbia, and the other Milesian colonies on the north of the Euxine, not only maintained a trade with Greece in corn and slaves, but that, by the help of their Scythian neighbours, they carried on an inland commerce, travelling probably in caravans, and passing through seven different nations, and using seven different interpreters, till they ended their journey in the territory of the Argippæi. This people he supposes to be the same as the Calmucks, and to have inhabited the region between Orenburg, near the river Ural, and the lake Aral, which is now the steppe of the Kirghees, a tribe which has emigrated southward from Siberia. He considers it likewise as proved by the researches of Lehrberg into ancient Russian history, that this district, with the regions to the north of it towards Perm and Tobolsk, was the country called Jugria, which was the great centre of the fur-trade in the middle ages. He considers it probable that the Pontine Greeks and the Scythians brought hither their furs, to barter them for the precious commodities of the East, with caravans from Bactra and Maracanda (Balkh and Samarcand). The Russians at this day prosecute a similar trade by caravans from Orenburg to Bokhara; and they not only meet at Bokhara caravans from the East, but many Banyans or Hindoo merchants reside there.

The volume on the Indians is the least satisfactory part of the whole work. The greater part of it is occupied with a laborious and somewhat tedious enquiry,—what is the amount of the knowledge of Ancient India which we have derived from genuine Sanscrit documents? Heeren himself is not a Sanscrit scholar; and this circumstance has made the enquiry more painful both to himself and his readers: although the caution which he shows in ascertaining the amount and the value of his authorities is highly commendable. The fact is, however, that Sanscrit learning is rapidly making way both in this country and in Germany. The rising tide has passed Heeren's water-marks. He has been obliged to add an Appendix on the 'Latest Additions to Sanscrit 'Literature.' New progress has been made since the writing of his Appendix; and if he lives to publish a fifth edition, many points on which he has expended pages of doubts, will be determined in the positive or the negative. His work would be valuable to a Sanscrit scholar, by showing him to what points he might profitably direct his researches. It is obvious, also, that much may be learned from a more accurate examination of the remains of ancient architecture and sculpture. Heeren unfortunately had not seen the drawings of the Temples of Ellora.

One point appears to be satisfactorily ascertained. The *Vedas*, the most ancient of the sacred books of the Hindoos, contain the doctrines, and the rites and offices, of a religion consisting of the worship of the elements and other natural objects; or, at the utmost, of deities which are the personifications of them. As the mythology of Greece received its form from the Homeric poems, so the poetic and popular mythology of India is to be traced to the great epic poems, the 'Ramayana' and the 'Mahabharat.' It appears likewise, upon the authority of Professor Ewald, that the language of the Vedas is of a much more antique character than that of the Ramayana; and again, that the language of the epic poems is more ancient than that of 'Sacontala' and other dramatic compositions. Calidasa, the author of Sacontala, lived at the court of the Rajah Vicramaditya; and the age of Vicramaditya is thus far ascertained, that the Hindoos compute their chronology from his death, and make this era to correspond with the fifty-sixth year before the Christian era. This grammatical evidence alone obviously carries back the earliest monuments of Sanscrit literature to an age much anterior to that at which we begin to derive any knowledge of India from the Greek writers. The religious system of the Vedas has an affinity to the ancient religion of Persia, as it is described by Herodotus.

In the second chapter of this volume, Heeren treats of the ancient history of the Hindoos—of their social system, and especially of the distinction of castes—of their laws and government —and, lastly, of their commerce. By comparing the statements of their native writings with the information contained in the 'Periplus of the Erythrean Sea,' ascribed to Arrian of Alexandria, he throws considerable light upon their manufactures and foreign trade. He shows that an intercourse with China was carried on by land, and that it followed more than one route. In discussing this subject, he returns, of course, to the regions on the north of India, which seem to possess a peculiar charm for him. One route from China led to the banks of the Ganges. The other was much more circuitous; for the silken fabrics, which were the staple of this trade, were carried across Central Asia to Bactra, and thence returned eastward across the Indus to Barygaza. Ptolemy mentions a place called the Stone Tower, which was a rendezvous of the caravans of Central Asia, in the same latitude with Byzantium and the capital of Serica (Pekin), and distant from the latter seven months' journey. This monument still exists, and stands near the bottom of a defile at the junction of the two ranges of mountains which skirt the Desert of Cobi. It is a rock

terminating a small line of hills, which juts from the mountains, and ends abruptly in the middle of a plain. It has been cut into a regular shape with two rows of columns, one above the other. It is called Chihel-Sutun, or the Forty Columns; and there is a place of rendezvous for merchants in its neighbourhood at this day: only now the station is at the head of the defile, instead of being at the tower, which is at the beginning of the ascent.

One very valuable portion of this volume is the article in the Appendix on the 'Commerce of Ceylon,' in which Heeren begins at the age of Cosmas Indicopleustes, and traces the commerce backward to the fifth century before Christ, and forwards to the discovery of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope. We should observe, that the translator of this volume appears to possess an intimate knowledge of his subject, and has illustrated the text of Heeren by many valuable notes.

We have devoted so much space to the volumes on the Asiatic nations, that we cannot even attempt to do justice to the two remaining volumes, on the African nations. Yet we think we do not err in pronouncing these to be the more valuable portion of the work. The volume on Egypt, especially, embodies with great skill all the information which the latest researches have afforded with regard to that singular country. It comprehends, in a perspicuous order, a great multitude of details; and all are brought to bear, with much force of argument, on the theories which the author wishes to establish with regard to the origin and progress of its civilisation. There is more exactness in the reasoning, and more compression in the style, than in the other volumes. Perhaps this apparent superiority may be owing to the greater interest which the subject excites both in the writer and in the reader. We the less regret the brief notice which we can give to these volumes, because, from their first publication, they appear to have attracted more general attention than the others, —to be more widely known, and better appreciated.

After a brief general sketch of the physical geography of Africa, Heeren begins his investigations with Carthage. This division of his work ought to be read in connexion with his Researches on the Phœnicians. Much that is imperfect in our knowledge of the polity and character of the mother state, may be supplied by probable conjecture from our more ample information respecting the colony. Yet even with respect to Carthage, our information is exceedingly deficient. It must be drawn almost entirely from foreign sources. The only native monument of Carthage which has survived, is the short account of the voy-

age of Hanno. The main part of our knowledge is derived from the Roman historians, or comes ultimately from the Sicilian Greeks; and the statements of both are coloured by their national enmity to their Punic rivals. And these statements relate only to the latter period of Carthage, when its decline had already commenced. Of its earlier history—of the growth of its commerce and empire—we know nothing but what we can gather from the meagre compendium of Justin, and from the incidental allusions of other writers.

Heeren, after relating what is known of the foundation of Carthage, first gives an account of its dominion in Africa. Its subjects were divided into three very different classes. The first were the cities on the coast, such as Utica and others, which, like itself, were colonies from Phœnicia. These were not so much its subjects as its allies; although a supremacy was conceded to it, which passed into sovereignty. The next class consisted of its own colonies; the maritime colonies on the coast, and the agricultural settlements in the interior of the country. The third class were the native Libyans, who had submitted to its authority; and these were partly a fixed agricultural people, who were kept in subjection by the agricultural colonies planted among them,—partly nomad tribes, whose subjection was partial and precarious. The foreign possessions of the Carthaginians were, in the first place, the islands in the western part of the Mediterranean. They occupied first those immediately adjacent to their own coast. They possessed the Balearic Islands, and were for some time masters of Sardinia. Sicily was the great object of their ambition; and at different times they held a larger or a smaller portion of it; but they were never able to accomplish the entire conquest of it. This was the rock upon which the fortunes of Carthage foundered. Here the Asiatic man was weighed in the balance with the European,—first with the Greek, then with the Roman,—and was found wanting. They do not seem to have sought the possession of Corsica, although they would not suffer the Phocæans to settle in it; and the islands more nearly adjacent to Italy they did not approach. In Spain they succeeded to the supremacy of the Phœnicians over the Phœnician colonies, and founded colonies of their own along the coast beyond the Pillars of Hercules; and when they were expelled by the Romans from Sicily and Sardinia, they sought to compensate themselves, and restore the power of the republic, by achieving the conquest of the whole of the Peninsula. This was the peculiar policy of the Barcine family and party. In Africa, likewise, along the coasts of the Atlantic, the Carthaginians planted colonies for the sake of trade.

In the third chapter, Heeren, under the guidance of Aristotle, examines the government of Carthage; in the fourth chapter, its public revenue. A tribute was paid by the subject cities: its agricultural subjects paid a portion of their produce; and this was so excessive, as to be a frequent cause of discontent, and even of insurrection. Customs were levied in its harbours; and in the later period of the republic, the state was the proprietor and worker of mines in Spain. The fifth chapter is devoted to its navigation and maritime commerce. This Heeren shows to have extended to the British Isles. It was, in our opinion, the Carthaginians who carried forward the vague name of the Cassiterides, or Tin-Islands, to the coast of Cornwall. When Heeren seeks to identify them, first with the Scilly Islands, and then with certain islets in Mount's Bay, he seems to us to attach far too exact a meaning to a name which was used to cover ignorance. It is possible that the Carthaginians penetrated to the amber countries of the Baltic, although we cannot believe that the Phœnicians did; for Pytheas of Marseilles certainly visited them in the fifth century before the Christian era. In the opposite direction, we know, from Herodotus, that they sailed to the coast of Libya, and carried on a dumb trade for gold. In this way the Negro nations trade at this day. The scene of this trade must have been as far south as the Senegal.

In the sixth chapter, Heeren treats a subject, which had eluded the observation of preceding writers—the Land Trade of Carthage. After explaining the nature of the trade which is carried on at this day across the Great Desert of Sahara, between the nations which dwell on its northern border, and the Negro nations on the south of it, he shows that this trade existed in ancient times. He proves also, that the Carthaginians took a part in it, by means of the nomad tribes, which were subject to their dominion—especially the Nasamones. These formed caravans, which travelled along the coast of the Syrtes, and turned southward to the country of the Garamantes, the modern Fezzan. Here they joined the great caravans, which traded from Thebes in Upper Egypt to the country of the Atlantes, which Heeren places on the borders of Bornou. The routes are those which are followed by the caravans of the present day, which set out from Tripoli and Cairo. In the country of the Atlantes, he supposes them to have been met by the negro traders from Soudan. The authority for the existence of this ancient trade we will mention presently.

The seventh chapter is on the Military Affairs of Carthage. Its forces were composed, partly of its Libyan subjects; partly of Numidians, or horsemen, of the nomad tribes, which acknow-

ledged its dominion; partly of Spanish, Gallic, and Ligurian mercenaries. This mixed army was under the command of Carthaginian officers, in every degree of military rank. The eighth and last chapter is on the Decline and Fall of the Republic. This Heeren ascribes to the predominance of the democratic party in the state, under the supremacy of the Barcine family; and to the system of war and foreign conquest which was essential to the maintenance of that supremacy. He looks upon Hamilcar, Asdrubal, and Hannibal, as military demagogues, who destroyed the internal soundness and strength of the Republic, while they sought to extend its foreign dominion; so that a reverse in the fortune of war brought with it irretrievable ruin. This view of the subject may be true; but we have already expressed our opinion, that the origin of the evil is to be traced further back,—to the obstinacy with which the Carthaginians endeavoured to obtain possession of Sicily, after repeated experience that they had there met their match. It may safely be affirmed, that their moral and intellectual endowments were not such as to enable them to cope with the Greeks and Romans.

Of the masterly disquisitions on the Ethiopians and Egyptians, it is better to say little, than to give a meagre and insufficient sketch. The chapter on the geography of the Ethiopian nations contains many interesting observations on the native tribes of Africa, and especially on the distinction between the Berbers or Tuaricks, the descendants of the ancient Libyans; and the Moors or Arabs who have overspread the northern part of the continent. Heeren has been enabled, by the researches of Caillaud and Küppel, to give an account of the remains of the ancient Meroe. He shows, by an accumulation of argument, which amounts as nearly to demonstration as can be supposed to be possible in a subject so remote and obscure, that the religion and civilisation of Egypt were of Ethiopian origin. Colonies of the priestly and military castes gradually descended the valley of the Nile from Meroe to Memphis, reducing the native inhabitants to subjection, and erecting temples, which became the sanctuaries of the adjacent districts, and the centres of mighty cities. Egyptian tradition described the cities of Upper Egypt as more ancient than those of Lower Egypt, and looked to Ethiopia as the parent of its religious system and its hieroglyphic writing; and modern research has shown, that the whole valley of the Nile, through Nubia up to Meroe, is full of architectural monuments of the same species, but that the higher we ascend, the more manifestly ancient do they become. The successive settlements along the Nile were originally independent states; and it was not till a period comparatively late, although to us of remote antiquity, that

Egypt was united under one king. The earlier dynasties of Manetho, which have so grievously perplexed chronologers, must be considered as contemporary rather than successive. In the volume on Egypt, we call the particular attention of the reader to the third chapter, in which one hundred and forty-four pages are worthily devoted to the description of Thebes, and the magnificent monuments of Sesostris, or Rameses the Great.

We promised to mention the authority on which Heeren assumes the existence of an ancient caravan trade in Africa. He has introduced this subject in the treatise on the Carthaginians; but it would have been more properly discussed in the volume on Egypt; for the great centre of the trade was Thebes. Herodotus, in the fourth book of his History (cc. 181-185), has given an account of the tribes in the interior of the Desert in a very singular manner. He begins with Thebes, and describes certain insulated spots in the Desert, each producing water and salt, and therefore inhabited, lying at regular distances, one from the other, of ten days' journey. Heeren has perceived, with happy discernment, that this is a description of a caravan road and its resting-places. If we are not mistaken, this happy interpretation is the origin of his love for tracing caravan roads in other countries. The first two stations are Ammonium, now Siwah, and Augila, which still bears the same name. These are at this day the first two stations of the caravans which set out from Cairo, and their distance from one another corresponds exactly with the measurement of Herodotus. There is a mistake, however, in placing Ammonium at no greater distance than ten days' journey from Thebes; and Heeren conjectures that Herodotus has omitted one stage, which ought to have been the Great Oasis. The next resting-place beyond Augila was in the country of the Garamantes. Here we might be at a loss; for the name Garamantes is vaguely applied by ancient writers; but Herodotus, besides fixing the position of his Garamantes by mentioning their neighbours, places them at the distance of thirty days' journey from the Lotophagi, who dwelt near Tripoli. The intersection of the two measurements on the Egyptian and Carthaginian roads brings us to the territory of Fezzan, the resort of the modern caravans. It must be confessed, that Heeren thinks it necessary to suppose another omission between Augila and Fezzan, and to make the whole distance twenty days' journey. This he does, apparently, because he is anxious to bring his caravans to Zuila, the modern resting-place; and Hornemann was seventeen days in travelling from Augila to Zuila. But Fezzan is an extensive, fertile district, 200 miles in breadth; so that, if the regular ten days of Herodotus be not interpreted too strictly, a resting-place on the

north-eastern border of Fezzan may be found, which will answer both his conditions. Herodotus certainly describes all his stations as lying in a line from east to west; but Heeren here turns considerably to the south, placing the two remaining stations, the Atarantes and the Atlantes, at Tegerry, and at the Tibboo, a town of Bilma on the borders of Bornou. It is not unlikely that he is right; for the continuation of the line to the west would lead nowhere but into the terrible Desert of Zuenziga. He has pointed out some very singular and amusing coincidences, between the brief descriptions which Herodotus gives of these successive tribes, and the accounts of modern travellers. Herodotus says, that the Garamantes have no language like other men, but shriek like bats. The Augilians told Hornemann, that the tribes in the mountains of Fezzan had a language like the whistling of birds.*

Heeren takes occasion, from the mention of Ammonium, to describe the oasis, and the remains of the ancient temple of Ammon, which has been brought to light by the researches of Browne, Hornemann, and Minutoli. It was a small, but massy structure, in the Egyptian style; the most distant offspring of the worship of Meroe.

Here we close our remarks. It would be superfluous to express our high opinion of the value of Heeren's work. We look upon him as having breathed a new life into the dry bones of ancient history. In countries, the history of which has been neglected as being too imperfectly known to afford lessons of political wisdom, he has taught us to look for still more interesting lessons,—on the social relations of men, and the intercourse of nations in the earlier ages of the world. His work is not without defects. He is a diffuse writer—prone to repetition, frequently vague, and sometimes inaccurate. He does not always carefully distinguish between his own conjectures and positive testimony; and he is apt to interpret his authorities into more than can fairly be extracted from them. He does not always cite his authorities with sufficient minuteness; and sometimes we have found him absolutely mistaken in his interpretation of them. But his purpose is always honest. He has a thorough love of his subject, and a sincere desire to discover and make known the truth. His work is as learned as a professed commentary on the ancient historians and geographers, and as entertaining as a modern book of travels. We trust that some portion of his spirit may be imbibed by our English scholars.

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* Perhaps they meant no more than that it was unintelligible.

ART. VI.—*Pindar in English Verse.* By the Rev. HENRY FRANCIS CARY, A.M. 12mo. London: 1833.

THIS, at last, is Pindar. We do not mean to say that Mr Cary has uniformly given the exact sense of his original; nor that he is everywhere sufficiently bright and gorgeous in the splendid parts; nor that, rivalling the music of the Grecian tongue and numbers, he has been always able to untwist

'the chains that tie
The hidden soul of harmony:'

But we hold his translation to be a wonderful effort to transfuse into a modern, and in many respects an uncongenial language, one of the most difficult and peculiar of the ancient authors. It is well calculated, though without the aid of preface, commentary, or appendix, to satisfy an ordinary reader, who does not care to fathom every allusion, nor to have a history for every proper name. It will generally meet the demands of the critical scholar, who takes pains to verify its correctness in obscure passages. It is a book, which the lover of Pindar, whose memory is written over with the beauties of the great Lyric, will go through without stopping; and which will convey an image—an *idea*—of his genius and manner—that admirable mixture of strength, softness; austerity, sweetness; simplicity, richness;—sometimes hard and vivid as the chastest statuary, sometimes florid and luxuriant as the warmest painting—to the unlearned mind, destitute of Greek.

We have often asked ourselves whether this were possible. Assuredly there is no lack of hinderances to the attainment of such an image. The best classical scholar can only *read* Pindar. He misses the brilliant and graceful accompaniments of the odes at their first publication. To us they are no longer choral and orchestic. We see no triumphal cavalcade of men or youths advancing—and singing as they advance—to temple, palace, or banquet-hall. We hear no music, in the staid and manly airs of the Doric melody, or the vehement and various measures of the Æolic, or the more pure and simple strain of the Lydian. We follow with our gaze no dance, trained and tempered to a happy medium between the gravity of the gymnopædic movement, and the wanton steps and mimic action of the light and ludicrous hyporcheme. We suspect, indeed, that Kuithan is wrong in imagining that any Pindaric ode was ever enlivened by a *galopade* on horseback, after the fashion of Mr Ducrow's equestrian cotil-

lions; and we believe that Böckh rightly describes the saltatory performances of the chorus as a sort of Pyrrhic, or war-dance, blended with gesticulation in such a manner as to suit both the encomiastic tenor of the verse, and the martial tone that frequently pervades its argument. But these erudite descriptions bring nothing within the cognizance of our senses. We must gather our impressions solely from style, dialect, and metre. And those who have 'small Latin and no Greek,' have hitherto been infinitely removed from even this imperfect method of compassing the spirit of the Theban bard. Imitations and translations, down to the appearance of Mr Cary's version, could do little for them.

Horace, for example, affords slender aid. In the true temper of Roman literature, he was, indeed, an unblushing plagiary. He pilfered from Pindar much that we can trace; far more, of which the sources have perished. But together with detached thoughts, or whole forms of verbal expression, he could not so easily borrow the inspiration of the mighty master, nor catch the mood of Pindaric song. There are portions of the Greek lyric poetry to which the character of the Horatian odes bears a strong similitude. These, however, are not to be found among the triumphal lays of Pindar. Composed under widely-different circumstances, and for widely-different ends, the lyric pieces of Horace sparkle all over with a point, terseness, and vivacity, as unlike as possible to the flow, the fire, the abruptness, and the diffusiveness of the elder poet. The opposite tendencies of their separate languages are nowhere more signally contrasted than in these two writers. The compressive, periodic style of Horace is ever inviting us to pause, ponder, and admire in detail; the magnificent impetuosity of Pindar hurries us on in a breathless transport, that only here and there allows a resting-place for reflection and wonder. We must remember, too, the comparative powers of their minds: 'curious felicity' on the one side; 'fine frenzy' on the other. It is, in Horace's own terms of proportion, the Matinian bee to the Dircæan swan. It is the cascade of Tivoli to the thunders of Niagara.

Cowley, with all his genius, in some respects akin to that of Pindar, will not help the reader, better than Horace, to a just conception of his professed prototype. His *Pindarique* odes are not 'truly Pindarical,' though he calls them so. To his two translations it is an unpromising preface to say, that an attempt to render the Grecian poet, word for word, would present the semblance of 'one madman interpreting another.' This not only shows a resolution to be paraphrastical, but likewise a grossly inadequate appreciation of his author. Accordingly he has 'taken, 'left out, and added what he pleased,' certainly so as 'not to let

'the reader know precisely what Pindar spoke,' but certainly also not so as to exhibit 'his way and manner of speaking.' We need scarcely add, that both in these versions, and in his original 'Pindariques,' Cowley's capital vice is one and the same:

> 'Figures, conceits, raptures, and sentences,
> In a well-worded dress,'

forced in on every opportunity, and as often against as with the current of the sense. Ever and anon there is a noble burst of lyric ardour; but some piece of quaint frigidity is sure to intervene, that damps and extinguishes the flame. His better nature strives, but strives in vain, against his metaphysical school;—the nature of one who could choose so glorious a theme as 'Destiny,' against the school that could constrain him to represent it under the extravagant emblem of two angels playing at chess!*

Gray, as all the world knows, was fond of Pindar;—fond of quoting him, of copying him, and of doing him into English. Yet he brings us no nearer than Horace and Cowley to the object of his regards. The cumbrous ornament, the methodical arrangement, the elaborate glitter of his lyrical compositions, are far apart from the high enthusiasm of the Theban minstrel, striking the chords in his iron chair, within the fragrance of Apollo's shrine. Now and then, perhaps, Gray had a true Pindaric fit, under the force of a kindred impulse; as when the sound of Parry's Welsh harp, at a Cambridge concert, inspired him with the conclusion of his 'Bard.' But,

> 'If to his share some happier moments fall,
> Look in his face, and you'll forget them all:'

it is impossible that that prim, spruce physiognomy, which appears in the portraits of Gray, should have covered a fountain of living fire. Without going the full length of Dr Johnson's ill-tempered criticism, we at least esteem it very discreet of Mr Mason to request that the reader will compare the picture of the Eagle, in the 'Progress of Poesy,' not with the original *King of birds*, in the first Pythian, but with West's version of that inimitable passage.

West's version will not do for that passage, nor for any other. We say this after a pretty close review of that gentleman's translations. They have considerable elegance, and an agreeable rhythm, and sometimes adhere faithfully to the meaning even of difficult places; but the last-named merit is exhibited rarely.

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* 'Pindaric Odes,' No. VII.

He more commonly either overloads, or quite disguises the sense of his author. He changes epithets and invents interpretations with singular infelicity;—he helps out the concise energy, so frequently conspicuous in Pindar, with adjuncts of his own, that destroy the characteristic abruptness; and he too often seems to be writing, not after Pindar, but on 'the general question.' There is more coincidence with the original in a complete version by the Rev. C. A. Wheelwright, Prebendary of Lincoln, which we find established in the 'Family Classical Library.' But this translation also abounds with errors. We have marked six blunders in one ode. Mr Wheelwright sometimes appears to have read Pindar backwards,—he so utterly changes the meaning; he sometimes proves that you may give the exact words of an author without his sense; and by his interpolations and his dilutions, he wholly loses the Pindaric manner. There was verge enough for Mr Cary.

This is not the place for giving a general history of the lyric poetry of the Greeks, so earnestly called for by Böckh, Müller, and other German scholars, and pronounced by Müller to be 'a 'subject at once the most attractive and most difficult which 'remains for the industry of the present age;' but, without a few definite notions as to the source and nature of that kind of composition, it will be impossible to comprehend either Pindar's character, or the merits of his new translator. In Greece, then—and we do not scruple to extend the remark to the literature of every other country—lyric composition, all that truly deserved the name, was the poetry of emotion. Its source was in the heart, rather than the head; it was more of an effusion than an effort; and if skill and reason blended with its movements, they were but the handmaids of excitement, swaying and controlling them. Just as we may call Epic song the poetry of intellect, with its deliberate plan, solemn evolution, and affinity to history; or may call the Drama the poetry of passion, with its strong portraiture of intense humanity, its tablet of uncouth deeds, and quick reverse, and crushing woe; so we must call Lyric song the poetry of emotion, with its sudden breaks, its rapid combination of ideas, and the corresponding torrent of its numbers. We would affirm this as a general proposition, rather than seek to trace the lyric art, as is often attempted, to one predominant feeling. We cannot, especially with reference to Greek literature, describe it as the immediate offspring of devotion. The heart, excited by any cause, the imagination heated, the understanding winged and raised, pour out a rapture, which is poetry. All nature is full of this fervid element. There is not a feature of the external world on which the magic of light and distance does not throw some tints

of ideal beauty; there is not a feeling of man's heart which he shows to himself or to others in the nakedness of its original state. The agitations of his bosom break forth in metaphor, and the expression of them moulds itself to harmony. Here, then, is the element of song, coeval with the beginnings of society. As soon as music lent her sisterly aid, the element was fashioned into an art—the art of poetry, such as it was in primitive times, and as the lyric branch of it continued to be, was called into existence. Technically speaking, lyric composition was not the earliest shape of poetry among the Greeks; but their earliest poetical compositions—the heroic songs antecedent to Homer—had about them much of the lyric character.

We do not mean to assert that lyric poetry did not find one of its most ancient *functions* in the service of religion. Beyond the limits of Greece, the lyric composition of highest antiquity, which we possess, is the superb hymn of Moses and the children of Israel, that was echoed back by the chorus and the timbrels of Miriam and her company. And, in the annals of Grecian poetry, nothing is more certain than the very early union of song and music with devotion. The traditionary character of the Orphic minstrelsy; the Dithyrambic and Phallic songs; the choric parts of tragedy and comedy; the whole of the tuneful worship of Bacchus, under his different attributes; display the fine arts in subservience to religious enthusiasm: nay, the surviving odes of Pindar himself, though written in the praise of earthly heroes, are all tinctured with a devout sentiment, and sublimed by the influence of a sacred celebration. It is necessary, however, to bear in mind, that natural emotion, in the widest sense, is the real fountain of lyric poetry, in order to be kept right in the judgments we deliver upon it. Nature and the human heart must form the basis of our criticism. These will account for all its peculiarities;—for the seeming looseness of its measures, not unconnected with a certain charm of order—the startling violence of its transitions, not devoid of that principle of association, that effaces or abridges the apparent chasms—the wildness of its imagery, and the audacity of its metaphors. That a man must be mad to write lyric poetry, and nearly as mad to understand it, is false; but unquestionably both the author and the sympathizing reader of a genuine ode must know something of the heart in its tempests and convulsions. Dryden was a true lyric when he ramped about his room, as a common anecdote represents him, pouring out his famous tribute to the powers of music; and we should not expect much admiration of that magnificent ode from one who could not speak except in syllogisms, or whose breast was too shallow or too stern for the tumults of enthusiasm. Hence our neighbours of

France, who have so much vivacity, with so little sincere enthusiasm, are incapable, according to their own best critics,* of producing or comprehending lyric poetry. Hence, too, abundance of bad criticism among ourselves, from those who have not tried this species of composition by the standard of nature, in her moments of excitement, rejecting all conventional fopperies and affectations.

Call Dr Johnson into the court. He says that Dryden's poem on the Death of Mrs Anne Killigrew is 'undoubtedly the noblest 'ode that our language ever has produced.' He says again, of 'Alexander's Feast,' that 'compared with the ode on Killigrew, it 'may be pronounced perhaps superior in the whole, but without 'any single part *equal to the first stanza of the other.*' Not heeding the self-contradiction of these sentences, let us cite the first two, and the last seven lines of the specified stanza :—

'Thou youngest virgin-daughter of the skies,
Made in the last promotion of the blest;
* * * * * * *
Hear then a mortal muse thy praise rehearse
In no ignoble verse;
But such as thy own voice did practise here,
When thy first fruits of poesy were given
To make thyself a welcome inmate there,
While yet *a young probationer*
And *candidate* of heaven.'

Johnson's mind, conformed to the taste and images of artificial life, saw nothing incongruous in these allusions to the Horse-guards, the London Gazette, the hustings, and the noviciate of a college-fellow!

But the history of many hearts will teach their owners, that technical forms, affected prettinesses, excessive ingenuity in the bodying out of thought—every thing that savours of a conceit rather than of picturesque natural expression—are contrary to the tendency of strong emotion, and fitted only to abate the lyric transport. The same experience makes it clear that this transport should not be dashed with too much of a meditative vein. But call in Dr Blair. He tells us that 'sentiments, of one kind 'or other, form, almost always, the subject of the ode.' That is, Dr Blair drew his notions of lyric excellence from Horace, whom he understood and admired; not from Pindar, with whose writings he had a very slender acquaintance. In a similar spirit, he evi-

* See, for example, the Marquis de Condorcet, in his *Life of Voltaire.*

dently prefers the French odes to those of the English school. We, on the contrary, hold that sentiment is not the peculiar province of the lyric poet; and that the ethical odes of Horace himself are examples rather of fortunate invasion than of legitimate success. Not that emotion shuts out sentiment, or that the heart is less versed in ethics than the brain. Nature refuses not, in moments of kindled feeling, to look by the light of her own making on abstract truths, and read lessons of morality. But the philosophy of such seasons must be vivid and compendious. There is no room for a train of continuous reflection. Pindar was well aware of this principle, and offers many examples of a brief and brilliant sententiousness—the genuine ethics of emotion. There does exist, indeed, such a passage as the conclusion of the second Pythian—forty-six verses of something very like a homily. But he seldom sins in this way. His usual manner is to hurry over every thought and topic of a character approaching to tameness, and to throw himself—no matter how abruptly—upon the most stimulating parts of his subject. Hence his fondness for romantic narrative—tales of mortal or immortal adventure. In resorting to such themes, the Greek lyric poetry was really remounting to its source. Whatever Müller* may choose to say, it is evident that this poetry, both in its metres and spirit, grew out of the old epic. The hymns called Homeric formed the connecting link; and these hymns, as well as their parent epos, were full of the genius of the primitive heroic songs, which ushered in the Iliad and Odyssey. Narrative, replete with touches of dramatic personation, of course predominates in an art derived from such original fountains.

Yet the distinction between epic and lyric narrative should be marked. The one is copious, the other rapid. Epic narrative revels in details, and casts many a 'longing, lingering' glance on the minute particulars of action. Lyric narrative is swift and summary, bounding from one salient point to another. Look at the story of Pelops in the first Olympic ode. Here and elsewhere we shall use Mr Cary's version.

> 'He, soon as duskier down did shade
> The bloom upon his cheek display'd,
> Of ready nuptials thought;
> And from her Pisan sire, the glorious maid
> To win, Hippodameia sought.
> He came; and by hoar ocean's flood
> Alone in darkness stood,

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* Müller's Dorians, vol. ii., p. 385.

Then call'd amid the sullen roar
On him whose trident shook the shore.
Straight at his feet the god appear'd,
And thus his suppliant voice was heard.
" Neptune, if thou at all hast held
The gifts of Venus dear,
Of brave Œnomaus be quell'd
By thee the brazen spear.
In swiftest chariot speed me on
To Elis, and with triumph crown.
Thirteen hero-suitors slain,
His daughter's wedding he delays.
The mighty conquest, ne'er will gain
A man whom fear of peril frays.
And why, of those with death their doom,
Should any, sitting down in gloom,
Without a name his age consume,
Vainly ; nor a portion share
In aught that noble is and fair ?
Thine is the trial ; and thine be
To grant success and victory."
He spoke ; nor fail'd of his desire.
And, honouring him, the god
A golden car bestow'd,
And winged steeds that never tire.
Œnomaus fell his might before,
And the virgin bride he led.
Six lordly sons to him she bore,
Each in school of virtues bred.
And now by Alpheus' wave he lies,
Mingled with famous obsequies,
That round his tomb they celebrate,
Near the great altar's thronged state.'

Take the picture of Bellerophon in the thirteenth :—

' Straight to the winged steed rush'd on,
With sturdy step, Bellerophon ;
And seizing, to his cheek applied
The charm that sooth'd his swelling pride.
Them soon the azure depths enfold
Of ether waste and cold ;
Whence levelling his aim,
The Amazonian crew,
And Chimæra breathing flame,
And the Solymi he slew.
His final doom in silence past
Shall be by me conceal'd.
The ancient stalls of Jove at last
The courser, in Olympus, held.'

We wish we could find room for the whole exquisite romance of the fourth Pythian—Jason—the Argonauts—Medea—so vigorous a burst of true lyric narration, that the poet is forced to take breath, at the close, in sixty-six verses of quaint moralizing. We may at least give the sailing of Argo :—

> ' And soon as by the vessel's bow,
> The anchor was hung up ;
> Then took the leader on the prow,
> In hands, a golden cup ;
> And on great father Jove did call ;
> And on the winds and waters all
> Swept by the hurrying blast ;
> And on the nights, and ocean ways ;
> And on the fair auspicious days,
> And lov'd return at last.
> From out the clouds, in answer kind,
> A voice of thunder came ;
> And shook in glistering beams around
> Burst out the lightning-flame.
> The chiefs breath'd free ; and at the sign,
> Trusted in the power divine.
> Hinting sweet hopes, the seer cried,
> Forthwith their oars to ply ;
> And swift went backward from rough hands,
> The rowing ceaselessly.
> ' Conducted by the breezy south,
> They reach'd the stormy Axine's mouth ;
> There a shrine for Neptune rear'd ;
> Of Thracian bulls, a crimson herd
> Was ready ; and heav'n-founded stone,
> Wide-spread, to lay the altar on.
> Peril deep before them lay ;
> And to the Lord of ships they pray,
> Amidst their ever-raging shocks,
> To 'scape the justle of fierce rocks.
> For twain there were, alive, that whirl'd
> Swifter than bellowing winds are hurl'd.
> But now to them, that voyage blest
> Brought their final day of rest.'

It were easy to show, with ampler space at our command, how the circumstances of Pindar's life, and the prominent traits of his mental constitution, qualified and prepared him for a species of poetry, that speaks the language of emotion with the freest scope and strongest stimulants that can assist the developement of that principle. He was, almost in a literal sense, the child of harmony and song. Music and poetry were hereditary in his family ;

and the fable of bees hovering about him in infancy, may be solved by the dulcet sounds and sweet influences that were sure to prevail around his cradle. As the child grew into the minstrel, he was committed to the gentle discipline of womanhood and beauty. With Myrtis for his 'female professor,' and Corinna for his rival, he must have been a dull boy had he escaped inspiration. The Pythagorean creed and practice of his riper years—the pure abstemious habits of that philosophy—were well calculated to refine and invigorate an ethereal temperament. And born during the Pythian festival—living among solemn pomps and ceremonies—he died as he had lived, amid the blaze of a theatre, rapt in emotions of joyful sympathy. Here we may trace the causes, and the congenial destiny, of a glowing poetical character. He was always in contact with splendour, and splendour became the passion of his soul. His genius, like the Eagle of Jove, reposed upon the sceptre and the god. Thus, when the advice of Corinna had taught him to find in the *mythus*, or fable, the main business of the higher branches of poetry, we need not wonder that the acts of deities, the victories of puissant kings, or the adventures of heroic chiefs, were usually selected by him as the burden of his lays. He arranges them, too, with a most herald-like attention to precedence. The mere prize-man is often dismissed in a few lines, that he may hurry to the praises of some hero-ancestor. Chiefs give place to demigods, and demigods to gods. It is, indeed, but justice to Pindar to admit, that his aristocratic predilections for wealth, rank, and every species of greatness, are tempered and redeemed by fervent piety. He had that over-mastering sentiment of veneration, which is observable in many great poets, but it drew his eyes as frequently and fondly to divine as to human glories. The mere abstract feeling, however, without analyzing its objects and tendencies, was enough to make him bestow all his energies on the *epinicia*—the triumphal songs—to which his extant works belong; and is sufficient to convince us, that in these we have specimens of his highest powers exerted on his favourite themes.

There is something about Mr Cary, likewise, that peculiarly fits him to be the echo of such a writer as Pindar. Already, as a successful translator, he has become familiar with the solemn thoughts, and bold, rough, burning style of a genius of antique mould. Those who are conversant with both poets, will not wonder that the interpreter of Dante should excel in the interpretation of the Theban lyric. And the same taste, which brought Mr Cary into a close relation with these two great authors, has led him to drink deeply at the ancient well-heads of our own poetry, and to imbue his diction with a strong tinge of

a phraseology, better adapted than any other form of English speech to be the exponent of Pindaric thoughts and imagery. Many a floating sound from the early English lyre will be caught amid his lines by ears accustomed to its music. In one essential particular, his version of Pindar is superior even to his excellent translation of the Italian poet. He has often, though not always, forced English words and rhythm into a close resemblance to the Greek metres. This was no easy task in dealing with a writer whose numbers are so uncommon and so diversified as those of Pindar. We believe that in the original odes, when properly arranged, scarcely an example of the more ordinary measures can be found. There is no heroic hexameter; no tetrameter, anapæstic, trochaic, or iambic; only one senarian; no elegiac pentameter; no Sapphic hendecasyllable or Alcaic stanza. Mr Cary could not be expected to bid equal defiance to all the usual species of vernacular verse. But he has mixed and modified them with much skill, under the guidance of a good ear, and with the consciousness that such an effort was due to his author. Pindar studiously maintains a relation between his metre and rhythm and his thoughts; light with light, grave with grave;—a merit the more remarkable, when we consider the difficulties imposed by the strophic form of his compositions, and the consequent necessity of sometimes accommodating the argument to the metre, as well as the metre to the argument. The specimens, which we shall now select, will show how far Mr Cary has been able to imitate him.

It was a hard matter to determine our choice of extracts. Jealous for the fame of a favourite poet, we had at first marked off those brilliant passages, so dear to all who are enamoured of the archaic muse—the Islands of the Blest, in the second Olympic—the birth of Iamus, in the sixth—the apparition of Rhodes, emerging from the depths of ocean, in the seventh—the rape of Cyrene, in the ninth Pythian—the infant Hercules, in the first Nemean—the marriage of Thetis, in the last Isthmian—and not a few besides. But it is perhaps more fair to the reader, as more likely to yield an entire unbroken impression both of Pindar's manner, and of his translator's, to give two complete odes, of different compass, style, and subject,—elegance the characteristic of the one, power and boldness of the other.

The fourteenth Olympic Ode was composed by Pindar, B.C. 476, in his forty-third year. Though written in honour of the boy Asopichus, it is virtually a hymn to the Orchomenian Graces—inspired by the gentle goddesses to whom it is addressed. The harmony and metres are Lydian, on the Æolic model; that is, they are more simple and tranquil than the true Æolic. For, on

their own genuine metres and harmony the Æolians stamped the character of their race. They were proud, rash, intemperate, inconstant; devoted to love, wine, and horsemanship: hence their governments were convulsed by the perpetual shocks of despotism and oligarchical faction,—their poets ran into the wildest extremes of license—their music was irregular and passionate—their metrical feet and rhythm were loose and wavering. All these attributes were softened and sobered down in the Lydian style. It was airy and graceful, not extravagant. Its properties are well shown in the lines which follow:

OLYMPIC XIV.

'O Ye, ordain'd by lot to dwell
Where Cephisian waters well;
And hold your fair retreat,
'Mid herd of coursers beautiful and fleet:
Renowned Queens, that take your rest
In Orchomenus the blest,
Guarding with ever-wakeful eye,
The Minyans' high-born progeny;
To you my votive strains belong:
List, Graces, to your suppliant's song.
For all delightful things below,
All sweet, to you their being owe;
And at your hand, their blessings share,
The wise, the splendid, and the fair.

'Nor without the holy Graces,
The Gods, in those supernal places,
Their dances or their banquets rule:
Dispensers they of all above,
Throughout the glorious court of Jove;
Where each has placed her sacred stool
By the golden-bow'd Apollo,
Whom in his harpings clear they follow;
And the high majestic state
Of their eternal father venerate.

'Daughters of heav'n; Aglaia, thou,
Darting splendours from thy brow;
With musical Euphrosyne;
Be present. Nor less call I thee,
Tuneful Thalia, to look down
On this joyous rout, and own
Me their bard, who lead along,
For Asopichus, the throng
Tripping light to Lydian song;

And Minya for thy sake proclaim
Conqueress in th' Olympic game.

'Waft, Echo, now, thy wing divine
To the black dome of Proserpine;
And marking Cleodamus there,
Tell the glad tidings; how his son,
For him, hath crown'd his youthful hair
With plumes in Pisa's valley won.'

We have a dim, dream-like recollection of having somewhere seen—inscribed, we think, upon the wall of a summer-house, or grotto—a version of the most exquisite portion of this ode, from the pen of an almost superstitious worshipper of the Graces—Samuel Rogers. But being unable, at this moment, to recover any distinct traces of that translation, we are glad to have so good a substitute from Mr Cary. His rendering of the whole poem is close, nervous, and polished. Where he has added an epithet, or expanded a phrase, the effect is not to give a weaker, but a more forcible and lively image of the original.

Six years later than the date of this elegant hymn the genius of Pindar reached its acmé, and the first Pythian was produced. Here he preferred the Dorian harmony. As the Dorians themselves were grave, chaste, manly, composed, severe, so their numbers were temperate and equable, their whole system of versification was marked by a strenuous simplicity. How far the spirit of the following ode agrees with these properties of rhythm and metre the reader must judge:

PYTHIAN I.

'O thou, whom Phœbus and the quire
Of violet-tressed Muses own,
Their joint treasure, golden Lyre,
Ruling step with warbled tone,
Prelude sweet to festive pleasures;
Minstrels hail thy sprightly measures;
Soon as shook from quivering strings,
Leading the choral bands, thy loud preamble rings.
In thy mazes, steep'd, expire
Bolts of ever-flowing fire.
Jove's eagle on the sceptre slumbers,
Possess'd by thy enchanting numbers;
On either side, his rapid wing,
Drops, entranc'd, the feather'd king;
Black vapour o'er his curved head,
Sealing his eyelids, sweetly shed;
Upheaving his moist back he lies,
Held down with thrilling harmonies.

Mars the rough lance has laid apart,
And yields to song his stormy heart.
No God but of his mood disarm'd,
Is with thy tuneful weapons charm'd;
Soon as Latona's sapient son
And deep-zon'd Muses have their lays begun.
But whomsoever Jove
Hath look'd on without love,
Are anguish'd when they hear the voiceful sound;
Whether on land they be,
Or in the raging sea;
With him, outstretch'd on dread Tartarian bound,
Hundred-headed Typhon; erst
In fam'd Cilicia's cavern nurst;
Foe of the Gods; whose shaggy breast,
By Cuma's sea-beat mound, is prest;
Pent by plains of Sicily,
And that snow'd pillar heavenly high,
Ætna, nurse of ceaseless frost;
From whose cavern'd depths aspire,
In purest folds upwreathing, tost,
Fountains of approachless fire.
By day, a flood of smouldering smoke,
With sullen gleam, the torrents pour;
But in darkness, many a rock,
Crimson flame, along the shore,
Hurls to the deep with deaf'ning roar.
From that Worm, aloft are thrown,
The wells of Vulcan, full of fear;
A marvel strange to look upon;
And, for the passing mariner,
As marvellous to hear;
How Ætna's tops with umbrage black,
And soil, do hold him bound;
And by that pallet, all his back
Is scored with many a wound.

'*Thy pleasure, Jove, oh, be thy pleasure done!*
Who dost this mount command,
Forehead of fruitful land,
Whence her illustrious founder hath surnam'd
The neighbour city, whom in Pytho's ring
The herald, late, proclaim'd
For Hiero, in his chariots triumphing.

'By sailors, when they quit the coast,
At loosing, it is prized the most,
If speeding gale should come;
For so, with fortune to their friend,

Alike they augur, in the end,
A better voyage home:
And on such auspices we found
Opinion, that no less renown'd
She still shall be, as time succeeds;
Her garlands bright, her conquering steeds,
Ordain'd, in frequent song, the prize
Mid feasts and high solemnities.

'O Lycian! thou who art in Delos king;
Apollo; and dost love the spring
Of Castaly, outrilling
From the Parnassian steep;
Mayst thou be ever willing,
This, in thy thought to keep,
And the fair region, in her people, blest.
For of the Gods, whate'er is best
In mortal virtues; all the wise are sprung,
And all the stout in hand, and eloquent in tongue.

'Intent this man to praise,
I trust to whirl my javelin, brazen-tipt,
Not out of limit, yet that all who raise
A rival arm, shall be by far outstript.

'So may time, still heaping more,
His blissful measure fill;
Directing, with increase of store,
Forgetfulness of ill.
He surely may recall to thought
In what wars he hath defied
(His soul with patient courage fraught)
The fierce encounter, when they glory found,
Such as in Hellenian ground,
By help divine, none culls beside;
Riches, with proud honour, crown'd.

'Now, Philoctetes' guise pursuing,
He hath the soldier play'd.
A mighty one in need came wooing,
And lured him to his aid;
And from the Lemnian isle, they say,
Where long with ulcer vex'd he lay,
Godlike heroes bore away
The bowyer son of Pæan, who destroy'd
The town of Priam, and for Grecia's host
Their labour ended: weak in frame he went
But fate had will'd th' event.
E'en so may God for Hiero decree,

That what in after time he covets most,
Shall be by apt occasion still enjoy'd.

'Muse, I would next a strain from thee,
Warbled to Dinomenes;
Reward for chariots won.
Not alien to a son,
His father's victories.

'Come, for the King of Ætna let us find
A song to take his charmed mind.
For him arose, at Hiero's command,
Those stately walls in freedom plann'd;
The model built by hands divine,
The rule outstretch'd by Hyllus' line.

'And aye Ægimius' Dorian laws
Are duly kept by each, who draws
His lineage, or from Pamphilus,
Or th' Heraclidæ; they who bide
Near banks of steep Taÿgetus,
And to Amyclæ, from the side
Of Pindus issuing, came; and neighbours were
Right glorious to those twins of Tyndarus,
Whose fame did flourish for their warlike spear.
Grant, Jove, a lot like theirs,
To dwellers by the wave of Amena,
Both citizens and kings;
Certain as true report from mortals brings.
With thee to guide his wakeful cares,
His realm in quiet may the ruler sway;
And turning them to love,
Honour the people; bid his son obey.
Hear, O Saturnian; thou my prayer approve.
Undisturb'd at home let dwell
Phœnicia's band; nor more rebel
The tumult of Tyrrhenian crew,
Marking what shameful rout o'erthrew
Their groaning ships on Cuma's shore,
And all in that defeat they bore
(As swift his victor navy flew)
From Syracusa's lord;
Who dash'd their youth into the sea,
Setting the land of Grecia free
From servitude abhorr'd.

'*At Salamis I claim of right*
A grace for Athens; and will tell,
Before Cithæron, Sparta's fight,
Where with bent bows the Medians fell.

On Himera's well-water'd coast,
For sons of brave Dinomenes,
The hymn, by valour earn'd, shall boast
What fears their fallen foemen seize.

'If any speak in season due,
And ravel up into a few
His many ends combin'd;
Censorious blame attends him less.
Prolix and wearisome excess
Will dull a nimble mind;
And neighbours' ears in secret pine
At blessings that in others shine.
But thou no less (for better far
Envy than pity be our share)
Each noble aim pursue.
With rudder just thy people guide;
And steel thy tongue, however tried,
On anvil firm and true.
Aught but from thee at random thrown,
As somewhat great, abroad is blown.
To many thou dividest sway;
And many mark thee, either way,
Thy faithful witnesses.

'Still hold thy bloom of bravery on;
No cost, no labour be foregone
To feed this proud excess.
If aught, O friend, to thee be dear
The pleasant sound, that greets thine ear;
Like some bold helmsman, spreading strain
Thy wind-swept canvas; and disdain
The flatt'ring wiles of meaner gain.

'At close of glory's boastful day,
Sure as the mighty pass away,
To point their lives, alone remain
Recording tale and poet's strain.
Fades not the worth of Crœsus mild:
But Phalaris, with blood defil'd,
His brazen bull, his torturing flame,
Hand o'er alike to evil fame
In every clime. No tuneful string,
No voice, that makes the rafters ring,
Receive his name, in hall or bower,
When youth and joyance wing the hour.

'First prize to mortals, good success;
Next portion, good renown:

Whomever both conspire to bless,
He wins the highest crown.'

We have printed some of these verses in italics, to mark our dissent from the translation. The words,

——— αἱρέομαι
Πὰρ μὲν Σαλαμῖνος Ἀθηναίων χάριν
Μισθὸν· ἐν Σπάρτᾳ δ' ἐρέω
Πρὸ Κιθαιρῶνος μάχαν· *

are improperly rendered,

'At Salamis I claim of right
A grace for Athens; and will tell
Before Cithæron, Sparta's fight.'

Pindar does not transport himself in imagination either to Salamis or to Cithæron. The last part of the sentence is exactly the reverse of what Mr Cary makes it. He will *speak of the fight before Cithæron* (Platæa) *at Sparta;* not *of Sparta's fight at Cithæron.* And the meaning of the first part is either, 'I extol the glory of the Athenians, won at Salamis, as their reward;' or, 'I derive from Salamis (celebrated by me) the favour of the 'Athenians as my reward.' Again,

Υἱῷ τ' ἐπιτελλόμενος δᾶμον τε γέρων τράποι σύμφωνον ἐφ' ἀσυχίαν·

does not mean

'And turning them to love,
Honour the people; bid his son obey.'

Even according to Heyne's reading the sense implied is, 'and 'may the old man, too, committing the people to his son, turn 'them to concord and tranquillity.'† So,

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* In arranging the lines quoted from Pindar, we have followed Heyne, as Mr Cary seems to have done in his translation. Böckh's elaborate treatise on the Pindaric metres contains many strong arguments in favour of the different arrangement adopted in his edition; particularly with regard to the impropriety of dividing a word between two verses. But the change he makes is, on the whole, too violent to receive the general sanction of scholars.

† Böckh's lection is,

υἱῷ γ' ἐπιτελλόμενος, δᾶμον γεραίρων τράποι σύμφωνον ἐφ' ἀσυχίαν,

where he has manuscripts in favour of the chief alteration.

Τῷ πόλιν κείναν θεοδμά—
τῳ σὺν ἐλευθερίᾳ
Ὑλλίδος στάθμας Ἱέρων
Ἐν νόμοις ἔκτισσε.

is strangely perverted to

'Those stately walls in freedom plann'd;
The model built by hands divine,
The rule outstretch'd by Hyllus' line.'

Mr Cary here writes like a mason. But Pindar alludes to the freedom of the Dorian constitution, and the laws of the Heraclidæ. Some lines further back, 'directing,' for εὐθύνοι, is more Greek than English; and

'Her garlands bright, her conquering steeds,
Ordain'd, in frequent song, the prize,'

is, we suspect, neither English nor Greek. These lapses, however, are trivial, compared to the great blunder on the loftiest passage in the ode:

Εἴη, Ζεῦ, τὶν εἴη ἀνδάνειν·

Could Mr Cary not perceive that this is a grand burst of natural religion? The preceding verses display an aggregation of terrible magnificence; all the awe-inspiring wonders of divine rage. The poet has worked his mind into an agony of devout fear; and he gives a voice to the emotion, for himself and his friends:

'Be it ours, O Jove, be it ours to please thee!'

We hope that Mr Cary will restore this fine conception in his next edition. The original will not bear his translation,

'Thy pleasure, Jove, oh, be thy pleasure done!'

And, if it would, he has every kind of authority against him, and in favour of the meaning which we have assigned to the expressions. The Scholiast is against him; Heyne is against him; Böckh is against him; the spirit of poetry is against him—especially the spirit of Pindar's poetry.

We urge no more objections. The rest of the version is worthy of the highest praise; and we leave the first Pythian, in all its strength—and its weakness—as a fair specimen both of Pindar and of Mr Cary.

Art. VII.—*The Round Towers of Ireland; or the Mysteries of Freemasonry, of Sabaism, and of Budhism, for the first time unveiled.* 'Prize Essay' of the Royal Irish Academy, enlarged, and embellished with numerous illustrations. By Henry O'Brien, Esq. A.B. 8vo. London: 1834.

We were beginning to fear that the good old race of etymologists and antiquarians were all extinct; and most sincerely should we have lamented their loss. For, next to the fairy tales of our childhood, in nothing have we ever half so much delighted as in the lucubrations of these grave twisters of words,—these searchers after syllables through the vast night of time. When, sometimes, with the industrious and truly learned historian of Manchester, we have gone roaming in quest of Celtic roots (which seem to have the fecundating effect of those of the mandrake upon a certain class of brains), and, by their aid, lighted upon the agreeable, though rather startling intelligence, that there existed sheriffs of the county of Wilts in the time of Julius Cæsar;* when, by the same means, we have discovered that the Briton who invited Cæsar to this island was the unworthy son of no less honest a citizen than the Chancellor of Albury College, in, or near London,† our delight, on finding ourselves so much at home with the Roman conqueror and his cotemporaries, was far too lively to let us pause upon any sceptical doubts, or think on how small a modicum of monosyllables the whole vision rested.

But, of all the grave freaks of erudition, the sober antics of archæology that have, at times, diverted us, those of the gallant and venerable champion of Irish Antiquity, General Vallancey, assert the strongest claims to our recollection and gratitude. The exceeding complacency with which he detects an ancient Punic gentleman speaking good Irish, in one of Plautus's plays; his modest suggestion, whether a gold collar, which had been picked up out of a turf-bog, in the county of Limerick, might not be the actual Breastplate of Judgment,—the Urim and Thummim of the Jews;‡ the conclusion he comes to, that the Iroquois Indians of North America must be the very same people as the Irish, because the former call the sun Grounhia, and the latter call him

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* *Specimen of an Etymological Vocabulary*, &c. p. 89.
† P. 177. ‡ *Collectanea*, No. 13.

Grian; and, not to enumerate too many such dazzling speculations at once, his discovery, that Ossian was the Messiah, and St Patrick the Devil;†—these, and a number of other such erudite fancies, which are to be found in the same antiquarian's writings, we should have cited as unrivalled flights in this peculiar walk of research, had we not met with the ingenious and precious volume which forms the subject of this article.

So long had Vallancey been accustomed to look at his beloved Ireland through an orientalizing medium, that she grew, at last, to be as completely an Eastern island, in his eyes, as if, (like the Casa Santa which angels wafted, we are told, from Galilee to Loretto,) the Green Isle had, in times past, been transported from the Sea of Oman, or some other such summer quarters, and dropped, much to its discomposure, in the cold comfortless Atlantic. That there exist strong traces of an Oriental origin in the language, character, and monuments of the Irish people, no fair enquirer into the subject will be inclined to deny. Vallancey himself, indeed, began with this moderate view of the matter; and his first works, relating to Ireland, abound with materials of knowledge, which must always render them valuable to her historians and antiquaries. But, by dint of reading and writing for ever on the same theme, by labouring constantly at his favourite parallel between the Easterns and the Irish, he at last worked himself into a state little short of monomania on the subject. Not content with merely deriving the Irish nation from the ancient Chaldæans, Persians, Scytho-Iberians, or whatever other name he chose to give to their progenitors, he seems, at last, to have almost persuaded himself that the offspring has changed but little on the way, and that the Irish continue to be good Chaldæans, Persians, Scytho-Iberians, &c., to this very day.

Not only does he often quote vernacular Irish writers as good authorities respecting Eastern affairs, but even intimates that they know much more of the matter than the Easterns themselves; and the reason alleged by him for questioning the authenticity of the Phœnician history attributed to Sanchoniathon is, that it differs in some particulars, respecting the Cabiric mysteries, from what Irish History has, it seems, recorded, on the

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* *Vindication of the Ancient History of Ireland*, p. 395.

† 'His (St Patrick's) name was Succat. He said he was come to preach the doctrine of the great prophet *Oishan* (the Messiah); but the Magi, wishing to keep up their authority and religion, then declared, if *Nian*, i. e. *Oishin*, was come, then he, *Succat*, must be *Paterah*, that is the Devil, and from hence his name Patric.'—*Vind.* 251.

same recondite topic. The point at issue between Sanchoniathon and the Irish is thus, with ludicrous gravity, laid down by the learned General.

'This I venture to say, from comparing the Irish history of the Cabiri with the Phœnician; for example, why should *Ouranus*, the Heavens, marry his sister *Ge*, the Earth, and bring forth, 1st, Ilus, who is called Cronus; 2d, Betylus; 3d, Dagon, who is Siton, or the god of corn; and, 4th, Atlas; because in the Irish story, Aoran the ploughman marries *Ge* or *Ce*, the Earth, and the first ploughing brings forth Ilus, weeds, stones, oats, &c. &c.'

That we should have despaired of ever finding another such antiquarian,—one so rich in absurdity,—will hardly be deemed wonderful. But 'the thing that hath been is that which shall be;' and the cycle of human absurdity, if it does not, like the Periodic year of the Stoics, bring back the same man to say the same foolish thing, brings round others, at least, to say it *for* him. Not only in the work on the 'Round Towers,' now before us, but also in another extraordinary production, entitled 'Nimrod,' as remarkable for its eccentricity as for its omnigenous erudition, there occur speculations respecting Ireland and her past history, which even Vallancey might wish his own; and which show clearly, that to write about that country almost as much unsettles the wits of people as to legislate for it.

Taking up the notion that Ulysses, in the course of the various voyages attributed to him, passed some time in Ireland, 'I 'am strongly of opinion,' says the author of *Nimrod*, 'that 'Ulysses is the original Patricius of Ireland, celebrated in the 'style of a Saint, as Hercules, Perseus, and Triptolemus were 'at Antioch, and afterwards throughout Christendom, under the 'name of Georgius, the seventh champion.' Having thus satisfied himself that Ulysses was St Patrick, he arrives, with equal ease, at the conclusion that Penelope was St Bridget,* and informs us that her famous distaff is still preserved in the island of

* 'The Greeks had a custom, long retained by the Athenians, of carrying, each new year, to their neighbour's house, an olive branch surrounded with wool, and called *Eires-Ionè, the Dove's-branch with Wool;* and these yearly visits, I conceive, are nearly akin to those mentioned by Suidas in 'ΙΩ. Now, the Celts of Britain or Armorica, in France, have the like custom of going with the mistletoe to each other's doors, at the new year, crying, "au gui l'an neuf." That the branch with wool relates to the distaff of Penelope, or St Bridget, I think probable from Homer's line,

Αυτη δ' ιγον ὑφαινοι επ' ηλεκτρω ἐἐανια.'

Nimrod, vol. ii., p. 662.

Berkerry. Among his reasons for concluding that Ulysses was St Patrick are the following:—'Ulysses, during his detention 'in Aiaia, was king of a host of swine; and Patrick, during a 'six years' captivity in the hands of king Milcho or Malcho, was 'employed to keep swine. Ulysses flourished in Babel, and St 'Patrick was born at Nem-Turris, or the Celestial Tower: the 'type of Babel, in Irish mythology, is Tory Island, or the Island 'of the Tower.'

Whether it is supposed by this learned gentleman that the poet Homer ever visited Ireland, we cannot very clearly make out; but that some of Homer's near relatives were once quartered there is evidently his opinion. 'At the time of St Patrick's landing,' he says, '*Niul of the nine hostages* was King of Ireland; but I 'strongly suspect the fable of his hostages originated in Homer's 'name being supposed to mean *a hostage*, and that the nine hos- 'tages are nine Homers, or successions of Homeridæ, from Niul 'the Learned.'* The Irish might well afford to spare *one* Ossian to Macpherson, when they were so well supplied with Homers. The fabulous cave, in the province of Ulster, called St Patrick's Purgatory, he supposes to be the fosse dug by Ulysses, as mentioned in the Odyssey; and his mode of accounting for the name of Ulster, on this supposition, is not a little ingenious. 'The fossa Patricii,' he says, 'was in the province called Ulidia, 'Oylister, or Ulster, which seems to me to be *Ulyssis Terra*.'

We cannot, even thus passingly, advert to this very singular work without expressing seriously our regret that such rich and varied stores of scholarship, so much refined ingenuity and industrious zeal, should have been employed in researches which but longsomely and laboriously lead to nothing, and speculations little more sound than are a sick man's dreams.

We have now to ascend, even still higher, the cloud-capt regions of Antiquarianism, in order to arrive at Mr O'Brien, who sits supreme in his vocation,—'*sedet altus Olympo*,'—overtopping even the old Pelion, Vallancey himself. Though this gentleman's present labours refer chiefly to that most fertile source of wonderment and conjecture, the Irish Round Towers, the remote date of these venerable structures throws open so wide a play-ground to the fancy, that he must be a puny Milesian who could not, like Sir Callaghan O'Brallaghan, 'people' the whole space between 'with his own hands.' The original Essay, of which the volume before us is an enlargement, obtained one of the prizes proposed by the Royal Irish Academy, in the

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* P. 639.

year 1832, for the best Essay on the subject of the Round Towers of Ireland. Conceiving himself alone to be in the secret of the birth, parentage, and bringing up of these Towers, Mr O'Brien naturally felt aggrieved by the decision of the Council, which adjudged the principal prize to another, and, as he thought, unduly favoured competitor; and a correspondence ensued, in consequence, between him and some of the officers of the Academy, which is now laid before the public in the Preface to the present work.

Mr O'Brien's anxiety for the preservation of his great secret respecting the Towers, seems to have haunted him even to the very eve of its disclosure, as appears from the following note, addressed by him to a brother antiquarian, Mr Godfrey Higgins, the author of 'The Celtic Druids.'

'*May* 2, 1833.

'Dear Sir,—I hope you will not feel displeased at the frankness of this question which I am about to propose to you, viz. have you any objection to show me, in the manuscript, before you send to print, the terms in which you speak of me, in reference to those points of information which I intrusted to your confidence—such as the ancient names of Ireland, and their derivation, the towers and founders, dates, &c.

'Should you think proper to consent to this feeling of anxiety on my part, I shall be most willing to share with you those other "points" which I exclusively retain. To the full extent you shall have these,' &c.

Mr Higgins's answer to the above note follows; and from this document it transpires that the Round Towers were not Mr O'Brien's only secret, but that he also knew something about the Indian god, Buddha, which he was no less anxious to keep concealed from the ears of the profane.

'*May* 3, 1833.

'My dear O'Brien,—You may be perfectly assured I shall print nothing which I have learned from you without acknowledging it. But I have really forgotten what you told me, because I considered that I should see it in print in a few days. Any thing I shall write on the subject, will not be printed for years after your books have been before the public. You did not tell me the name of Buddha, but I told it *you*, that it was Saca or Saca-sa, which I have already printed a hundred times, and can show you in my great quarto, when you take your tea with me, as I hope you will to-morrow. Sir W. Betham told me of the Fire Towers being * * * * last night, at the Antiquarian Society. Yours truly, G. Higgins.'

It will be seen from this, that Mr Higgins,—who, being an antiquarian himself, ought to have known better,—had not only

promulgated, before the 'time was ripe,' the ineffable name, Sacasa, but had even blabbed, at a learned rout, the great secret of the Round Towers. Not to subject ourselves to a charge of similar imprudence, we have thrown, as the reader sees, a modest veil of asterisks round the mystery; being resolved,—for our own parts, at least,—to keep Mr O'Brien's secret religiously and faithfully. We may be told that already it is all in print,—but publishing is not always divulging; and we would almost pledge ourselves that the secret of this book will be nearly as safe in the hands of its respectable publishers, Messrs Whittaker & Co., Ave-Maria Lane, as in Mr O'Brien's own breast.

Before we part, however, with his great mystery, we must say a word or two as to his boast of being himself the first promulgator of it. On the contrary, General Vallancey, from whom he has had most of his learned vagaries at second hand, is, in this instance also, his provider;—that imaginative General having drawn frequent parallels between the Muidhr of the Irish, and the Mahadeva of the Hindus,—between the emblem called Dia Teibith by the former, and the mystic Bahva of the latter. In the remarkable work, too, called 'Nimrod,' which we have just cited, and which has been before the public some years, Mr O'Brien will find this great discovery, which he so grandly proclaims to be 'now for the first time revealed,' stated quietly, in a single sentence, with as much *sang froid* as if it was no discovery at all. 'They are fire-temples,' (says the author of Nimrod,) 'and ithy-'phallic Nimrodian towers.' The contrast, indeed, between a self-satisfied Englishman and a self-satisfied Irishman could not be better illustrated than by the juxtaposition of this short, pithy assertion, with the following *Io Triumphe* of Mr O'Brien: —'Will this be considered the vapouring of conceit? is it the 'spouting of self-sufficient inanity? Let the heartless utilitarian, 'unable to appreciate the motives which first enlisted me in this 'enquiry, and which still fascinate my zeal, at an age, when,— 'did not my love for truth, and the rectification of my country's 'history, rise superior to the mortification of alienated honour,— 'I should have flung from me letters and literature in disgust, 'and betaken myself an adventurer for distinction as a soldier,— 'let such, I say, conceal within himself his despicable worldly-'mindedness, and leave me unmolested, if unrewarded, to poste-'rity.'—P. 130.

Again, in commemorating Persia, as the builder of the Irish Round Towers, he exclaims—'This was the moment of Persia's 'halcyon pride: this the period of her earthly coruscation: to 'this have all the faculties of my ardent mind been addressed;

'and while, in the humble consciousness of successful investigation, 'I announce its issue to have far exceeded my hopes, I shall 'avail myself of the industry of preceding enquirers to throw 'light upon the intervals, of value, which intervene.'—P. 178.

We have also another remark to venture, with respect to one of the engravings with which Mr O'Brien has decorated his book. We recollect, in Sir Walter Scott's Life of Dryden, where he mentions the compliment intended by Tonson to King William, in having the features of Æneas, in all the prints to Dryden's Virgil, made to resemble those of the monarch, the illustrious biographer tells us that the engraver contrived 'to aggravate the 'nose of Æneas into a sufficient resemblance to the hooked pro-'montory of the Deliverer's countenance.' In a similar manner, we suspect that Mr O'Brien's engraver has been induced to accommodate the Tower of Clondalkin to his learned employer's theory. We say no more:—*Norunt Fideles.*

In most of his general views, Mr O'Brien follows implicitly, as we have said, in the steps of Vallancey. With that great mixer up of nations, he conceives the Chaldæans to have been among the earliest colonists of Ireland,—supplying this colony from his own pure fancy, with an order of priests called Boreades, by whom the Scythian Druids that succeeded them were instructed, he says, in all sorts of knowledge. Like Vallancey, too, he seems well disposed to make the most of the Irish, in the way of antiquarianism, by converting them into a number of other people, besides Chaldæans,—such as Etrurians, Hindus, Pishdadians, Egyptians, &c.

The famous traveller, Bishop Pococke, on visiting Ireland, after his return from the East, was much struck, as a letter of his own informs us, with 'the amazing conformity' he observed between the Irish and the Egyptians; and a wag of the present day has pointed out a mark of affinity between the two nations, which, to our minds, is quite as satisfactory as any that Bishop Pococke himself could suggest. It runs thus:—

'According to some learn'd opinions,
The Irish once were Carthaginians;
But, judging from some late descriptions,
I'd rather say they were Egyptians.
My reason's this:—the Priests of Isis,
When forth they march'd, in grand array,
Employ'd, 'mong other strange devices,
A Sacred Ass to lead the way.
And still the antiquarian traces,
'Mong Irish Lords, this Pagan plan;
For still, in all religious cases,
They put Lord R——n in the van.'

It is no doubt in consequence of this particular origin of his countrymen, that Mr O'Brien assures us the Egyptian name, Osiris, ought to be written, in the proper Milesian manner, O'Siris—like O'Gorman Mahon or O'Brien.

By Shaw, Jones, and other African travellers, we have been furnished with vocabularies of the language spoken by the people of Mount Atlas; and the close resemblance which not only their language, but also some of their national customs, bear to those of the people of Ireland, are remarked strongly by Jones. Their manner particularly of crying out the Ulalu,—or, as they read it, 'Wiley, wiley, wogh, wogh,' over the dead,—and their exclamations, 'Why did you die?' are described by this traveller as strikingly Irish.* Whatever grounds there may be for these representations, we ourselves once heard a Moorish gentleman, who has been many years resident in England, relate a circumstance so curiously coincident with the accounts of these travellers, that we feel ourselves tempted to repeat it briefly here. Being, for a short time, on a visit to Ireland, and happening to stop one day at the post-office of a small country town, to enquire for letters, he heard with surprise a language sounding in his ears, whose tones for a moment made him believe himself in his own country. It was the conversation, in Irish, of some poor people who had thronged to look at him, and resembled remarkably, he said, the language of the Brerebbers, or African mountaineers; —a language which, by some writers, is said to be a corruption of the ancient Punic or Numidian.

A version which we have heard of this anecdote represents our Moorish friend as saying, that he understood these people, and could converse with them;—but our memory does not authorize us in venturing so far. Here, however, is a scent for Mr O'Brien, by following which all Mauritania may be transported to Connaught, or *vice versa*, just as it may suit his purpose. If we are to believe Jones, these original Irish of Mount Atlas are already all dressed for the occasion; as they wear, it seems, exactly the same sort of kilt, or philabeg, which used to be worn by the ancient Hibernians, and which we of Scotland have inherited from them.† Already the site of Carthage is signalized,

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* 'Shilhensis populus eundem quem Arabes, Judæi, et Hiberni habent ritum mortem amicorum deplorandi, vociferando *Wiley! wiley! wogh! wogh!* &c. terram in ordine pulsantes, sculpentes vultum et evellentes crines suos, dicendo *woe! woe!* cur mortuus es? *woe! woe!*'—Jones, *Dissertatio de lingua Shillensi.*

† 'Habitus eorum similis est *Hibernico*, involvunt enim sese lodicibus, vel *lickseeas* duabus ulnis largis et 3 vel 4 longis: mulieres *Hibernicarum* more liberos humeris circumferunt.'—*Ib.*

not only by the Irish gentleman, from that city, who figures in Plautus, but by those good cakes, spotted over with the seeds of poppy, coriander, and saffron, which are, to this day, known in Dublin by the Oriental name of Baran breac.* Under the auspices of Mr O'Brien, the empire of the Nemedi, or Numidians, may be restored; and who knows but he may even resuscitate that famed 'Mauritanian Republic,' by a pretended Proclamation from which poor Sir Robert Wilson was once so well *hoaxed* in his early, fraternizing days?

Having said so much *of* Mr O'Brien, we feel that we are bound to let him speak a little for himself; and shall, therefore, through the remainder of this article, treat the reader to our author's *ipsissima verba.* Perceiving how extensive is his acquaintance with all the Eastern dialects, we were, for some time, doubtful as to which of them his own style principally follows;—but the information which he himself affords, on this point, relieves us from our uncertainty. After some remarks on the use of the initial letter E, in the Persico-Hibernian language, he proceeds thus:—

'The prefixing of this letter, in both instances of its occurrence, whether we regard the Eastern or Western hemisphere, [*i. e.* Persia or Ireland,] was neither the result of chance, nor intended as an operative in the import of the term. It was a mere dialectal distinction, appertaining to the court language of the dynasty of the times, and, what is astoundingly miraculous, retains the same appellation, with literal precision, unimpaired, unadulterated, in both countries, up to the moment in which I write.

'*Palavhi* is the appellation of this courtly dialect in *Persia*, and *Palahver* is the epithet assigned to it in *Ireland;* and such is the softness and mellifluence of its enchanting tones, and its energy also, that to soothe care, to excite sensibility, or to stimulate heroism, it may properly be designated as "the language of the Gods."'—P. 121.

The specimens of the *Palahver*, or Court language, which we are about to exhibit, must be considered, we presume, as of the most refined kind; though we confess our own learned researches would have suggested to us the Phœnician term, *Phudge*, as the most fitting and appropriate for them. Speaking of the various types and epithets under which woman and her attributes have been described in all the various mythologies of antiquity, he says,—

'Of all those various epithets, however vitiated by time, or injured by accommodation to different climates and languages, the import,—intact and undamaged,—is still preserved in the *primitive Irish tongue*,† and

* Ledwick, *Letter to Governor Pownal.*

† The Italics throughout are all Mr O'Brien's own.

in that alone; and with that fertility of conception whereby it engendered *all myths*, and kept the human intellect suspended by its *verbal phantasmagoria*, we shall find the *drift* and the *design*, the *type* and the *thing typified*, united in the ligature of one *appellative chord*, which, to the *enlightened* and the *few*, presented a chastened, yet sublime and microscopic, *moral* delineation; but, to the *profane* and the *many*, was an impenetrable night, producing submission the most slavish, and mental prostration the most abject; or, wherever a ray of the *equivoque* did happen to reach their eyes—perverted, with that propensity which we all have to the depraved, into the most reckless indulgence, and the most profligate *licentiousness*.'—P. 212.

The names given to Goddesses, he tells us, are to be taken in a double meaning, as referring equally to love and astronomy: thus,—

'From *Astarte* (Αστάρτη), the Greeks formed *Aster* (Αστήρ), a star, thereby retaining but one branch of this duplicity. The Irish deduced from it the well-known endearment, *Astore;* and I believe I do not exaggerate, when I affirm, that in the whole circuit of dialectal enunciations, there exists not another sound, calculated to convey to a native of this country so many commingling ideas of *tender pathos*, and of *exalted adventure*, as this syllabic representation of the *lunar* deity.'—P. 213.

In exposing some error of his great precursor, Vallancey, he thus eloquently characterises him:—

'This is but an *item* in that great ocean of incertitude in which that enterprising etymologist had, unfortunately, been swallowed up. Having perceived, by the perusal of the manuscripts of our country, that there must have been a time when it basked in the *sunshine* of literary superiority; yet unable tangibly to grapple with it, having no *clue* into the *origin* of its sacred repute, or the collateral particulars of its *date*, *nature*, or *supporters*, he was tossed about by the ferment of a *parturient* imagination, without the saving ballast of a *discriminating* faculty.'—P. 254.

After amassing proofs of his theory from mythology and etymology, our author next draws, for the same purpose, upon theology; and having proved, to his own satisfaction, that all the knowledge derived by Moses from the Egyptians, respecting the Creation, the Deluge, and the Fall, was learned by the latter from the Pish-de-danaan ancestors of the Irish, he comes to the conclusion, that the Jewish legislator, though 'talented, and 'otherwise highly favoured,' was wholly ignorant of the real meaning of what the Egyptians had taught him; and this ignorance he conceives (if we rightly understand the following paragraph) to have arisen solely from the unlucky circumstance of Moses never having learned Irish:—

'But though it is undeniable, from their *symbols*, that the Egyptians must have been well apprized of the *constitution* of those rites, yet am I

as satisfied as I am of my physical motion, that the folding of that *web*, in which they were so mystically *doubled*, was lost to their grasp in the labyrinths of antiquity.

'Moses, therefore, could not have *learned* from the Egyptians more than the Egyptians themselves had *known*. He related the allegory as he had *received* it from them; and it is, doubtless, to his ignorance of its *ambiguous interpretation, accessible only through that language in which it was originally involved*, that we are indebted for a transmission, *so essentially Irish*.'—P. 281.

Another source of theological error, which he traces equally to a want of knowledge of the Irish, is the false interpretation given, as he thinks, to the opening verses of the Gospel of St John, and more particularly to the word *Logos*, the true meaning of which is to be sought, not in Greek, but in Irish:—

'Having asserted that the preliminary part was inalienably *Irish*, I now undertake to prove a *radical misconception*, nay, a *derogation* from the *majesty* of the *Messiah*, to have crept into the text, in consequence of its having been translated by persons unacquainted with that language! The term *logos*, which you render *word*, means to an iota the *spiritual flame—log*, or *logh*, being the *original* denomination. The Greeks, who have borrowed all their religion from the Irish, adopted this also from their vocabulary; but its form not being suited to the genius of their language, they fashioned it thereto by adding the termination *os*, as *loghos*.'—P. 484.

There is still much more of this rich and rare matter,—every page, indeed, would afford specimens of it; nor is there any lack, as we have seen, of that sort of Irish eloquence, which, like the old Appian Way, holds on its course for some time prosperously, and then loses itself in a bog. We have also a good deal of the sort of etymology described in the following French epigram:—

'*Alfana* vient d'*equus* sans doute:
Mais il faut avouer aussi,
Qu'en venant delà jusqu'ici,
Il a bien changé sur sa route.'

But, however our own *foiblesse* for such speculations might tempt us to select a few more samples, we suspect that, by this time, our readers have had quite enough of them.

It can hardly be necessary, we trust, to say, that to no deficiency whatever of reverence for the high and authentic claims of Ireland to antiquity, nor to any want of deep interest in her history, is the light tone we may seem to have indulged, in the preceding remarks, to be attributed. If some, more ardent than judicious, among her champions, have erred through excess of zeal, and brought ridicule on a good cause by the extravagance of their advocacy, there are some, on the other hand, who have succeeded in shedding over her past times and records that steady light,

which alone distinguishes the bounds of truth from those of fiction. By the work of the late venerable librarian of Stowe, the authenticity of the Irish Chronicles is placed beyond dispute; and the Essay of Mr Dalton on the religion, learning, arts, and government of Ireland, abounds with research on these several subjects, alike creditable to his industry and his judgment. Let us hope that the same service which these and other sensible Irishmen have achieved for their country's *ancient* history, will be effected also for the *modern*, by the work which is now expected from Mr Moore.

Art. VIII.—*On the Connexion of the Physical Sciences.* By Mrs Somerville. 12mo. London: 1834.

We have already had an opportunity of making our readers acquainted with Mrs Somerville's valuable work 'on the 'Mechanism of the Heavens.' As the contents of that volume were of too abstruse a character to be accessible to any but mathematical readers, the author prefixed to it a preliminary dissertation, containing a general and popular view of the subject which she proposed to investigate, and a rapid sketch of the Physical Sciences which have the closest alliance with Astronomy. The interest which this work excited in the scientific world, created a desire on the part of its less gifted readers to possess a still more popular and enlarged view of the subjects of which it treats; and Mrs Somerville was naturally anxious to gratify a wish, which, in reference to the diffusion of popular science, had also, we believe, been expressed by the same distinguished individual who had suggested the composition of the original work. The author has therefore recast this preliminary dissertation; and by introducing the subjects of Meteorology, Electricity, Galvanism, and Magnetism, she has produced the present work 'On the Connexion of the Physical Sciences.' The volume is dedicated to the Queen in the following lines, which indicate the simplicity and modesty of character that distinguish the accomplished author:—'If I have succeeded in my endea-'vour to make the laws by which the material world is governed 'more familiar to my countrywomen, I shall have the gratifica-'tion of thinking that the gracious permission to dedicate my 'book to your Majesty has not been misplaced.'

While Mrs Somerville thus assigns to herself the task of making the laws of the material world more familiar to her country-

women, she proposes also the secondary object of pointing out the Connexion of the Physical Sciences.

'The progress of modern science, especially within the last 'five years, has been remarkable for a tendency to simplify the 'laws of nature, and to unite detached branches by general prin- 'ciples. In some cases identity has been proved where there 'appeared to be nothing in common, as in the electric and mag- 'netic influences; in others, as that of light and heat, such ana- 'logies have been pointed out as to justify the expectation that 'they will ultimately be referred to the same agent; and in all, 'there exists such a bond of union, that proficiency cannot be 'attained in any without a knowledge of others.

'Although well aware that a far more extensive illustration of 'these views might have been given, the author hopes that 'enough has been done to show the Connexion of the Physical 'Sciences.'—*Preface.*

Although the general view which Mrs Somerville has given of the Physical Sciences well illustrates their connexion and mutual dependence, yet it does not form any part of her plan to establish the identity of particular branches of knowledge, or to trace any bond of union by which they may be mutually enchained; or to point out the means by which the cultivation of any one science may lead to the extension of another. Such a discussion, however interesting in itself, and important to the progress of science, would have led her beyond the sphere of a popular treatise, and would have frustrated the principal object which she had in view.

This interesting volume, of which we shall proceed to convey some idea to our readers, cannot fail to be perused with a high degree of interest by all who have made the physical sciences the subject of their study. Without entering into minute details of facts, or diffuse explanations of phenomena, or tedious deductions of general laws, Mrs Somerville has given a condensed and perspicuous view of the general principles and leading facts of physical science, embracing almost all the modern discoveries which have not yet found their way into our elementary works. In this rapid sketch, to which the limits of a small volume have confined her, the author evinces a profound and accurate knowledge of her subject; and the great diversity of topics which pass under her review, are treated with much discrimination and sagacity. The style is simple, energetic, and perspicuous; and when the author has occasion to refer to some of the more striking phenomena of the material world, she rises into an eloquence at once striking and impressive.

But while we regard this volume as an excellent manual for those who have entered upon the study of natural philosophy, we

entertain some doubt whether it is sufficiently popular to initiate our fair countrywomen into a knowledge of the laws of the material universe. Excepting in the Appendix, on the explanation of terms, there is not a single diagram in the work; and when we consider how difficult it has always been found to convey to general readers a tolerable knowledge of physics, even with the aid of numerous and minute diagrams, and with the still better accompaniments of apparatus and experiments, we have some misgivings respecting the success of this part of Mrs Somerville's plan.

When a scientific expositor is not allowed to appeal to the eye in explaining phenomena which are susceptible of a figurate representation, he is forced to substitute a diffuse and circuitous illustration, and thus to make a severe and unnecessary demand both upon the memory and the judgment. But this is not the only objection to the want of ocular delineation. Even when the desired knowledge, whether it be a process of reasoning or the account of a phenomenon, has been actually communicated, the hold which it takes of the mind is much more permanent when it has been received through the intermedium of the eye. A diagram, indeed, and still more the exhibition of a phenomenon, not only associates with itself the ideas to which it relates, but forms the basis of a local memory, by which impressions, otherwise fleeting, may be rendered indelible. The mind is frequently unable either to apprehend or to fix ideas, of which the eye has not traced the symbols; and while there are many examples of the ear having parted with its acquisitions, there are few in which the eye has abandoned even its earliest phantasms. The memory of vision is certainly the trunk of the retentive faculty; and, when every branch has decayed, it remains the last and the firmest landmark of the mind.

Entertaining these views, we regret that, in imitation of La Place, in his celebrated 'Exposition of the System of the World,' Mrs Somerville should have declined the use of those auxiliaries which have been generally considered indispensable in the communication of scientific knowledge; and we would strongly urge her to reconsider this matter, before she publishes a second edition of her Treatise. A work on original science will not lose its value, even if it is conceived in mysticism, and written in hieroglyphics; but the ablest digest of physical knowledge, which is intended for the instruction of those who are not the best fitted for abstract study, will lose half its value, if it fails in accomplishing, or accomplishes imperfectly, its primary object.

From these general observations on Mrs Somerville's work, we shall now proceed to give our readers some idea of the man-

ner in which it has been executed. The subject of Astronomy, which forms more than one-third of the volume, is introduced by the following admirable observations :—

'Science, regarded as the pursuit of truth, which can only be attained by patient and unprejudiced investigation, wherein nothing is too great to be attempted, nothing so minute as to be justly disregarded, must ever afford occupation of consummate interest, and subject of elevated meditation. The contemplation of the works of creation elevates the mind to the admiration of whatever is great and noble; accomplishing the object of all study,—which, in the elegant language of Sir James Mackintosh, "is to inspire the love of truth, of wisdom, of beauty, especially of goodness, the highest beauty, and of that supreme and eternal Mind, which contains all truth and wisdom, all beauty and goodness. By the love or delightful contemplation and pursuit of these transcendent aims, for their own sake only, the mind of man is raised from low and perishable objects, and prepared for those high destinies which are appointed for all those who are capable of them."

'The heavens afford the most sublime subject of study which can be derived from science. The magnitude and splendour of the objects, the inconceivable rapidity with which they move, and the enormous distances between them, impress the mind with some notion of the energy that maintains them in their motions with a durability to which we can see no limit. Equally conspicuous is the goodness of the great First Cause, in having endowed man with faculties by which he can not only appreciate the magnificence of His works, but trace, with precision, the operation of his laws; use the globe he inhabits as a base wherewith to measure the magnitude and distance of the sun and planets, and make the diameter of the earth's orbit the first step of a scale by which he may ascend to the starry firmament. Such pursuits, while they ennoble the mind, at the same time inculcate humility, by showing that there is a barrier which no energy, mental or physical, can ever enable us to pass: that however profoundly we may penetrate the depths of space, there still remain innumerable systems, compared with which those apparently so vast must dwindle into insignificance, or even become invisible; and that not only man, but the globe he inhabits,—nay, the whole system of which it forms so small a part,—might be annihilated, and its extinction be unperceived in the immensity of creation.

'Although it must be acknowledged that a complete acquaintance with physical astronomy can be attained by those only who are well versed in the higher branches of mathematical and mechanical science, and that they alone can appreciate the extreme beauty of the results, and of the means by which these results are obtained, it is nevertheless true that a sufficient skill in analysis to follow the general outline,—to see the mutual dependence of the different parts of the system, and to comprehend by what means some of the most extraordinary conclusions have been arrived at,—is within the reach of many who shrink from the task, appalled by difficulties, which, perhaps, are not more formidable than those incident to the study of the elements of every branch

of knowledge; and who possibly overrate them from disregarding the distinction between the degree of mathematical acquirement necessary for making discoveries, and that which is requisite for understanding what others have done. That the study of mathematics, and their application to astronomy, are full of interest, will be allowed by all who have devoted their time and attention to these pursuits; and they only can estimate the delight of arriving at the truths they disclose, whether it be in the discovery of a world or of a new property of numbers.'

After giving an account of the law of gravitation, and treating of the rules of Kepler, the figures of the heavenly bodies, and the inequalities in the motions of the planets, Mrs Somerville makes the following interesting observations on the stability of our system:—

'The stability of our system was established by La Grange: "a discovery," says Professor Playfair, "that must render the name for ever memorable in science, and revered by those who delight in the contemplation of whatever is excellent and sublime." After Newton's discovery of the mechanical laws of the elliptical orbits of the planets, La Grange's discovery of their periodical inequalities is, without doubt, the noblest truth in physical astronomy; and, in respect of the doctrine of final causes, it may be regarded as the greatest of all.

'Notwithstanding the permanency of our system, the secular variations in the planetary orbits would have been extremely embarrassing to astronomers when it became necessary to compare observations separated by long periods. The difficulty was in part obviated, and the principle for accomplishing it established, by La Place; but it has since been extended by M. Poinsot; it appears that there exists an invariable plane passing through the centre of gravity of the system, about which the whole oscillates within very narrow limits, and that this plane will always remain parallel to itself, whatever changes time may induce in the orbits of the planets, in the plane of the ecliptic, or even in the law of gravitation; provided only that our system remains unconnected with any other. The position of the plane is determined by this property—that if each particle in the system be multiplied by the area described upon this plane in a given time, by the projection of its radius vector about the common centre of gravity of the whole, the sum of all these products will be a maximum. La Place found that the plane in question is inclined to the ecliptic at an angle of nearly 1° 35′ 31″, and that, in passing through the sun, and about midway between the orbits of Jupiter and Saturn, it may be regarded as the equator of the solar system, dividing it into two parts, which balance one another in all their motions. This plane of greatest inertia, by no means peculiar to the solar system, but existing in every system of bodies submitted to their mutual attractions only, always maintains a fixed position, whence the oscillations of the system may be estimated through unlimited time. Future astronomers will know, from its immutability or variation, whether the sun and his attendants are connected or not with

the other systems of the universe. Should there be no link between them, it may be inferred, from the rotation of the sun, that the centre of gravity of the system situate within his mass describes a straight line in this invariable plane or great equator of the solar system, which, unaffected by the changes of time, will maintain its stability through endless ages. But if the fixed stars, comets, or any unknown and unseen bodies, affect our sun and planets, the nodes of this plane will slowly recede on the plane of that immense orbit which the sun may describe about some most distant centre, in a period which it transcends the powers of man to determine. There is every reason to believe that this is the case; for it is more than probable that, remote as the fixed stars are, they in some degree influence our system, and that even the invariability of this plane is relative, only appearing fixed to creatures incapable of estimating its minute and slow changes during the small extent of time and space granted to the human race. "The developement of such changes," as M. Poinsot justly observes, "is similar to an enormous curve, of which we see so small an arc that we imagine it to be a straight line." If we raise our views to the whole extent of the universe, and consider the stars, together with the sun, to be wandering bodies, revolving about the common centre of creation, we may then recognise in the equatorial plane, passing through the centre of gravity of the universe, the only instance of absolute and eternal repose.'

In the remaining section of Astronomy, Mrs Somerville treats, in succession, of the perturbations arising from the mutual actions of the primary and secondary planets—of the figure of the earth —of the phenomena of Precession, Nutation, and Libration—of the theory of the tides, and of the stability of the ocean; and the principles thus investigated are then applied to the determination of the figure of the earth, to the acquisition of standards of weights and measures, and to the rectification of chronological epochs. All these topics are treated with much sagacity and precision. The brief limits of the volume exclude all minute details, and the attention of the reader is arrested only by the leading doctrines and facts of astronomy. The condensation of thought and of language which is thus rendered necessary, may occasionally produce obscurity of expression, and ambiguity of meaning, in the mind of an ordinary reader; but when this does happen, it is never the fault of the author, but the inevitable consequence of the absence of diagrams, and the limitation of space.

The next branch of physical science which comes under Mrs Somerville's review, is Acoustics, which is introduced by an account of the chemical and physical constitution of the atmosphere. The theory and phenomena of sound are briefly and distinctly expounded; but the curious and almost enchanting subject of the vibration of solid bodies, is discussed in little more than two pages. This omission, which we cannot but consider as a defect,

is no doubt the consequence of the exclusion of diagrams; for it is impossible, by any description, however vivid or circuitous, to convey to the mind a just idea of the exquisite symmetry which characterises the movements of vibrating solids, and which depends on the division of the body by nodal and neutral lines marking the points and lines of repose, and separating the segments which are in a state of depression, from those which are in a state of elevation. There is no branch of physics which addresses itself so agreeably to the eye, or appeals with such force to our wonder, as that of acoustic figures; and, connected as it is with the theory and practice of music, we must implore Mrs Somerville to give it, in another edition, a more favourable consideration. The delineations of Chladni and Savart are highly interesting; and the beautiful analysis of the whole class of phenomena which Mr Wheatstone has given in the last Part of the 'Philoso-'phical Transactions,' and illustrated with about 200 or 300 figures, gives a fresh importance to this branch of physics.

Mrs Somerville next proceeds to the science of Physical Optics, in which she treats, in the compass of eighty pages, of the subjects of inequal refraction, the composition and decomposition of light, accidental colours, the interference of rays, the colours of thin plates, the undulatory theory, and the polarisation and double refraction of light; all of which she discusses with her usual ability, and with the same correct knowledge of the subject which she displays in her own more peculiar department of Astronomy.

Among the more recent enquiries on the subject of light, Mrs Somerville gives a brief account of those of M. Plateau of Brussels, the ingenious improver of that beautiful instrument called the *Phenakistiscope.* The subject to which we refer is that of accidental colours, respecting which the Flemish philosopher is supposed to have made some important discoveries.

'Recent experiments by Plateau of Brussels prove that direct and accidental colours differ essentially. From these it appears that two complementary colours from direct impression, which would produce white when combined, produce black, or extinguish one another by their union, when accidental; and also that the combination of all the tints of the solar spectrum produces white light if they be from a direct impression on the eye, whereas blackness results from a union of the same tints if they be accidental. M. Plateau attributes the phenomena of accidental colours to a reaction of the retina after being excited by direct vision. When the image of an object is impressed on the retina only for a few moments, the picture left is exactly of the same colour with the object, but in an extremely short time the picture is succeeded by the accidental image. If the prevailing impression be a very strong white light, its accidental image is not black, but a variety of colours in

succession. With a little attention it will generally be found that, whenever the eye is affected by one prevailing colour, it sees at the same time the accidental colour, in the same manner as in music the ear is sensible at once to the fundamental note and its harmonic sounds. The imagination has a powerful influence on our optical impressions, and has been known to revive the images of highly luminous objects months and even years afterwards.'

The general reader of this passage, as well as of M. Plateau's original memoir, can scarcely fail to be struck with the extraordinary announcement *that blackness arises from the union of all the colours of the spectrum, when they are the accidental colours*,* and the discovery must appear to him an important one. A slight examination of the subject, however, will show us that this proposition is a verbal illusion; and that the physical fact which it so erroneously expresses, has been long known to philosophers.

An accidental colour is something essentially distinct from a colour produced by the action of direct rays. The rays which produce ordinary colours, can be combined in any proportion we please; and the resulting effect is the sum of the actions of each separate ray upon the retina. Hence all the different colours of the spectrum produce a purely white beam of light; and perfect whiteness may also be produced by two compound colours, one of which is complementary to the other. An accidental colour, however, cannot be added to, or combined with, another. When the eye sees an accidental colour, suppose *red*, the excited part of the retina is insensible to all other rays but those of the accidental colour. If we instantly excite the same portion of the retina with another light which is an accidental *green*, and thus render it insensible to *red*, then the eye will see blackness, not *because the accidental red and the accidental green compose blackness*, but because the eye has been in succession rendered insensible to the two colours which compose white light itself. If Buffon, or Dr Darwin, or Count Rumford, had been asked what would be the effect of exciting the retina in quick succession with all the simple colours of the spectrum, or with two compound colours which compose white light, they would all have immediately answered, *blackness*. M. Plateau has therefore, in this part of the

* Plateau's own words are —'Dans le cas où la combinaison des couleurs réelles produit le blanc, la combinaison des couleurs accidentelles produit l'opposé du blanc, ou le noir. Par example, tandis que deux couleurs réelles complémentaires produisent ensemble du *blanc*, deux couleurs accidentelles complémentaires produisent ensemble du *noir*.'—*Ann. Chim.* Aug. 1833, p. 388.

enquiry, merely expressed what has been long known, in language physically incorrect, and calculated to convey very erroneous notions of the subject.

In the rest of the passage which we have quoted, Mrs Somerville has given an imperfect account of Plateau's theory of accidental colours, combining it with another theory long ago published;* namely, that the accidental colour is seen at the same time with the primitive colour, in the same manner as the ear hears at once the fundamental note and its harmonic sounds. Plateau maintains, that after the direct or positive impression of the primitive colour has continued visible for a certain time, and gradually faded away, it is succeeded by the negative impression, or accidental colour. But, what is original in his theory, he maintains, that after the accidental colour has faded away in its turn, *it is succeeded by the primitive colour*, this alternation going on till the impression wears away. If we look into the volume already quoted,† we shall see that the only *novelty* in Plateau's theory is the recurrence of the primitive impression, and the continued alternation of the two; but we do not think that this recurrence and alternation are established by sufficient evidence,—at least, we cannot by any contrivance render it visible. It is certain that the accidental colour disappears and returns, and undergoes other changes; but these changes, we conceive, are not the effect of the primitive impression, or a continuation of a necessary series of changes, of which the primitive impression is the commencement; but the result of subsequent actions upon the retina, which M. Plateau has not been careful enough to detect and analyze. It has been proved, for example, that a pressure upon the retina with the finger changes the accidental colour;‡ and it is asserted by Sir Charles Bell, that if we squint or distort the eye, a vivid impression on the retina instantly disappears, as if it were wiped out. When M. Plateau, therefore, saw the accidental colour change into the primitive, was he sure that there was no pressure made upon the retina by the motion of the eye, or by the involuntary closing even of the eyelids, which is sufficient of itself to produce the observed change? That the changes of colour in question are not regular, and are produced by some irregular influence, may be inferred from M. Plateau's own observation, 'that the alternations of colour do not always take 'place in the same manner; that they vary with the sensibility 'of the eyes, and particularly with the circumstances under

* Treatise on Optics, Cab. Cyclop. p. 299, 309. † *Ibid.* p. 300.
‡ Lond. and Edin. Phil. Mag., Aug. 1832, No. II. p. 91.

'which the experiment is made;' and he afterwards remarks, that the regular alternation of the primitive and accidental colour 'is 'the effect *most frequently* observed.' Now, this additional frequency of one phenomenon in a series is no proof of a regular law; and when we consider how the retina is affected by the state of the stomach, by the pressure of the blood-vessels, which may, in some cases, be an intermitting or an alternating one, we must demand a series of distinct experiments made with the same result, on the eyes of different observers accustomed to the examination of this class of phenomena, and aware of the causes which exercise a disturbing influence, before we can admit the conclusion drawn by M. Plateau. There can be no doubt that the accidental colour vanishes and reappears; and Sir David Brewster has observed the curious fact, not only that the accidental colour in its brightest phase may be made to disappear by a smart blow upon the head, above the excited eye, but that it may be prevented from at first appearing, by giving the blow to the head immediately before the eye is withdrawn from the primitive colour.

In the next section of her work, Mrs Somerville proceeds to the subject of the interference of light, and gives a very brief but distinct view of the undulatory theory. Mrs Somerville is a decided undulationist; and her belief in the existence of a resisting ether in the planetary spaces has increased since the publication of her larger work; or rather, perhaps, it is more strongly expressed in the present volume. We are ourselves great admirers of the undulatory doctrine, and have always regarded it as a theory advancing rapidly to completion; but we view it only as a theory, and dislike extremely the dogmatism with which it is sometimes supported. After describing the beautiful experiment of Dr Young, in which the dark fringes within the shadows of bodies are shown to depend on the interference of rays passing on each side of the body, Mrs Somerville observes, 'that it is contrary 'to all our ideas of matter to suppose that two particles of it 'should annihilate one another under any circumstances whatever;' and she afterwards adds, that 'the preceding experiments, and the inferences deduced from them, which have led to 'the establishment of the doctrine of the undulation of light, are 'the most splendid memorials of our illustrious countryman, Dr 'Thomas Young, though Huygens was the first to originate the 'idea.'

Now, it is obvious that Mrs Somerville, and others who have recently written on the subject, are not at all aware that Dr Young, though hostile to the Newtonian theory of emission, has, with the utmost candour, declared that the law of interference

may be reconciled to the doctrine of emission ; if we suppose, with Newton, that the projected corpuscles of light excite sensation by means of the vibrations of the fibres of the retina and of the nerves. Hence we may imagine, he says, that such vibrations must be most easily produced by a series of particles following each other at equal distances, each colour having its appropriate distance in any given medium ; and it will be demonstrable, that a second series of similar particles, interfering with them in such a manner as to bisect the intervals, will destroy their influence in producing a vibratory motion, each succeeding particle meeting the fibre at the instant of its return from the excursion generated by the stroke of the preceding particle. Hence Dr Young conceives, that the motive effect of the stroke will be annihilated.

Now, though it is manifest that two particles of matter cannot, under any circumstances whatever, annihilate each other, yet it is equally certain, and it is sufficient for the purposes of the emissionist, that the *motive effect* of the stroke of such particles upon the fibres of the retina be annihilated. Mrs Somerville, therefore, is not justified in saying, that the Newtonian theory seems totally inadequate to account for the phenomenon of interference.

In our capacity of reviewers, we are not in the slightest degree concerned with the scientific creed of individual philosophers. Every theorist has a right to the most unlimited toleration ; but it is our business to request, and we do it with all humility, that those who write upon the subject of the 'all-pervading ether,' will not in one page speak of it as a probable hypothesis, and in another, as a demonstrated existence.

Mrs Somerville proceeds, in the following section, to treat of the double refraction and polarization of light. Having experienced how difficult it is to convey, even to the most acute and intelligent persons, a general view of this curious subject, even with the aid of diagrams, and models, and direct experiments, we can scarcely suppose that Mrs Somerville's brief, though perspicuous exposition of it, will be satisfactory to her readers. We shall enable our readers, however, to judge for themselves. The following is Mrs Somerville's account of the polarization of light :—

'In general, when a ray of light is reflected from a pane of plate-glass, or any other substance, it may be reflected a second time from another surface, and it will also pass freely through transparent bodies ; but if a ray of light be reflected from a pane of plate-glass at an angle of 57°, it is rendered totally incapable of reflection at the surface of another pane of glass in certain definite positions, but will be completely reflected by

the second pane in other positions. It likewise loses the property of penetrating transparent bodies in particular positions, whilst it is freely transmitted by them in others. Light so modified, as to be incapable of reflection and transmission in certain directions, is said to be polarized. This name was originally adopted from an imaginary analogy in the arrangement of the particles of light, on the corpuscular doctrine, to the poles of a magnet, and is still retained in the undulatory theory.

'Light may be polarized by reflection from any polished surface, and the same property is also imparted by refraction. It is proposed to explain these methods of polarizing light, to give a short account of its most remarkable properties, and to endeavour to describe a few of the splendid phenomena it exhibits.

'If a brown tourmaline, which is a mineral generally crystallized in the form of a long prism, be cut longitudinally, that is, parallel to the axis of the prism, into plates about the thirtieth of an inch in thickness, and the surfaces polished, luminous objects may be seen through them, as through plates of coloured glass. The axis of each plate is, in its longitudinal section, parallel to the axes of the prism whence it was cut. If one of these plates be held perpendicularly between the eye and a candle, and turned slowly round in its own plane, no change will take place in the image of the candle; but if the plate be held in a fixed position, with its axis or longitudinal section vertical, when a second plate is interposed between it and the eye, parallel to the first, and turned slowly round in its own plane, a remarkable change will be found to have taken place in the nature of the light, for the image of the candle will vanish and appear alternately at every quarter revolution of the plate, varying through all degrees of brightness down to total, or almost total, evanescence, and then increasing again by the same degrees as it had before decreased. These changes depend upon the relative positions of the plates. When the longitudinal sections of the two plates are parallel, the brightness of the image is at its maximum; and when the axes of the sections cross at right angles, the image of the candle vanishes. Thus the light, in passing through the first plate of tourmaline, has acquired a property totally different from the direct light of the candle. The direct light would have penetrated the second plate equally well in all directions, whereas the refracted ray will only pass through it in particular positions, and is altogether incapable of penetrating it in others. The refracted ray is polarized in its passage through the first tourmaline, and experience shows that it never loses that property, unless when acted upon by a new substance. Thus one of the properties of polarized light is proved to be the incapability of passing through a plate of tourmaline perpendicular to it, in certain positions, and its ready transmission in other positions at right angles to the former.'

Mrs S. then proceeds to give the following explanation of the double refraction of light:—

'Many other substances have the property of polarizing light. If a ray of light falls upon a transparent medium which has the same temperature, density, and structure throughout every part, as fluids, gasses,

glass, &c., and a few regularly crystallized minerals, it is refracted into a single pencil of light by the laws of ordinary refraction, according to which the ray, passing through the refracting surface from the object to the eye, never quits a plane perpendicular to that surface. Almost all other bodies, such as the greater number of crystallized minerals, animal and vegetable substances, gums, resins, jellies, and all solid bodies having unequal tensions, whether from unequal temperature or pressure, possess the property of doubling the image or appearance of an object seen through them in certain directions; because a ray of natural light falling upon them is refracted into two pencils which move with different velocities, and are more or less separated, according to the nature of the body and the direction of the incident ray. Iceland spar, a carbonate of lime, which, by its natural cleavage, may be split into the form of a rhombohedron, possesses this property in an eminent degree, as may be seen by pasting a piece of paper, with a large pin hole in it, on the side of the spar farthest from the eye. The hole will appear double when held to the light. One of these pencils is refracted according to the same law, as in glass or water, never quitting the plane perpendicular to the refracting surface, and therefore called the ordinary ray; but the other does quit that plane, being refracted according to a different and much more complicated law, and on that account is called the extraordinary ray. For the same reason, one image is called the ordinary, and the other the extraordinary image. When the spar is turned round in the same plane, the extraordinary image of the hole revolves about the ordinary image which remains fixed, both being equally bright. But if the spar be kept in one position, and viewed through a plate of tourmaline, it will be found that, as the tourmaline revolves, the images vary in their relative brightness—one increases in intensity till it arrives at a maximum, at the same time that the other diminishes till it vanishes, and so on alternately at each quarter revolution, proving both rays to be polarized; for in one position the tourmaline transmits the ordinary ray, and reflects the extraordinary, and after revolving 90°, the extraordinary ray is transmitted, and the ordinary ray is reflected. Thus another property of polarized light is, that it cannot be divided into two equal pencils by double refraction, in positions of the doubly refracting bodies, in which a ray of common light would be so divided.

'Were tourmaline like other doubly refracting bodies, each of the transmitted rays would be double, but that mineral, when of a certain thickness, after separating the light into two polarized pencils, absorbs one of them, and consequently shows only one image of an object.'

The preceding exposition, though distinct and correct, would, in our opinion, be greatly improved by placing the account of the properties of the tourmaline after the explanation of double refraction, and showing, how by a mechanical change in the state of the surface in some crystals, such as calcareous spar, arragonite, &c., and in the interior constitution of other crystals, such as quartz, one of the two pencils formed by double refraction may be destroyed, as in the case of tourmaline.

Although Mrs Somerville does not profess to give a historical view of the sciences, yet she generally attaches the names of philosophers to their principal discoveries. There are several cases, however, throughout the volume, and particularly in the optical department, where this good practice has been overlooked, and where the entire labours of some eminent philosophers have been omitted. As an example of this, we may mention the optical discoveries of Dr Seebeck and Professor Mitscherlich. Although the one, had he been alive, and the other, who is still living, would have been indifferent to neglect in the chronicle of some churlish rival, they would have been proud to receive a leaf of laurel from the hands of our fair arbitress. The natural philosopher who might bear with equanimity the omission of his name from the more formal page of Professor Powell, would sink under its absence from the softer papyrus of Mrs Somerville. Even the rigid mathematician would prefer to the applause of Theon the smile of the accomplished Hypatia.

After discussing with much ability the subject of heat, and the general doctrines of meteorology, Mrs Somerville treats in succession of the popular sciences of electricity, galvanism, and magnetism, and of the new branches of magneto-electricity and thermo-electricity, which have had their origin in our own times. The sections which are devoted to these sciences will be perused with great interest by readers of all classes. They contain a brief notice of the splendid discoveries of Dr Faraday, and will, no doubt, incite the reader to seek in larger treatises for a more complete account of these great additions to modern physics.

In the perusal of these sections we have marked one passage on the subject of crystallizations, which seems to require some notice :—

‘ It had been observed that, when metallic solutions are subjected to galvanic action, a deposition of metal, generally in the form of minute crystals, takes place on the negative wire: by extending this principle, and employing a very feeble voltaic action, M. Becquerel has succeeded in forming crystals of a great proportion of the mineral substances precisely similar to those produced by nature. The electric state of metallic veins makes it possible that many natural crystals may have taken their form from the action of electricity bringing their ultimate particles, when in solution, within the narrow sphere of molecular attraction, already mentioned as the great agent in the formation of solids. Both light and motion favour crystallization. Crystals which form in different liquids are generally more abundant on the side of the jar exposed to the light ; and it is a well-known fact that still water, cooled below 32°, starts into crystals of ice the instant it is agitated. Light and motion are intimately connected with electricity, which may therefore have some influence on the laws of aggregation ; this is the more likely, as a feeble action

is alone necessary, provided it be continued for a sufficient time. Crystals formed rapidly are generally imperfect and soft, and M. Becquerel found that even years of constant voltaic action were necessary for the crystallization of some of the hard substances. If this law be general, how many ages may be required for the formation of a diamond!'

The conjecture which is here proposed respecting the formation of the diamond, is, we suspect, more ingenious than sound. If the hardness of minerals were a function of their age, this important physical character in mineralogy would be useless. Quartz of recent formation is as hard as that which is found in the oldest rocks; and diamond itself, though the hardest of the gems, gives no indications of antiquity, either from its structure and physical properties, or from its locality in the crust of our globe. There is, besides, no reason to suppose, that the crystallizations in the bowels of the earth are dependent on voltaic influence. The mechanical action of electricity may promote crystallization, or increase the consolidation of previously aggregated molecules; but the nature and properties of a crystal are determined by general laws, of which electricity is not the arbiter. A perfect mineral species, undisturbed in its formation, derives its chemical and physical properties solely from the properties of its molecular elements. The presence of a small quantity of extraneous matter may affect the purity of its chemical constitution, without altering its form and general physical properties. The presence of a greater quantity may keep its atoms at a distance, and change both its form and its structure; and powerful mechanical forces generated within the earth, whether they arise from electrical or from chemical causes, may produce still greater deviations from the type of the perfect mineral. But these are disturbing causes similar to those which produce deformity and monstrosity in the animal world; and we have no hesitation in asserting, that when a perfect mineral is recently formed out of the reach of secondary influence, its hardness will be just the same as if it had existed a thousand years.

With respect to diamond, we must speak with less confidence. There is every reason to believe, that this remarkable body is a soft substance coagulated by the slow action of corpuscular forces; but it is the only mineral which possesses this strange character, and cannot be taken into account in any speculations respecting the influence of time upon other minerals.

Mrs Somerville concludes her work with some popular and interesting notices on the subjects of the fixed stars, comets, and meteoric stones. On the last of these topics, the most curious, and still the most mysterious in physics, Mrs Somerville makes the following excellent observations:—

'So numerous are the objects which meet our view in the heavens, that we cannot imagine a part of space where some light would not strike the eye;—innumerable stars, thousands of double and multiple systems, clusters in one blaze with their tens of thousands of stars, and the nebulæ amazing us by the strangeness of their forms and the incomprehensibility of their nature, till at last, from the imperfection of our senses, even these thin and airy phantoms vanish in the distance. If such remote bodies shine by reflected light, we should be unconscious of their existence; each star must then be a sun, and may be presumed to have its system of planets, satellites, and comets, like our own; and, for aught we know, myriads of bodies may be wandering in space unseen by us, of whose nature we can form no idea, and still less of the part they perform in the economy of the universe. Nor is this an unwarranted presumption: many such do come within the sphere of the earth's attraction, are ignited by the velocity with which they pass through the atmosphere, and are precipitated with great violence on the earth. The fall of meteoric stones is much more frequent than is generally believed; hardly a year passes without some instances occurring; and, if it be considered that only a small part of the earth is inhabited, it may be presumed that numbers fall in the ocean, or on the uninhabited part of the land, unseen by man. They are sometimes of great magnitude: the volume of several has exceeded that of the planet Ceres, which is about 70 miles in diameter. One which passed within 25 miles of us was estimated to weigh about 600,000 tons, and to move with a velocity of about 20 miles in a second,—a fragment of it alone reached the earth. The obliquity of the descent of meteorites, the peculiar substances they are composed of, and the explosion accompanying their fall, show that they are foreign to our system. Luminous spots, altogether independent of the phases, have occasionally appeared on the dark part of the moon; these have been ascribed to the light arising from the eruption of volcanos; whence it has been supposed that meteorites have been projected from the moon by the impetus of volcanic eruption. It has even been computed that, if a stone were projected from the moon in a vertical line, with an initial velocity of 10,992 feet in a second,—more than four times the velocity of a ball when first discharged from a cannon,—instead of falling back to the moon by the attraction of gravity, it would come within the sphere of the earth's attraction, and revolve about it like a satellite. These bodies, impelled either by the direction of the primitive impulse, or by the disturbing action of the sun, might ultimately penetrate the earth's atmosphere, and arrive at its surface. But, from whatever source meteoric stones may come, it seems highly probable that they have a common origin, from the uniformity—we may almost say identity—of their chemical composition.'

This opinion respecting the origin of meteoric stones, is certainly a very plausible one, and supported by many facts and analogies; but the recent discoveries of Dr Fusinieri, which have not been noticed by Mrs Somerville, and which, we believe, have

been detailed only in one English work,* appears to us to throw a remarkable light on the subject, and to confirm, if not establish, the opinion of Sir Humphry Davy, that meteoric stones have their origin in our own atmosphere.

When electricity passes in the form of a spark from one metallic body to another, it carries along with it, in a state of ignition and fusion, the metallic particles, themselves extremely attenuated and subdivided. If the spark passes from a polished ball of gold to a ball of polished silver, a reciprocal transport of the two metals takes place. The vapour, as it were, of the gold passes to the silver ball, and the vapour of the silver to the gold ball; and these metals show their existence in metallic spots or films so exceedingly thin, that after a certain time they are volatilized and disappear. The evaporation of mercury and metals in a state of fusion has been long known; but it is not generally known that metallic bodies evaporate during the ordinary changes of temperature. When we consider, therefore, the great changes of temperature which are taking place on the surface of our globe, and the constant passage of electricity from the earth to the clouds, we can readily conceive how iron, sulphur, and all the other ingredients of meteoric stones, may be carried up into the higher regions of our atmosphere, and exist there in a state of extreme subdivision. Fusinieri has found, by numerous and accurate observations, that lightning carries along with it iron, sulphur, and carbon, and deposits them upon the bodies which it strikes; and that it again carries along with it from these bodies fresh materials of transport. It is well known that iron, manganese, nitrous salts, and organic substances, are found in rain water. Hailstones too have been found, according to Fusinieri and others, with a nucleus of sulphuret of iron; and the existence of dry and ferruginous vapours in our atmosphere may be inferred also from the colouring matters in snow and rain. When we connect these facts, therefore, with the existence of magnetic currents around our globe, it is not difficult to understand how meteoric stones may be formed in the atmosphere during the prevalence of thunder-storms, and precipitated in a state of ignition and fusion by the electrical forces with which it is then agitated.

We have thus endeavoured to make our readers acquainted with the merits of Mrs Somerville's work; and have ventured to offer some suggestions which may perhaps deserve her consideration. Although the manner in which the work is executed would

* Art. Electricity, by Sir David Brewster, in the *Encylopædia Britannica*, seventh edition, vol. viii., p. 585, 620.

justify us in expressing a wish that Mrs Somerville would undertake a series of separate treatises on the Physical Sciences, yet we feel some reluctance in making such a demand upon one whose intellectual capacities are fitted for higher labours. Mrs Somerville's great mathematical acquirements, her correct and profound knowledge of the principles of physical science, and the talent for original enquiry which she has already evinced in her paper on the magnetism of the violet rays, induce us to urge her to original investigation in some of the more elegant departments of science. The fame of scientific authorship is but a poor compensation for its toils; and the fleeting celebrity of writing the best book upon a science which is undergoing continual change, and demanding new expositors, cannot gratify a mind like hers. To acquire a deep and extensive knowledge of the phenomena and laws of the material world, is doubtless a subject of just congratulation: to succeed in imparting that knowledge to others, must be a source of pure and unalloyed pleasure. But a mind of original power cannot inscribe its efforts within a sphere so limited and humble. Its aspirations must be after objects less common in their attainment, and after pursuits more lofty in their aim. To discover new phenomena—to trace new relations—to establish new laws,—these are the achievements which are imperishable—the trophies which alone can subdue the excitement of reason, and allay the fervour of ambition.

Art. IX.—*Poems; chiefly Religious.* By the Rev. H. F. Lyte, A.M. 12mo. London: 1833.

The sun seems during the day to have the heavens to himself, but the stars are there all the while, as many and as rejoicing as during the night. It is the presence of the sun which will not let us see them. So, our minor poets, 'the twinkling stars, 'the miscellanies o'er,' become visible indeed only after the great luminaries of poetry are set. Yet they do not come forward on the field of light as successors or rivals. Their modest beauty affects to be nothing, for the most part, but the reflection of the very brightness by which, while it was present, they were obscured. It is agreed on all hands, that the bigger lights are infinitely the most glorious. Still, many persons (more than are willing always to own it) feel that the secondary ones have a charm and value peculiarly their own.

It is, perhaps, paying Mr Lyte no great compliment to say,

that the state of our poetical horizon, from one cause or another, is dim and dusky enough, at the present moment, to bring him fairly within our ken. We have long known him to be an exemplary clergyman, resident at Brixham, the fisher village of Torbay. It was not, however, without some apprehension, as well as curiosity, that we approached 'Poems; chiefly Religious,' dedicated to Lord Farnham. Sounds, in which the chant of Watts's hymns was mingled with the shriller notes of the drum ecclesiastic, appeared to be floating towards us. We have been agreeably undeceived. Religion forms the atmosphere, rather than the substance of his poems; and we are happy to find, that his alarms, ecclesiastical or civil, have not penetrated into the Muses' bower. Our welcome of Mr Lyte cannot begin more appropriately than by the expression of our wonder how it happens, that the Church of England, abounding in literature, in leisure, and, above all, in the liberal latitude which its flock allows their shepherds, should not have contributed from among its clergy a larger proportion of names to the roll of English poets. The clergy of no other Christian communion have enjoyed any thing like equal advantages.

The Church of Rome, the splendid patroness of architecture and of sculpture, of painting and of music, apparently could not have done a great deal for poetry, subject to the condition that its patronage was to be confined to poetry of a strictly religious nature. Fears and scruples of different kinds made a distinct encouragement of general poetry quite out of the question. The canon which forbade the amusement of clerical hunting might as well have gone on to forbid that of clerical versifying also; and for the same reason—the want of a precedent among the Fathers: *Nullum Sanctum invenimus venatorem.* Hence, owing to the subordination of the Roman hierarchy, its priesthood (with a few, and not always very creditable exceptions) favoured the art but little, and practised it still less. With them, too, ordination naturally leads to the moral and intellectual evils of a caste. It is almost a sentence of excommunication from the equal intercourse and domestic charities of our breathing world. Set apart, like a holy thing, to minister between the porch and the altar, they can know but little, except as truants or in penance, of the universal and genial sympathies of which the spirit of poetry consists. When that spirit began again, in the chaos of the middle ages, to 'move 'upon the face of the waters,' the bards of the convent left nature to wicked minstrels. They made it their own office to teach the mind, as it were, to tell its beads; and seldom got beyond the tranquillizing task of metrical chronicles, leonine verses, and monkish rhymes. The abstraction of an *iota* of feeling from devotion to sublunary objects, was the sin of substituting the creature

for the Creator; and if genius, always restless and rebellious, would still start at times out of the course, dangerous associations were prevented, by sending it to look for the pleasures of the imagination and the heart in the spiritual romances of legendary saints. If Crabbe had been a Dominican, and had heard in his confessional the tales of the Village or the Borough, the thrilling prose whispered in his ear must probably have died there. The best that could have befallen it would have been to be dried down into cases of conscience, by way of appendix to a volume of casuistical divinity.

The unmusical existence of a Presbyterian minister is a still simpler affair. Not only is his ordinary education more limited and more purely professional, but the prudent considerations concerning the *sort of poetry*, which alone would be thought becoming in a teacher in our Israel, must end, in all probability, by resolving not to write poetry at all. Poetical enthusiasm cannot be expected to live in the presence of minute distinctions, between a poem in five acts and a poem in twelve books; subject to which, or some such, distinction, the inspiration of Mr Home appears to have been scarcely less heretical in the eyes of the General Assembly than the modern inspiration of Mr Irving. The persecution of the milk-white drama of 'Douglas' was a tolerable warning. Its author was for a time in a curious dilemma, discountenanced by the managers both of the Theatre and the Church. The Poem from which his brethren shrunk, on account of the perilous example of its theatrical form and spirit, was rejected by Garrick as not sufficiently stirring and dramatic for the stage. In the face of such persecution, a Scotch divine must have the boldness almost of Knox himself to be caught trespassing on Parnassus after any flowers of less questionable purity and simplicity than a snowdrop. If Scott had become a minister of the Kirk, the proprieties of the Manse would probably have kept him down to about the level of Logan. We might have had Odes to Cuckoos, perhaps, or monodies upon the 'Grave,' but certainly no Marmions—none, at least, unless as the unacknowledged foundlings of some Great Unknown. It is quite different with an English clergyman. He is already on the verge of holy orders when he can stand, in nine cases out of ten, an infinitely better examination in the fathers of classical mythology, the heathen poets, than in the writings of the Christian fathers, or the later manuals of orthodox belief. He is afterwards also comparatively free. His parishioners, accustomed, without any sense of scandal, to see upon his table a 'Burn's Justice,' and sometimes a 'Sporting Magazine,' can tolerate in him an open partiality for Shakspeare and the player poets. They would take more plea-

sure, we doubt not, in their rector being made a bishop, for a good volume of original poetry, than for having edited a Greek tragedy, or written a fierce party pamphlet on the politics of the day. This has been the case ever since the Reformation. Satires might be expected to be among the least likely recommendations of this description. But Donne and Hall, the first English satirists, found their enlistment in that hornet service no objection to their advancement to the deanery of St Paul's and the bishopric of Norwich.

The brief fanatical interval of the Commonwealth, when all polite literature, and especially the drama, lay under suspicion, can scarcely be allowed to have been a national exception. The Puritans were not the nation; and the taunts of contemporary controversy are no more evidence even of real personal conviction than they are evidence of truth. His own invocation to his dear child of memory,—'What needs my Shakspeare for his honoured 'bones?'—ought to have prevented Milton (and would in a calmer moment) from insinuating that the piety of the *Eikon Basilike* was inconsistent with the fact, that William Shakspeare was the 'closest companion of the solitudes' of the King. He elsewhere expressly states, that if virtue had suffered from the interludes of 'libidinous and ignorant poetasters,' or the 'trencher 'fury of rhyming parasites,' a nation might, on the other hand, be civilized and adorned by means of festival pastimes, and wise and artful recitations, sweetened with eloquent enticement. 'Whether this may be not only in pulpits; but after another 'persuasive manner, at set and solemn panegyries, theatres, 'porches, or whatever other place or way may win most upon 'the people, to receive at once both recreation and instruction— 'let them in authority consult.' The polemic of the Commonwealth was too much disposed to forget the poet, and almost the Christian, on an opportunity for sneering at 'reverend bishops 'and their young disciples.' But it was the nature of the performances, and not their general lawfulness, which he denounced, where in self-defence he was provoked sarcastically to appeal to the recollections of his youth. What difficulty could there be to prevent him from seeing plays (says he), 'when in the colleges so 'many of the young divines, and those in next aptitude to divinity, 'have been seen so often upon the stage, writhing and unboning 'their clergy-limbs to all the antic and dishonest gestures of Trin-'culos, buffoons, and bawds; prostituting the shame of that mini-'stry, which either they had, or were nigh having, to the eyes of 'courtiers and court-ladies, with their grooms and *madamoisellaes*. 'There, while they acted, and over-acted, among other young scho-'lars, I was a spectator; they thought themselves gallant men,

' and I thought them fools; they made sport, and I laughed; they ' mispronounced, and I misliked; and to make up the *Atticism*, ' they were out, and I hist.' The author of Comus, and of Samson Agonistes, could not have scrupled at either the composition or the representation of a drama. Nor was he the man, consistent with his peculiar religious principles, to distinguish what was lawful in a layman from what was lawful in a priest. He thought himself to be as much a minister in the church, ' to whose ser- ' vice, by the intentions of my parents and friends, I was des- ' tined of a child, and in mine own resolutions,' as if he had been actually ordained. For, of ' ordination,' (he asks,) ' what is it, ' but the laying on of hands, an outward sign or symbol of admis- ' sion? It creates nothing, it confers nothing; it is the inward ' calling of God that makes a minister, and his own painful study ' and diligence that manures and improves his ministerial gifts.' Even in that sullen age, the intelligent and serious part of the English public must have been satisfied by a standard for the pursuits and studies of their clergy, with which Milton was satis- fied for himself. His genius and his learning combined to che- rish in him lofty ideas of the ends that poetry might accomplish. Instead of narrowing the literary interests of religion to versions of the Psalms, to lugubrious ' Night Thoughts,' or to ' Scripture ' dramas,' he had noted down a variety of subjects as arguments for heroical poems and British tragedies. The absurd prejudice sometimes entertained against the amusements of the theatre, will be best removed by raising the character of its writers and its performers. To the few who think that, though other forms of poetry may be innocent, a play, like a card, is one of the devil's books, no graver authority can be opposed than the poet of the Paradise Lost. The few, the unhappy few, are fortunately a mino- rity in England, to be respected for their conscientious apprehen- sions, and to be pitied for the pleasure which they lose. The pre- bendal repose of Mason was not harassed by a demand from con- vocation, or archbishop, for a professional justification of the *Caractacus* and the *Elfrida;* and we wish, for the sake of Mr Milman, that his church had quarrelled as little with him for his History of the Jews, as for his tragedy of *Fazio*.

It would be strange had it been otherwise. For the highest dignitaries of the Church have recognised Shakspeare's mission, and have left an admiration of the word, as he has delivered it unto us, for a direct instruction to their profession, whose business it is, above that of all others, to go down and toil among ' the great ' waters' of the human heart. Mr Willmott, in his ' Lives of Sacred ' Poets,' just published, mentions, from the notes to Burnet, that Archbishop Sharp advised all young divines to unite the reading

of Shakspeare to the study of the Scripture. He was himself one of the most popular preachers of his age; and Dr Lisle, Bishop of Norwich, who had been chaplain to Archbishop Wake, assured Speaker Onslow that Sharp's declaration, 'that the Bible and 'Shakspeare had made him Archbishop of York,' was often repeated at Lambeth Palace. The coincidence is far from being accidental, when we find similar lessons in the mouths of spiritual teachers of another strain. The founders of Methodism, whose actual representatives have been forcibly designated 'the hundred 'Popes of England's Jesuitry,' were men remarkable equally for piety and worldly shrewdness. They gave advice precisely of the same nature to the preachers, whom they were schooling for the humbler ministry of the chapels and of the fields of England. In Milton, himself a poet, it might be thought to be a personal predilection to love the laureat fraternity of poets, and with young feet to wander 'among those lofty fables and romances, which 'recount in solemn cantos the deeds of knighthood founded by 'our victorious kings, and from hence had in renown all over 'Christendom.' But what shall we say to John Wesley—the missionary of the then neglected people—who saw in them, at least in the greatest of them all, a source of truth and eloquence to which his preachers, if they were to be worthily accomplished for their sacred office, ought to devote a part of the most important period of their literary education. It was his particular recommendation to such of the methodists as desired to proceed through a course of academical learning, that they should add, in their second year, to the study of the historic books of the Hebrew Bible and the Greek Testament, the reading of the *Faery Queen.*

The *vates* of antiquity was at once poet and prophet-priest. The principle of the alliance must continue still. Not that we mean none are to be clergymen but poets, or that, according to Milton's confirmed opinion, nobody 'can write well in laudable 'things who is not himself a true poem; that is, a composition 'and pattern of the best and honourablest things.' Regular poets have not always been the most regular in their lives. Those who have cared much about the harmony of their own minds may be counted upon the fingers of a single hand; and the fingers of both will certainly outnumber our poetical divines. It is difficult to account for the fact to the extent to which it exists. For poetry and devotion start from the same point. The enthusiasm from which the passion springs is, in neither case, of man's making, but is God's most precious and immediate gift. In his ode upon 'the poetical character,' Collins truly calls 'Heaven 'and fancy, kindred powers;' and describes the evening ear of Milton as nigh sphered in heaven, listening to its native strains.

Years before the bard of Eden had found leisure to realize his solemn purpose, his own account of the destiny on which he brooded was scarcely less figuratively expressed. He tells how 'these abilities, wheresoever they be found, are the inspired gift 'of God, rarely bestowed, yet to some (though most abuse) in 'every nation;' and emphatically repeats how he was led on by every instinct and presage, by strong propensity, and the genial power of nature, to a work 'not to be obtained by the 'invocation of Dame Memory, and her siren daughters, but by 'devout prayer to that eternal Spirit, who can enrich with all 'utterance and knowledge, and sends out his Seraphim with the 'hallowed fire of his altar, to touch and purify the lips of whom 'he pleases.' The true poet and the true priest are summoned, by calls alike mysterious, to the service of the same master. If the young Samuel, dedicated to the sanctuary, is expected even nowadays to hear a voice haunting him in his secret slumbers, and to answer, 'Here I am,'—unbidden visitations crowd also around the walks of Nature's youthful prophet,

> 'And oft before his infant eyes will run
> Such forms as glitter in the Muses' ray,
> With orient hues unborrowed of the sun.'

Dante was right. Theology, in its highest sense, and its most exalted ministers, is but the poetry of God.

Elevation of sentiment is principally caught by conversing with higher characters than our own. There can be no source of greatness to compare with the habitual contemplation of the Supreme Being. But susceptibility to such impressions is only one of the elements of genius. When the glimpses of the beatific presence, which beam around the altar, penetrate to a mind, not only sensible of their power, but capable of manifesting their effects, it is seen how far the influence of religion must extend over life and learning beyond religion merely. Milton and Dante are the most sublime of poets. It is equally evident that it is the sublimity of the Bible. Comparing his earlier with his later works, scripture thoughts and scripture language have been the making of Milman. They have raised him above himself. It is true that it is our own fault, if we loiter away our days over a fabled Helicon, or turn aside to Pharphar and Abanon, rivers of Damascus. The power of nightly revisiting the fountain of sacred song is the exclusive privilege of no profession. But a fuller share of its inspiration, as well as blessing, might be expected to be the portion of those, who, serving within its temples, are always dwelling upon its banks.

The practical duties of a minister of the gospel throw other great advantages in his way. He must be constantly bordering upon scenes and emotions of a kind to turn almost into poetry of themselves. The poetry which, with this view, we are thinking of, is not the wonderful and wild which transports us into new creations: but the gentle spirit, which, waving a humbler wand, performs its miracles on the simple materials of ordinary existence. Its business is to wait upon our goings out and comings in; to connect sweet images and ennobling thoughts with familiar occurrences and household words; and, scattering flowers over the common path where every body must sometimes walk, to teach our dull and workaday world to smile with the enchantments of the spring. The magic power of calling forth new worlds into aërial being is far less enviable than the skill, fresh, gracious, and affectionate, of making the world we live in more happy and more loveable than it would otherwise have been. 'The Bard' of Gray, for instance, is the work of a poet by profession. The Elegy in the Churchyard we would have had written by the Curate. His position is bringing him in constant and natural contact with views and occasions, equally capable of being improved into a lecture and a poem. A judicious sexton might pick out among Cowper's minor poems better specimens for our purpose than the verses to be printed at the bottom of the Bills of Mortality at Northampton. The funeral sermon must be good indeed, which is likely to take a deeper hold on the maidens of a village than Prior's Garland.

Each after his own way. Mr Lyte's fishermen would probably be as much struck by his irregular dirge 'On a naval officer 'buried in the Atlantic.'

'There is, in the wide, lone sea,
A spot unmark'd, but holy;
For there the gallant and the free
In his ocean bed lies lowly.

'Down, down, within the deep,
That oft to triumph bore him,
He sleeps a sound and pleasant sleep,
With the salt waves washing o'er him.

'He sleeps serene, and safe
From tempest or from billow,
Where the storms, that high above him chafe,
Scarce rock his peaceful pillow.

'The sea and him in death
They did not dare to sever:
It was his home while he had breath;
'Tis now his rest for ever.

'Sleep on, thou mighty dead!
A glorious tomb they've found thee—
The broad blue sky above thee spread,
The boundless waters round thee.

'No vulgar foot treads here;
No hand profane shall move thee;
But gallant fleets shall proudly steer,
And warriors shout above thee.

'And when the last trump shall sound,
And tombs are asunder riven,
Like the morning sun from the wave thou'lt bound,
To rise and shine in heaven.'

Occasional poems, as they are called, are often spoken of too slightingly. We do not want people to be going about, like Orlando, hanging odes on hawthorns, and elegies on brambles. But is it not true, that the principle of suggestive and illusive beauty will be much more universally understood, and is calculated to produce infinitely more enjoyment, when it is applied to the thousand incidents which make more or less the common history of human life, than when it is set forth in more stately works of art? The stream of life is carrying us on. Elaborate and formal compositions are scarcely the way to make the most of the flowers upon its banks, or the bubbles on its surface. It is no slight service to let mankind perceive that the various objects which are constantly within our reach, may have a meaning and a passion which we might never have discovered of ourselves.

Mr Lyte, for instance, is certainly not the first person who, when stooping to pluck a flower, has been stopped by a lady friend, and desired to let it blossom on. We question, however, whether any of his predecessors have made as poetical a use of the petition. The next time we are asked to spare a flower, Mr Lyte may depend upon it that his pretty verses shall raise our obedience from an act of perhaps mechanical courtesy, to one of graceful and reverent homage.

'O spare my flower, my gentle flower,
The slender creature of a day!
Let it bloom out its little hour,
And pass away.
Too soon its fleeting charms must lie
Decay'd, unnoticed, overthrown.
O, hasten not its destiny—
Too like thy own.

'The breeze will roam this way to-morrow,
And sigh to find his playmate gone:
The bee will come its sweets to borrow,
And meet with none.

O spare! and let it still outspread
Its beauties to the passing eye,
And look up from its lowly bed
Upon the sky.

'O spare my flower! Thou know'st not what
Thy undiscerning hand would tear:
A thousand charms thou notest not
Lie treasured there.
Not Solomon, in all his state,
Was clad like Nature's simplest child;
Nor could the world combined create
One floweret wild.

'Spare, then, this humble monument
Of an Almighty's power and skill;
And let it at His shrine present
Its homage still.
He made it who makes nought in vain;
He watches it who watches thee;
And He can best its date ordain
Who bade it be.'

The verses are strangely spoiled by an additional stanza, meant for a moral. Surely the moral is evident enough, without eight prosaic lines by way of guide-post. It is bad policy in a poet to be ostentatiously didactic. In these communings with nature, we ought never to overhear the prompter. The feeling is so entirely every thing, that art and wit are in the way, and injure the illusion. Thus it is the fault of all emblematical poems that the purpose in them is too palpable, and the connexion overstrained. The flower which, to be graceful, should seem, at most, to hang towards an imperceptible support, is often more than half hidden by the garden stick to which it is attached. 'Emblems' were once very popular over Europe. But they must always remain, even when dressed up by much more powerful hands than those of our principal English artists, such as Whitney, Withers, and Quarles, essentially coarse expedients.

Few persons are more likely, and certainly none are more entitled, to welcome the approach of evening, than an active parish priest. It must be doubly welcome when it comes ushered in with a train of pleasing fancies, to sweeten and sanctify its repose.

'Sweet evening hour! sweet evening hour!
That calms the air, and shuts the flower;
That brings the wild bee to its nest,
The infant to its mother's breast.

'Sweet hour! that bids the labourer cease;
That gives the weary team release,
And leads them home, and crowns them there
With rest and shelter, food and care.

'O, season of soft sounds and hues,
Of twilight walks among the dews,
Of feelings calm, and converse sweet,
And thoughts too shadowy to repeat!

'Yes, lovely hour! thou art the time
When feelings flow, and wishes climb;
When timid souls begin to dare,
And God receives and answers prayer.

'Then trembling through the dewy skies
Look out the stars, like thoughtful eyes
Of angels, calm reclining there,
And gazing on this world of care.

'Sweet hour! for heavenly musing made—
When Isaac walked and Daniel prayed;
When Abram's offering God did own;
And Jesus loved to be alone.'

The verses on the Alps, and those entitled 'Aspirations,' are rather of a more aspiring character. We give the latter: but Mr Lyte will be mistaking, we think, the impulse of enjoyment for the capacity of execution, if he is of opinion that his strength lies towards flights of imagination, rather than in setting off the shadowy face of things by throwing into it the expression of a moral movement.

'I would not always sail upon a sunny sea:
The mountain wave, the sounding gale, have deeper joys for me.

Let others love to creep along the flowery dell:
Be mine upon the craggy steep, among the storms, to dwell.

The rock, the mist, the foam, the wonderful, the wild—
I feel they form my proper home, and claim me for their child.

The whirlwind's rushing wing, the stern volcano's voice,
To me an awful rapture bring: I tremble, and rejoice.

I love thy solemn roar, thou deep, eternal sea,
Sounding along from shore to shore, the boundless and the free.

I love the flood's hoarse song, the thunder's lordly mirth,
The midnight wind, that walks along the hush'd and trembling earth;

The mountain lone and high, the dark and silent wood,
The desert stretch'd from sky to sky in awful solitude.

A presence and a power in scenes like these I see:
The stillness of a midnight hour has eloquence for me.

Then, bursting earth's control, my thoughts are all at flood:
I feel the stirrings in my soul of an immortal mood.

My energies expand; my spirit looks abroad;
And, 'midst the terrible and grand, feels nearer to her God.'

A debtor-and-creditor sort of stanza follows, which has no business there, about his being willing to 'pay the price' for sublime emotions. An evident absence of the cant of composition, and of all study for effect, is a great attraction. Mr Lyte has it. And, while we do not deny that he is quite justified in closing with nature out of doors on her own terms,—

'Let others tamely weigh the danger and the pain:
I do not shrink the price to pay, to share the joy and gain,'—

we insist, on the other hand, on our own right to a stricter bargain with a human author. We take the liberty, therefore, of saying, that there can be no manner of reason why the pleasure of natural and easy verses should be purchased at the rate of all the carelessness and the inequality which are to be found in this agreeable little volume. The list, made by Martinus Scriblerus in 'the Art of Sinking,' of the different characters of Wrestler, Attorney, Recruiting Officer, &c., under which the most sublime of all Beings has been represented by Sir Richard Blackmore, ought to have prevented Mr Lyte from adding to them that of Policeman, and speaking of 'God's infinite Patrol.'

Art. X.—1. *First Report by Messrs Villiers and Bowring on the Commercial Relations between France and Great Britain.* 1834.

2. *Addresse des Negocians de Bordeaux aux Chambres Legislatives.* 4to. Bordeaux: 1834.

The state of the commercial relations between France and England is a subject of the highest interest to both countries; and we gladly embrace the opportunity afforded by the appearance of the documents quoted above, to lay some details with respect to it before the reader.

Considering their proximity, extent, population, and wealth, and the vast variety of natural and artificial productions peculiar to each, there are no two countries so well fitted for carrying on an extensive and mutually beneficial intercourse as Great Britain and France. The aggregate value of the trade between

Great Britain and Ireland is certainly not less than sixteen or eighteen millions a-year. And yet any one who compares the condition of England and Ireland, and of England and France, must be satisfied that, unless it were violently interfered with, the trade between the last two would very far exceed that between the former two. France is nearer to England than Ireland; and she is possessed of a far greater variety of products suitable for our markets. In the articles of wine, silk, and brandy, she has an unquestionable superiority over every other country; and she has an infinite number of minor, though important articles, calculated to form the materials of the most extensive traffic. On the other hand, the coal, the iron, the cottons, and the earthenware of England, might all be imported into France for the half, or less, of what it costs to produce them there; and, besides their importance as articles of general utility, an abundant and cheap supply of coal and iron is a *sine qua non* to the successful prosecution of manufacturing industry. The sea that separates the two nations ought, therefore, literally to swarm with vessels engaged in the trade between them; bearing to each the products and the arts of the other,—stimulating improvement, and providing for their continued friendship and alliance, by making each dependent on the other for a large share of its conveniences and enjoyments. But in this, as in many other cases, what *is* differs widely indeed from what *ought to be*. The present state of the intercourse between Great Britain and France illustrates, in the most striking manner, the malignant influence of those anti-social and anti-commercial systems to which, notwithstanding their rottenness, many still cling with blind tenacity. Owing to their unreasonable jealousy of each other, and to the prevalence of erroneous theories as to the sources of national wealth, the commerce between England and France is contracted to less than a tenth part of its natural magnitude; and, such as it is, it is mostly in the hands of the smuggler; and is productive rather of demoralization and crime, than of wealth and improvement.

It would be to no purpose to enquire minutely which of the two countries has done most to bring about a state of things so destructive of both their interests. The blame is, we believe, pretty equally divided. English writers of the liberal school are prone to censure the policy of Colbert. But though many of his commercial measures evinced a narrow and illiberal spirit, there were several amongst them of a very different character; and, in general, they were less objectionable than those that prevailed nearly at the same period in this country. Indeed, as is observed by Messrs Villiers and Bowring, down to 1786, we

led the way in illiberality. In the reign of William III., Parliament went so far as to declare the trade with France a nuisance! In the next reign, it refused to ratify the commercial negotiation by Harley's ministry. And we continued from 1673 down even to 1831, to proclaim our dislike to French commerce, by laying 33⅓ per cent more duty on the wines of that country than on those of either Portugal or Spain. However much, therefore, we may regret, we need not certainly feel much surprised, at the restrictive policy of the French. But it is to be hoped that France will not be less disinclined to reciprocate our measures, now that they are begun to be founded on principles that must be productive of mutual advantage, and are conceived in a friendly spirit towards her, than when they were bottomed only on the narrowest views of self-aggrandizement, and were animated by a blind jealousy of France and other powers.

It appears from the official accounts, that the declared or real value of the various articles of British produce and manufactures exported from this country, by the legitimate channels, to France in 1832 was only L.674,791, being less than our exports to Turkey, and only between a third and a fourth part of our exports to Italy! There is no account of the declared value of the imports, but it is well known to be at least three times as great as that of the exports. This arises partly from the circumstance, that Italian raw and thrown silk, worth from L.600,000 to L.700,000 a-year, comes to us through France, and consequently appears as an article of export from that country, instead of Italy; and partly, and principally, perhaps, from the greater facility of smuggling on the French frontier. The state of the exchange shows that, generally speaking, the debts and credits of the two countries are about equal; for it is not often that gold and silver go from the one to the other.

Such being the puny dimensions of the trade with France, we hail with the greatest satisfaction every measure that promises to be in any degree instrumental in procuring a repeal or modification of those prohibitions, and oppressive duties, that have reduced it within such unnaturally narrow limits; and we know of none more likely to promote these desirable objects than the appointment of a Commission like that of which Messrs Villiers and Bowring were members. The object of the Commission, as explained in the admirable letter addressed to the British Commissioners by Mr Poulett Thomson, was principally to investigate the precise influence of the restrictions in each country on the importation of articles from the other; and to show in what way, and to what extent, they might be modified, so as to confer the greatest advantage on the public,—taking care, at the same time,

that the change should be so contrived, as to inflict the least possible injury on individuals. The French Government, much to its credit, went readily into the project. The Commissioners they appointed to meet Messrs Villiers and Bowring were gentlemen of high character, and of the most enlightened views; and the Government gave, besides, every facility to its enquiries, by supplying the Commission with all sorts of public documents.

The Report before us is not the joint production of the whole Commissioners, but of the English only; the French Commissioners having, in like manner, made their Report to their own Government. Being written for the information and use of Englishmen, it refers principally to matters connected with the French trade; but various particulars are embodied in it in relation to smuggling, and other matters immediately connected with England. It contains a great many curious and instructive details; is written in a fair and liberal spirit; and is highly creditable to the Commissioners.

The most obnoxious by far of the French customhouse regulations, are those that refer to iron and cottons. Both branches grew up during the prevalence of the continental or anti-commercial system of Napoleon; and had they been left to themselves, both would have been destroyed, or have shrunk within comparatively narrow limits when it was overthrown. We are inclined to think that good policy required that the new Government should interfere to prevent any sudden shock to industry, by establishing a gradually diminishing scale of duties on the importation of the articles in question, and of others in the same situation. But, instead of this, they carried the principle of exclusion further than it ever had been carried by Napoleon. He supported it rather as a means of annoying England, than because he really looked upon it as advantageous to France. Not so the Ministers of Louis and of Charles. They were all that Mr Sadler himself could desire; and appear to have thought that the only, but, at the same time, the infallible mode of rendering a kingdom prosperous, was to shut out every thing brought from abroad that might be made, no matter at what cost, at home! And, in accordance with this principle, if we may so call it, they imposed exorbitant duties on the importation of foreign iron into France, and absolutely prohibited the introduction of foreign cotton goods and yarn.

The injury done to the kingdom by the iron duties is now pretty generally acknowledged. We showed in a former Article, (No. 99, Art. 3.) from statements made by the *Commission d'Enquête sur les Fers*, that, owing to the deficiency of coal mines in France, and the want of improved means of communication by canals and

otherwise, it was not possible, in the present state of the arts, to produce iron for less than double what it costs to produce it in England. Surely, however, if there be one article more essential than another to the progress of a nation in manufacturing and commercial industry, it is iron. Had the English or the Swedes possessed machines capable of being employed with singular advantage in a variety of ways, and which they could furnish to the French in unlimited quantity for 100 francs each, while they could not be constructed in France for less than 200 francs, everybody, even M. Thiers himself, would have been ready to admit, that their exclusion could not be defended;—that at best it was only conferring a trivial advantage on the few persons engaged in making the machines in France, while it was inflicting a serious injury on every branch of industry in which they might be employed. But whether an improved and powerful machine, or the materials of which it is constructed, be excluded, what is the difference? The following extract from the Report of the Commissioners shows, from data deduced from the best French authorities, the injury done to agriculture by this preposterous system.

'In the article of iron, the annual sacrifice made by the agri-'culturists to the protected iron-masters, has been frequently 'stated to be not less than from L.1,500,000 to L.2,000,000 'a-year. The lands cultivated in France are supposed to amount 'to 22,818,000 hectares, equal to 57,045,000 acres English; 'and it is calculated that a team of oxen should cultivate 15 'hectares; hence, the number of ploughs employed in France is 'supposed to be about 1,500,000. M. de la Rochefoucauld esti-'mates the annual wear and tear of iron at 40 kilog. per plough, 'but it is more frequently estimated at 50 kilog., making, for the 'whole consumption, 75,000,000 kilog.; being, at 90 francs per '100 kilog., 67,500,000 francs, or L.2,700,000 sterling. Now, '*it is undeniable that the iron could be imported from foreign coun-'tries at half the price;* so that in ploughs alone there is said to 'be a yearly loss to the agriculture of France of L.1,350,000 'sterling. In other agricultural instruments, the loss is calcula-'ted at L.200,000 sterling a-year; and it is believed that the 'iron produced in France is not so good by one-fifth part as the 'foreign iron that might be imported; so that it is believed that 'the entire sacrifice made by one interest, the agricultural, to the 'iron monopoly, is not less than L.1,860,000 sterling a-year!'

This is paying pretty well for protecting a business that does certainly employ 150,000 hands; but this is, in fact, but a small part of what it costs the public. Its influence over manufactures is still more noxious than over agriculture. Peculiarities of soil,

climate, or productions, may countervail a great inferiority in agricultural skill or instruments; but in manufactures these are of less importance, and a country that has either inferior or more costly machinery than others, is sure to be left behind in the race of competition. Can any thing, then, be more absurd and contradictory than the conduct of the French government, which, at the same time that it is endeavouring, at an immense cost, to raise up new branches of manufacture, shuts out the principal instrument of manufacturing industry? To bolster up the cotton trade, they exclude foreign cottons and twist; but in consequence of the exclusion of foreign iron, a cotton-mill at Rouen costs about three times its cost in Manchester! Here, therefore, prohibition the first is at war with prohibition the second. It is of little consequence, however, except as showing the inconsistency of all systems of the sort, to enquire how far the iron masters, the cotton manufacturers, the beet-root growers, &c., encroach upon each other's monopolies. It is sufficient to know that they are *all* bottomed on a false principle; and that all of them subsist, not upon their own capital or labour, but at the expense and to the injury of the public.

If we were hostile to France, which we are not, we should wish her to persevere in this system: so long as it is maintained, our manufacturers may make themselves easy about her competition—they have quite as much to fear from that of the Laplanders. We have seen no evidence to convince us that labour —meaning by labour the *quantity of work done*—is cheaper in France than in England. But, though it were 50 per cent cheaper, it would not countervail the disadvantages under which she is laid by the high price of iron, and the monopolies that fetter other departments of industry;—monopolies which necessarily generate an indifference to improvements, and teach those they appear to protect to place a deceitful confidence in custom-house regulations, rather than on their own ingenuity and invention.

We have already seen how the high price of iron, by acting on machinery, deprives the manufacturers of the advantages they expected to derive from their monopoly. But the iron masters are not in any better a situation. On the contrary, they affirm, and we believe truly, that they made larger profits when the duty on foreign iron was reasonable, and larger quantities were imported, than they do at present. The reason is, that iron being only wrought in a few places in France, nine-tenths of the iron produced in the kingdom is smelted and prepared by means of wood fuel; and in consequence of the extension of iron works caused by the increase of the duties, the price of fuel in France has been

about doubled since the peace; so that the monopoly prices that are now obtained by the iron masters are barely adequate to defray the increased expenses to which they were put! Unluckily, however, the rise in question has not affected them only. Timber being almost the only species of fuel used in France, the iron monopoly has really doubled the cost of this indispensable necessary, and occasioned privations of which it is not easy to estimate the extent. The iron manufacture of Great Britain is ten times more valuable and important than that of France. We apprehend, however, that any statesman who should have proposed relieving its late depression by the adoption of measures calculated to double the price of coal, would have been reckoned fitter for Bedlam than for the House of Commons. Notwithstanding, he might have appealed to the *vrais principes* of M. Thiers, and the example of *la grande Nation*.

Nothing, indeed, can be more ludicrously absurd than the pompous way in which the exploded dogmas of the Mercantile School are paraded in the French Chambers, as if they were so many mathematical axioms. It was recently, for example, laid down in the Report of a Committee of the Chamber of Deputies on the sugar duties, 'That *the richest nation is always that which* '*exports most, and imports least.*' The legitimate inference from which is, as Messrs Villiers and Bowring have remarked, that a people which should send away every thing and get back nothing, would have reached the maximum of prosperity. The Ministry and the Chambers may depend upon it, that the only principle on which commerce can be carried on, is that of the interchange of reciprocal and equal advantages. But the extent to which it may be carried, depends quite as much on the freedom of importation as on that of exportation. A country that should admit no foreign products, would be as effectually deprived of commerce as if she were surrounded by Bishop Berkeley's wall of brass. Exportation is, in fact, always dependent upon, and measured by importation. Restrictions on the latter are really and practically restrictions on the former. To suppose that it should be otherwise, is to suppose what is contradictory and absurd. It is supposing that merchants are anxious only to give away, without caring whether they get back any thing!

Causes similar to those that have given a death-blow to the American tariff, notwithstanding the powerful interest by which it was supported, are at work in France, and will, we have no doubt, lead to the overthrow of the protecting system in that country. Foreigners have always been the principal customers for the peculiar productions of the Southern States of the Union. But the planters and merchants soon found that every new ob-

stacle thrown in the way of importation from abroad, reacted on exportation, and hindered the sale of their cotton, rice, tobacco, and other articles. Hence the decisive opposition of Carolina and of the other Southern States to the tariff; and hence the modifications it has undergone, and is undergoing.

The case of France is exactly parallel. The distress in the southern provinces, and especially among the wine-growers, is very great. The foreign demand for French wines, brandies, silks, &c., the staple productions of the country, is every day decreasing; not because their quality has deteriorated, or that the taste for them has declined, but simply because their system of prohibition makes it impossible for foreigners to pay them. The extent to which this principle has already operated in depressing the wine trade—a branch of industry on which more than *three millions* of people are dependent—could hardly be imagined by those not acquainted with the circumstances. But the following statement, extracted from official documents, of the exports of wine from the Gironde, during the three years ending with 1831, sets it in the clearest point of view:—

Years.	Exports.		Imp. gallons.
1829	43,832,064,	being	9,643,053
1830	28,551,863,	——	6,281,412
1831	24,409,604	——	5,370,110

During the last two years matters have become still worse. The exports of brandy have also declined in about the same degree, or more; and the foreign shipping frequenting the port of Bordeaux, has been diminished nearly a half.

The glut of the market, and the extreme depression of price occasioned by this cessation of demand, has been productive of great distress and irritation. This, however, is a case in which good will assuredly come out of evil. The excess to which the prohibitive system has been carried in France will ensure its entire abolition. The injury it entails on the vast majority of the population, is too gross and glaring to admit of concealment or palliation. Every one is aware of the source of the evils by which he is oppressed, and deprived of the fruits of his industry. Hence the system has been repeatedly denounced in petitions and memorials from the wine-growers, and from the merchants of Bordeaux, Lyons, Nantes, Havre, &c. The whole body of petitioners concur in ascribing the stagnation of commerce, and decay of industry, to the policy of the Government—to an attempt to counteract the order of nature, by forcing the home production of articles they might obtain from abroad for half the price; at the very moment that the productions most suitable to their

soil and industry, and in exchange for which they might procure an ample supply of all they want, are encumbering their warehouses, and becoming useless for want of a market.

The following extracts from a paper laid before the Chamber of Deputies, within the last two months, by the merchants of Bordeaux, are too important to require being recommended to the reader's attention:—

'Chaque pays, par sa topographie, son climat, l'intelligence de ses habitans, posséde des avantages qui lui sont propres; mais ces conditions mêmes de sa personnalité, le mettent dans une situation moins favorable à l'égard des ressources territoriales et des aptitudes naturelles qui sont les attributs d'un autre pays. Dans une pareille position, établir des prohibitions, c'est empêcher un besoin d'échange réciproquement senti par les peuples. Personne ne s'aviserait certainement de demander que des barrières séparassent nos provinces entre elles. On sait trop bien que sous l'ancienne monarchie, c'est aux privilèges, aux prérogatives de certains états, aux droits de ferme et de passage qui tenaient isolié chacune de ses parties, que la France dut la lenteur de ses progrès en industrie et en commerce.

'Si cette circulation libre dans l'intérieur concourt au bien-être national, n'est il pas déraisonnable de l'arrêter à la frontière quand elle peut aller au-delà? Les différences qui existent entre les produits de pays qui se touchent, sont bien plus tranchées entre ceux de nations éloignées. Le caractère, les moeurs, le degré de civilisation des hommes à grande distance les uns des autres, donnent lieu à des richesses et à des besoins qui contrastent fortement entre eux. Dans cette situation respective des peuples, nécessaires les uns aux autres, il est un principe d'association que, pour le bonheur de l'humanité, il serait utile de féconder. Mais non, les prohibitions le tuent; car elles ne se maintiennent que par l'erreur de l'esprit public qu'elles habituent à prendre le mot *étranges* comme synonyme de celui *d'ennemi*, et à se tenir dans une continuelle méfiance de ce qui n'est pas national.

'Si nous examinons dans leur généralité les conséquences de ce fatal système, ne faudrait il pas lui attribuer la pauvreté de notre commerce intérieur, les immenses lacunes de culture que présente notre sol, cet allanguissement dans les rapports qui sera long-temps encore une cause d'impossibilité matérielle pour l'application générale à notre pays des voies artificielles? Ne serait-ce pas à lui aussi que nous devrions imputer l'absence parmi nous de l'esprit d'association, la repugnance des grands capitalistes pour les enterprises publiques, leur éloignement pour les placemens de fonds, soit dans les manufactures, soit dans les simples affaires commerciales? N'est-ce pas l'esprit exclusif de notre législation qui les encourage à être exclusifs eux-mêmes, et à réserver leurs richesses et leur crédit, soit pour le jeu de la bourse ou les placemens privilégiés, tels qu' achats de forêts, fabriques de sucre de betterave, usines a hauts fourneaux?

'N'est-ce pas à la même cause qu'il faut s'en prendre, si la France, dans son unité de territoire, offre des disparates choquantes, et qui peuvent

finir par nuire au sentiment national? Lâ, quelques départemens prosperent parce que leurs terres renferment les élémens d'une fabrication protégée! Ici d'autres souffrent et se plaignent, parce que ce qui fait la fortune de leurs voisins, n'est obtenu qu'avec le sacrifice de leurs spiritueux et de leurs vins qu'ils sont obligés de garder long-temps dans leurs celliers! Au centre du pays, des populations végétent, parce que leur position les condamne à l'agriculture, sans moyens de transports economiques, sans matières premières à bas prix, sans un développement progressif de consommation, est dans un état de pléthore qui l'étouffe! Aussi des villes sont encombrées d'habitans, et d'autres sont désertés; les unes sont poussées à une civilisation hâtive, les autres sont attardées dans l'ignorance et l'engourdissement.'

Statements like these, not admitting of confutation, and supported by a very large portion of the intelligence and population of the country, could not be disregarded; and the Ministers have, in consequence, introduced a measure, making some modifications in the existing customs laws. But a more abortive attempt at reform was never exhibited. It would not, indeed, be easy to say, whether the measure itself, or the reasons by which it has been supported, be the more futile. We incline to think that it was introduced principally in the view of amusing the public; and that it was intended, under the pretence of doing something, to do really nothing. But, if so, the failure of the scheme has been complete. It has not given satisfaction to any class. Petitions have been presented against it from all the great commercial cities, showing that it can afford them no effectual relief, and that it cannot, in fact, obviate any one of the grievances of which they complain. It is doubtful, therefore, whether the measure will pass into a law; and it is of very little consequence whether it do or do not.

It is curious to observe the shifts to which the apologists of the existing system in France are driven. M. Thiers, for example, in a speech to a meeting of delegates from the agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial interests, in February, 1833, stated, that the grand object Government had in view was 'to '*reconcile the liberty which commerce requires, with the protection* '*which manufactures require!*' Had M. Thiers told his auditors that he was exerting himself to reconcile sense and nonsense, the speech would have redounded as much to his credit, and been as much to the purpose. This sort of matter forms, however, the bulk of his late *Exposé des Motifs*, with the paltry sophisms of which he is so well pleased, that he pronounces them to be the only *vrais principes* of commercial legislation. We take leave, however, to tell M. Thiers, that his Beet-root plantations, his Iron-works, and, in short, every branch of industry which requires

protection, is a national grievance; and that the only enquiry any man of sense will ever make with respect to such branches is, how protection may be withdrawn with the least injury to the parties concerned. The Government and people of France must either consent to the immediate or gradual abolition of the restrictive system, or be prepared to witness the continued decline of commerce, and of all the various and important departments of industry connected with it. There is no middle course open to them. But whatever obstacles the interested selfishness of some, or the fears or quackery of others, may throw in the way of the return to a better system, we have no doubt they will be overcome; and that the period is not far distant when the mercantile legislation of France will be made in some degree to correspond with her free institutions, the enterprising character of her people, and her vast capacities for carrying on the most extensively beneficial intercourse with other nations.

The system of prohibition established in France has given rise to an extent of smuggling not to be matched in any other European country, with perhaps the exception of Spain. The statements in the Report of Messrs Villiers and Bowring on this subject are exceedingly curious and instructive. They afford the most satisfactory and convincing proofs of the inability of restrictions and prohibitions to secure a real monopoly, and any extensive market; and show that their principal effect is to promote illicit traffic, and to make that invention and ingenuity be exerted in devising means to defeat and elude the law, which, under a more liberal system, would be exerted to improve the methods of production. The introduction of prohibited goods is more easily effected by land than by sea; and smuggling into France is, in consequence, principally carried on through her north and east frontiers. Large quantities of prohibited or over-taxed goods are, however, introduced by sea. A regular tariff of risks is established; and persons of undoubted solidity contract for certain premiums, which, for the most part, are abundantly moderate, to deliver English cottons, lace, hardware, &c., in any part of France. Owing to the system of *octrois*, or of the collection of duties at the gates of large towns, where an inspection of the goods may also be made, the cost of smuggling into Paris, and other populous places, is considerably greater than that of smuggling into villages. At an average, however, most foreign goods that are not particularly bulky may be delivered in Paris at a charge of from 25 to 35 per cent, *ad valorem*, on their real value.

The following extract from the Report of Messrs Villiers and Bowring developes one of those ingenious devices by which mischievous customs laws are sure to be defeated:—

'The director of the customhouse made, on the 30th of July, 1831, some very curious statements to the Minister of Finance, on the subject of the fraudulent introduction of articles by means of dogs. He says, that since the suppression of smuggling by horses, in 1825, dogs have been employed; that the first attempts were made in the neighbourhood of Valenciennes, and that it afterwards spread to Dunkirk and Charleville, that it has since extended to Thionville and Strasburg, and, last of all, in 1828, to Besançon.

'In 1823, it was estimated that 100,000 kilogrammes of goods were thus introduced into France; in 1825, 187,315; and in 1826, 2,100,000 kilogrammes. All these estimates being reported as rather under the mark, the calculation has been made at $2\frac{1}{2}$ kilogrammes, *pro rata*, per dog. The dogs sometimes carry 10 kilogrammes, and sometimes even 12. The above estimate supposes that 1 dog in 10 in certain districts, and in others 1 in 20, is killed; but these calculations must necessarily be very vague. In the opinion of many of the customhouse officers, not more than 1 dog in 75 is destroyed, even when notice has been given, and the dogs are expected.

'Tobacco and colonial produce are generally the objects of this illicit trade; sometimes cotton twist and manufactures. In the neighbourhood of Dunkirk, dogs have been taken with burdens of the value of 600, 800, and even 1200 francs. Publications hostile to the Government have not unfrequently been so introduced.

'The dogs which are trained to these "dishonest habits," are conducted in packs to the foreign frontier; they are kept without food for many hours; they are then beaten and laden, and at the beginning of the night started on their travels. They reach the abodes of their masters, which are generally selected at two or three leagues from the frontiers, as speedily as they can, where they are sure to be well treated, and provided with a quantity of food. It is said they do much mischief by the destruction of agricultural property, inasmuch as they usually take the most direct course across the country. They are dogs of a large size for the most part.'

Various efforts have been made to suppress this species of smuggling, but hitherto without success. It is ludicrous, indeed, to suppose, seeing the vast extent of the land frontier of France, that any means should ever be adopted capable of excluding cheap foreign products in extensive demand. The director-general of the French customs says, that smuggling is carried on to an extent that is *vraiment effroyante;* and he may well say so, when it is estimated that English bobbinet, though prohibited, is introduced into France to the extent of 10,000,000 francs, or L.400,000 a-year; besides large quantities of cotton twist, and other prohibited articles of British produce and manufacture.

Whatever, therefore, the *vrais principes* of M. Thiers may do for manufactures, or legitimate commerce, it is not to be denied that they are working well for the smuggler. He may retort

upon us, perhaps, by saying that smuggling is not much less prevalent on our shores than on the frontiers of France. But there is this radical difference in the two cases, that here, smuggling is confined to a very few articles, of which brandy and tobacco are the chief; and its existence is not in any degree dependent upon, or identified with, the support of any system of commercial policy. The cost of brandy at the ports of shipment in France varies from 3s. to 5s. a-gallon; and Mr Vansittart loaded it with the exorbitant duty of 22s. 6d. The facts disclosed by Messrs Villiers and Bowring in their Report, set the practical operation of this monstrous over-tax in a very striking point of view. They estimate, from a comparison of the shipments of different articles from France for England, with the imports into the latter, and other authentic data, that the total amount of duties evaded by the fraudulent importation of over-taxed French articles (exclusive of tobacco, whole cargoes of which are sometimes introduced into Ireland) into Great Britain, amounts to about L.800,000 a-year. Of this sum the loss on brandy makes by far the largest item, and is said to be '*considerably more than* L.500,000.' But this is very far from representing the entire loss occasioned by exorbitant duties. For, in addition to the over-taxed articles clandestinely imported, and on which a reasonable duty would be paid, the system occasions the overloading of the market with spurious counterfeit articles, by which the public health, as well as the revenue, is materially injured. Neither does the mischief stop here. In order to render oppressive duties productive of any revenue, it is necessary to organize and keep constantly on foot a very numerous and costly Customs establishment. It is abundantly certain, that we lose by the clandestine importation of brandy, geneva, and tobacco from the Continent, above L.1,500,000 a-year of revenue; and but for the oppressive duties on these articles, a saving of L.500,000 a-year might be effected in the Customs department. Nothing, therefore, can be more futile than to attempt vindicating exorbitant duties, on the plea of their being required to keep up the revenue. So far from this, they are among the most efficient means that can be devised for its reduction. The revenue derived from coffee has been trebled by reducing the duty from 1s. 7d. to 6d. per lb.; the revenue derived from British spirits was materially increased by reducing the duty from 5s. 6d. to 2s. 6d. the wine gallon; and Mr Pitt increased the duty derived from brandy, geneva, &c., in 1786, not by adding to, but by taking 50 per cent from the duties with which they had previously been loaded. There cannot, indeed, be the shadow of a doubt, that the revenue derived from brandy and geneva would be very largely increased by reducing

the duties on them to 8s. or 10s. a-gallon. A measure of this sort, coupled, as it ought to be, with a reduction of the duties on tobacco, would do what neither coast-guards, preventive service, revenue cruisers, or Customs acts will ever do: it would go far to annihilate smuggling, and would allow the services of a large number of revenue officers to be dispensed with.

But it is said that it would be wrong to reduce the duty on brandy, a French article, without previously being sure that France was to make an equivalent concession in favour of some British article. This, however, is really no business of ours. It is clearly for our advantage to reduce the duty on brandy, and therefore we ought to reduce it without enquiring whether the French mean to follow our example: if they do not, they will be the only losers. The more we import from, the more must we export to them. A reduction of the brandy duty would check smuggling here, and it would give it new vigour all along the French frontier. Whether the equivalents for what we import from France find their way to the consumers in that country through legitimate or illegitimate channels, is their affair. We may be sure that they will reach them one way or another. If the French consult their own interest and advantage, they will, by modifying their prohibitions and restrictions, allow them to be imported openly and fairly; but it is not in their power, do what they will, to keep them out.

The equalization of the duty on French wines, and the repeal of the prohibition against importing silks, gloves, &c., have all been in the highest degree advantageous to our interests. Instead of being injured, our silk manufacture is, at this moment, more than twice as extensive as it was before the change; and in 1832, we exported no less than L.75,000 worth of silk goods to France herself! The modification of the brandy duties will show France that we are determined to follow up this course; and will add materially to the numbers, and give additional power to the efforts, of those who are exerting themselves to effect a change in the commercial policy of France. The benefits conferred by commerce cannot be enjoyed by one party to the exclusion of others; and we ought to prize it the more, because, in enriching ourselves, it also enriches those with whom we deal.

We hardly suppose the French will agree to any commercial treaty with us on the principle of the treaty of 1786; that is, of making mutual reductions of duties; and we do not think that it is at all desirable they should. No nation ought to regulate either its financial or commercial policy by treaties with others, but exclusively according to its own sense of its real interests. If the French believe that their welfare is best promoted by sacri-

ficing the great staple interests of the country, the wine growers and silk manufacturers, to a handful of iron masters; that it is better to raise beet-root sugar, and manufacture cottons, at home, than to import sugar and cottons for half the price from abroad: and that it is good policy to encourage smuggling in preference to legitimate traffic, they can do nothing better than abide resolutely by their present system. But it would be a libel on a great and enlightened nation, to suppose that such should be the case; and it is better that they should be at liberty to modify their policy precisely according to their own notions of what is required for its reform, than be hampered with conventions or treaties with others.

ART. XI.—*Report made to His Majesty, by a Royal Commission of Enquiry into the State of the Universities of Scotland.* (Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 7th October, 1831.)

WE have long had it in view to consider this Report, both with respect to what it contains, and what it omits. At present we must limit ourselves to the latter head: and in particular shall endeavour to make up for its remarkable silence as to the systems of academical Patronage in this country, their palpable defects, and the means of improvement. This, and the revision and formation of constitutions, were the only objects upon which its framers could have employed themselves beneficially: for it is of far more importance to secure good Teachers, than to make rules about Teaching; and it shall be our present endeavour to show in what way this primary end must be attained in principle, how it has been attained in other countries, and might be rendered attainable in our own. On a future occasion, we may perhaps make some observations on the more censurable parts of the Report with respect to Teaching and Academical Policy—its arbitrary prescripts touching the length of Courses, and the number of Examinations—its imperative regulations as to Class Exercises—its disregard of the circumstances and views of large classes of Students—its Boards of extra-academical Examinators—and its new Tribunal for the University of Edinburgh, constructed upon principles, and vested with powers strongly calculated to alarm those on whose zeal and exertions the character and prosperity of that great seminary are entirely dependent. Meanwhile, we shall proceed to the capital omission just mentioned.

This omission, however singular it may appear, is not without excuse. During the ascendency of those principles of government under which the Commission was constituted, to have deprived public trustees of their officer only for incompetence and self-seeking, would have been felt a far-reaching and a very dangerous precedent; and so long as The Great Corporation remained the pattern and the patron of corruption, to have attempted a reform of minor corporations would have been at once preposterous and unavailing. At the same time, the theory of educational establishments is so little understood in this country, and so total an ignorance prevails in regard to what has been practically accomplished in foreign Universities, past and present, that the Commissioners are hardly to be blamed for any limited and erroneous views of the imperfections of our academical system, or of the measures to be adopted for its improvement. To the same cause is it to be attributed, that while all admit, in proportion to their intelligence, the defective patronage of our Universities, there are few who do not resign themselves to a comfortless despair of the possibility of any important melioration. Yet, this despair is itself the principal—indeed, the only obstacle to such a result. And to show that it is totally unfounded—that, in theory, the principles which regulate the right organization of academical patronage are few, simple, and self-evident, and that in practice, these have *always* proved successful, even when very rudely applied, is the purpose of the following observations. They pretend only to attract public attention to the subject; and fully convinced of the truth and expediency of our views, we regret that the exposition we can now afford them, is so inadequate to their paramount importance.

Universities are establishments founded and privileged by the State for public purposes: they accomplish these purposes through their professors;* and the right of choosing professors is a public trust confided to an individual or body of men, solely to the end, that the persons best qualified for its duties, may be most certainly procured for the vacant chair. Let us take this definition of academical patronage in detail.

I. In the first place, in regard to the *nature* of academical patronage;† that it is a trust conferred by, and to be administered

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* Oxford and Cambridge are no exceptions. Inasmuch as they now accomplish nothing through their professors, they are no longer Universities; and this even by their own statutes.

† The term Patron, as applied to those to whom the election of public functionaries is confided, is not unobjectionable; inasmuch as it compre-

solely for, the benefit of the public, no one, we are confident, will be intrepid enough to deny. On the part of a University patron, such denial would be virtually an act of official suicide. Assuming, therefore, this as incontrovertible, it necessarily follows:—

1. That the reason of lodging this patronage in certain hands, was the belief held at the time by the public or its administrators, that these were, under circumstances, the best qualified to work out the intention of the trust; consequently, if this belief be subsequently found erroneous, or, if circumstances change, so as to render either these hands less competent to discharge the duty, or others more; then is the only reason gone for the longer continuance of the patronage in the original trustees, and it forthwith becomes the duty of the State to consign it anew to worthier depositaries.

2. That the patronage is wisely deposited in proportion as the depositary is so circumstanced as to be kept ever conscious of his character of trustee, and made to appreciate highly the importance of his trust. Consequently that organization is radically vicious, which conjoins in the same persons the trustee and the proprietor; in other words, where the academical patron and professor are identical.

3. That the patron has no claim to a continuance of his office, from the moment that the interest of the public demands its resumption, and transference to better hands.

II. In the second place, in regard to the *end* which academical patronage proposes—the surest appointment of the highest qualifications—it is evident that this implies two conditions in the patron: 1. The capacity of discovering such qualifications; and, 2. The inclination to render such discovery effectual.

In regard to the former, the capacity of discovering the highest qualifications is manifestly in proportion to the higher intelligence of the patron, and to the wider comprehension of his sphere of choice. The intelligence of the patron requires no comment. As to his sphere of choice, this may either be limited by circumstances over which he has no control, or it may be contracted, without external necessity, by his own incapacity or want of will. Religion, country, language, &c., may, on the one hand, by law, exclude from his consideration the worthiest objects of preference; and on the other, the advantages attached to the office in his gift,

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hends both those who have at least a qualified right of property in the situations to which they nominate, and those who are purely trustees for the community. In the poverty of language, precision must, however, often bend to convenience.

may not afford an adequate inducement to those whom he finds most deserving of his choice. For these a patron has not to answer. But if he allow himself to be restricted in his outlook by sectarian and party prejudices—above all, if he confine his choice to those only who will condescend to sue him as candidates for the office; he certainly excludes from his consideration the greater proportion of those best qualified for the appointment, possibly even the whole; and the end of the trust confided to him remains most imperfectly accomplished.

In regard to the second condition—the disposition to render the discovery of the best qualified persons available—it is evident that his power to do this must depend on the temptation which he can hold out to their ambition. A system of patronage is therefore good or bad in proportion as it tends to elevate or to degrade the value of its appointments; that is, as it tends to render them objects of competition or contempt. The value of an academical office, estimated by the inducements which it holds out to men of eminence, is a sum formed by an addition of sundry items. There are,—1. The greater emolument attached to it; 2. The less irksome and more intellectual character of its duty; 3. The amenity of situation, the agreeable society, and other advantages of the town and country in which the University is situated. These are more or less beyond the power of the patron. But, in another way, it is in the power of patrons, and of patrons only, greatly to raise or sink the value of academical appointments. As the patronage is administered, the professorial body is illustrious or obscure, and the place of colleague either an honour or a discredit. In one University, an appointment is offered by a spontaneous call, and prized as a criterion of celebrity. In another, even the chance of success must be purchased by humiliation; success is but the triumph of favour, and an appointment the badge of servility and intrigue. Thus, under one set of patrons, a professorship will be accepted as a distinction by the person who would scorn to solicit, or even accept, a chair of thrice its emolument, under another. In one country the professorial status is high, and the academy robs the professions of the best abilities; in another, it is low, and the professions leave the academy, however amply endowed, only their refuse. Of this, the comparative history of the European Universities, and our own in particular, affords numerous and striking proofs.

III. In the third place, such being the *nature*, and such the *end*, of academical patronage, we must finally consider what is the proper organization of its instruments; in other words, what person or persons are most likely to feel intensely the obligations

of the trust, and to be able to realize completely its intention. It is evident that the problem here, is, simply, how to find a patron, or how to constitute a board of patrons, that shall most certainly, and in the highest degree, possess these two qualities—Good Will and Capacity.

In regard to *good will*,—a patron will be well disposed precisely in proportion as he has motives more and stronger to fulfil, fewer and weaker to violate his duty. The aim, therefore, of an enlightened scheme of patronage, is, in the first place, to supply him with as many as possible of the one class, and in the second, to remove from him as many as possible of the other.

As to the supply of direct motives:—Independently of the general interest which academic patrons, in common with all intelligent and patriotic citizens must feel in the welfare of their Universities, it is evident, that motives peculiarly determining them to a zealous discharge of their trust, will be given by connecting their personal honour and dishonour with the appointment of worthy and unworthy professors; and that this motive will be strong or weak, in proportion as, on the one hand, the honour or dishonour is more or less intense and enduring in its application, and on the other, as the patrons are persons of a character more or less alive to the public opinion of their conduct. These conditions determine the following principles, as regulating the organization of a board of academical patronage.

1. The patrons must be few: to the end that their responsibility may be concentrated; in other words, that the praise or blame attributed to their acts may not be weakened by dissemination among numbers.

2. The board of patrons must be specially constituted *ad hoc;* at least, if it discharges any other function, that should be of an analogous and subordinate nature. Nothing tends more directly to lower in the eyes of the patron and of the public, the importance of an academical patronage; consequently, nothing tends more to enervate and turn off the credit or discredit attached to its acts, and to weaken the sense of responsibility felt in its discharge, than the right of appointing professors in general, or, still more, of appointing to individual chairs, being thrown in as an accidental, and consequently a minor duty, to be lightly performed by functionaries not chosen as competent to this particular duty, but constituted for a wholly different purpose.—But with its patronage is naturally conjoined as an inferior function, the general superintendence of a University; academical curators and patrons should in fact always be the same.

3. Where a country possesses more than one University, each

should have its separate board of patronage; in order that the patrons may have the motive of mutual emulation, and that public opinion may be formed on a comparative estimate.

4. The patrons should be, at least, conditionally permanent; that is, not holding their office for life, but re-appointed, from time to time, if their conduct merit approval. And this for two reasons. Because honour and dishonour apply with less effect to a transitory patron—seldom known and soon forgotten; and because as it is only after a considerable term of years that patrons can effect the elevation or decline of a University, so it is only a permanent patron who can feel a strong personal interest in the celebrity of a school, and to whom the glory of being the author of its prosperity, can operate as a high inducement.

5. To impress more deeply on the patrons the obligations and importance of their office, they should make oath, in the most solemn manner, on their entrance upon office, to the impartial and diligent discharge of their duty; and perhaps in every report to the higher authority, they should declare upon their honour, and with special reference to their oath, that their choice has been determined, without favour, and solely by the preeminent qualifications of its object.

6. The patrons will be most likely to appreciate highly the importance of their function, and to feel acutely the praise or reprobation which their acts deserve, if taken from the class of society inferior, but only inferior, to the highest. If a patron is appointed from his rank or station;—he is perhaps above the influence of public opinion; the office is to him only a subordinate distinction; and the very fact of his appointment, while it tells him that its duties are neither difficult nor momentous—for, was he selected for his ability to discharge them?—is in fact the most pernicious precedent to him in his own disposal of the patronage itself. If the patron be of a low rank, he is probably patron only by official accident; is too uninstructed to understand the importance of a duty thus abandoned to hazard; is too grovelling to be actuated by public opinion, and too obscure to be its object; while at the same time he is exposed to incentives to violate his trust, strong in proportion to the impotence of the motives persuading its fulfilment. That patron will perform his duty best, who owes his nomination solely to his competence; who regards his office as his chiefest honour; and who, without being the slave of public opinion which he should be qualified to guide, is neither above nor beneath its salutary influence.

The removal from a patron of all counter motives to the discharge of his duty, or of all ability to carry them into effect, determines the following precautions;—

7. The patrons must be a body as much as possible removed from the influence of personal motives, apart from or opposed to their preference of the most worthy. The professorial college will therefore, of all others, not constitute the body by which it is itself elected.

8. The patrons should have the virtual and recommendatory, but not the formal and definitive appointment. This should belong to a higher authority—say a Minister of State. A non-acquiescence in their recommendation, which would of course necessitate their resignation, and throw them back on their electors, could never take place without strong reason: but its very possibility would tend effectually to prevent its occurrence.

9. With the report of their decision, the patrons should be required to make an articulate statement of the grounds on which their opinion has been formed, that the object of their preference is the individual best qualified for the vacant chair.

Touching the quality of *capacity*—that is, the power of discovering and making effectual the discovery of the best accomplished individuals—this affords the following conditions:—

1. The patrons should be appointed specially *ad hoc*, and from their peculiar qualification for the discharge of the office.

2. They should be men of integrity, prudence, and competent acquirement, animated by a love of literature and science, and of an unexclusive liberality—in short, either knowing themselves, or able to discover, who are the individuals worthy of preference.

3. The patronage should be vested in a small plurality. In more than one;—to obviate the errors of individual judgment, and to resist the influences that might prove too powerful for a single will; to secure the animation of numbers, a division of labour, more extensive, applicable, and impartial information, opposite views, and a many-sided discussion of their merits. Not in many;—that the requisite intelligence, &c., may be possessed by the whole body; that the presence of all may be ensured; that each may feel his importance, and co-operate in the enquiries and deliberations; that they may understand each other; take, in common, comprehensive and anticipative views; and concur in active measures to obtain the object of their preference: for, be it remembered, a numerous body can elect only out of those whom a situation suits; a small body out of those who suit the situation. Reasoning and experience prove that this patronage is best vested in a board varying from two to five members. Four is perhaps the preferable number; the senior patron having, in case of divided opinions, a decisive suffrage.

4. The office of academical patron should be permanent, under the condition we have already stated; as no other is more

dependent for its due discharge on the experience of the functionary, on the consistency and perseverance of his measures.

The principles thus manifest in theory, have been universally and exclusively approved in practice. Precisely as they have been purely and thoroughly applied, have Universities always risen to distinction; precisely as they have been neglected or reversed, have Universities always sunk into contempt.

The *intrinsic excellence* of a school is not to be confounded with its *external prosperity*, estimated by the multitude of those who flock to it for education. Attendance may be compelled by exclusive privileges, or bribed by numerous endowments. The accident of its locality, as in a great city; the cheapness of its instruction; the distance of other seminaries, or seminaries of superior character; and, withal, the low standard of learning in a nation, and the consequent ignorance of its defects, may all concur in causing the apparent prosperity of a University, which merits, from its real excellence, neither encouragement nor toleration. It is only when Universities are placed in competition, and that on equal terms, that the two attributes are convertible. To this explanation we must add another. Our assertion only applies to Universities in the circumstances of their more modern coexistence. When the same religion, studies, and literary language, connected Europe into a single community; when Universities, cosmopolite in character, few in number, and affording the only organs, not of instruction and exercise merely, but of publication, counted by myriads the scholars they attracted from the most distant countries; when, opening to their graduates a free concurrence in the then all-glorious field of academical instruction, prelates, and even princes, sought to earn from the assembled nations the fame of talent, eloquence, and learning; then the best instructor naturally found his place, and an artificial patronage was as inexpedient as it would have proved impracticable. Its necessity arose during the progress of a total change of circumstances. When Christendom was shattered into fragments; when the Universities, multiplied to excess in every country, and dwindled to sectarian schools, no longer drew distant nations to their seat, and concentrated in a few foci the talent of the Christian world; when the necessity of personal congress at points of literary communication was superseded by the press; when the broad freedom of academical instruction was replaced by a narrow monopoly, and even the interest of the monopolists themselves remained no longer solely dependent on their ability and zeal;—in this complete reversal of all old relations, the necessity of a careful selection of the academical teacher arose, and hencefor-

ward the worth of Universities was regulated by the wisdom and integrity of those to whom this choice was confided.

The excellence of a University is to be estimated by a criterion compounded of these two elements :—1. The higher degree of learning and ability displayed by its professorial body ; and, 2. By the more general diffusion of these qualities among the members of that body.

Taking a general survey of the European Universities, in their co-existence and progress, and comparing them by this criterion, we find three groups prominently distinguished from the others, by the higher celebrity of a larger proportion of their professors. These are the Italian—the Dutch—and, for nearly the last hundred years, the German Protestant Universities. On examining their constitution, we find that the only circumstance of similarity among themselves, and of contrast to all others, is the machinery of their patronage, consisting of a board of trustees specially constituted for the purpose, small, intelligent, perennial.

Of the three great Universities of Italy, Bologna, Padua, and Pisa, our information is less precise in relation to the first ; but, although the most wealthy and ancient of the Italian schools, Bologna did not continue to equal her two principal rivals in the average celebrity of her teachers. Of Pavia we need not speak.

The Italian were originally distinguished from the Transalpine Universities by two differences;—the early introduction of salaried teachers ; and the restriction of privileged instruction to these teachers, who in Italy, as throughout the rest of Europe, enjoyed their salary under condition of gratuitous instruction. The evil consequences of such a system were, however, in Italy, counteracted by the circumstances under which it was carried into operation.

The endowed chairs were there of two kinds—Ordinary and Extraordinary. The former, fewer in number, were generally of higher emolument than the latter. For each subject of importance there were two, and commonly three rival chairs ; and a powerful and ceaseless emulation was thus maintained among the teachers. The Ordinary Doctors strove to keep up their celebrity—to merit a still more lucrative appointment—and not to be surpassed by their junior competitors. The Extraordinary Doctors struggled to enhance their reputation—to secure their re-election—and to obtain a chair of higher emolument and honour.

The appointment, continuance, and dismissal of professors, long appertained to the students, who, in their Faculties and Nations, annually or biennially elected to all, or a large proportion of the chairs. In Padua, the policy of the Venetian Senate was, from

the middle of the fifteenth century (when the ancient numerous resort of the University had declined), directed to the restriction and abolition of this popular right; and after several fruitless, and sundry partial measures, the privilege was at length, in 1560, totally withdrawn. The Venetian fathers were too wise in their generation to dream of exercising this important function themselves. Under the Republic of Padua, the Princes of Carrara, and the Venetian domination, prior to 1515, two, and subsequently four Paduan citizens, of distinguished prudence, had been chosen to watch over the University, and to suggest the persons proper to be nominated to vacant chairs. In 1516, they were reduced to three, and the election of these academical Triumvirs (*Triumviri Studiorum, Moderatores Academiæ, Riformatori dello Studio di Padova*) intrusted to the six senators of the venerable College of Seniors, by whose wisdom the most important affairs of the Republic were administered. To this small and select body of Moderators, the Senate delegated the general care of the University; and, in particular, that of looking around through Europe for the individuals best qualified to supply the wants of the University. Nor were they easily satisfied. The plurality of concurrent chairs (which long continued) superseded the necessity of hasty nominations; and it not unfrequently happened that a principal Ordinary was vacant for years, before the Triumvirs found an individual sufficiently worthy of the situation. On the other hand, where the highest celebrity was possibly to be obtained, nothing could exceed the liberality of the Senate, or the zeal of the Moderators; and Padua was thus long eminently fortunate in her competition for illustrious teachers, with the most favoured Universities of Europe.

In Pisa, the students do not appear to have ever exercised so preponderant an influence in the election of their teachers as in Padua or even Bologna. From the period of the restoration of the University by Lorenzo de' Medici, the academical patronage of the state was virtually exercised by a small intelligent and responsible body. In 1472, the Senate of Florence decreed that five Prefects should be chosen out of the citizens, qualified for the magistracy, to whom should be confided the superintendence both of the Florentine and Pisan Universities. These were annually elected; but as re-election was competent, the body was in reality permanent. Lorenzo appears among the first. In 1543, Cosmo de' Medici gave new statutes to the University of Pisa, with which that of Florence had been united. By these, beside the Prefects, who were not resident in Pisa, a Curator or Provisor was established on the spot. This office was for life; nor merely honorary, for attached to it was the Priorship of the Knights of

St Stephen. The curator was charged with the general superintendence of student and professor; and whatever directly or indirectly concerned the wellbeing of the University, was within his sphere. In the appointment of professors, he exercised a great and salutary influence. The prefects were the definitive electors; it was, however, the proximate duty of the curator to look around for the individuals suited to the wants of the University, and to bring their merits under the judgment of the prefects. How beneficially the curator and prefects acted as mutual stimuli and checks, requires no comment.

By this excellent organization of the bodies to whom their academical patronage was confided, Padua and Pisa, in spite of many unfavourable circumstances, long maintained a distinguished reputation; nor was it until the system which had determined their celebrity was adopted and refined in other seminaries, that they lost the decided pre-eminence among the Universities of Europe. From the integrity of their patrons, and the lofty standard by which they judged, the call to a Paduan or Pisan chair was deemed the highest of all literary honours. The status of professor was in Italy elevated to a dignity, which in other countries it has never reached; and not a few of the most illustrious teachers in the Italian seminaries, were of the proudest nobility of the land. While the Universities of other countries had fallen from Christian and cosmopolite, to sectarian and local schools, it is the peculiar glory of the Italian, that under the enlightened liberality of their patrons, they still continued to assert their European universality. Creed and country were in them no bar; the latter not even a reason of preference. Foreigners of every nation are to be found among their professors; and the most learned man of Scotland sought in a Pisan chair, that theatre for his abilities which he could not find at home. When Calvinist Leyden was expatriating her second Boerhaave, the Catholic Van Swieten; Catholic Pisa had seduced from Leyden the Calvinist foreigner Gronovius. In Schismatic England, a single sect excludes all others from the privileges of University instruction; in Catholic Italy, even the academic chairs have not been closed against the heretic.

The system was, however, carried to a higher perfection in the Dutch Universities; and notwithstanding some impediments arising from religious restrictions (subsequent to the Synod of Dordt), its efficiency was in them still more conspicuously displayed.

It was first realized in Leyden, the oldest of these seminaries; and from the greater means and more extensive privileges of that University, whose degrees were favoured throughout France, its operation was there more decisive.

In reward of the heroic defence made by the citizens in the memorable siege of Leyden, they received from the States their choice of an immunity from taxation, or of a University. They chose the latter. But though a recompense to the city, and though the civic aristocracy was in no other country so preponderant as in Holland, the patronage of the new establishment was not asked by, or conceded to, the municipality. Independently of reason, experience had shown the evil effects of such a constitution in the neighbouring University of Louvain, where the magistrates and the professors rivalled each other in their character of patrons, to prove, by a memorable example, how the wealthiest endowments, and the most extensive privileges, only co-operate with a vicious system of patronage in sinking a venerable school into contempt. The appointment of professors, and the general superintendence of the new University, were confided to a body of three Curators, with whom was associated the mayor of Leyden for the time being. One of these Curators was taken from the body of nobles, and chosen by them; the two others, drawn from the cities of Holland, or from the courts of justice, were elected by the States of the province. The duration of the office was originally for nine years, but custom soon prolonged it for life. The curators were recompensed by the high distinction of their office, but were allowed a learned secretary, with a salary proportioned to his trouble.

The system thus established continues, to the present hour, in principle the same; but the changes in the political circumstances of the country have necessarily occasioned changes in the constitution of the body—whether for the interest of the University is still a doubtful problem. Until the revolutionary epoch, no alteration was attempted in the college of curators; and its permanence, amid the ruin of almost every ancient institution, proves, independently of other evidence, that all parties were at one in regard to its virtue and efficiency. In 1795, the four curators were increased to five, and all made permanent. Of these, three were elected by the national delegates, two by the municipality of Leyden; and the spirit in which they were chosen, even during the frenzy of the period, is shown in the appointments of Santenius and De Bosch—the most illustrious scholars in the curatory since the age of Douza. On the restoration of the House of Orange, and establishment of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, a uniform constitution was given to the Batavian and Belgian Universities. By the statutes promulgated in 1815 for the former, and in 1816 for the latter, it is provided that 'in each Univer-'sity' (these were now Leyden, Utrecht, and Groningen; Louvain, Ghent, and Liege) 'there shall be a board of curators,

'consisting of five persons, distinguished both by their love of 'literature and the sciences, and by their rank in society.' 'The 'curators shall take precedence according to the date of their 'appointment;' but in the statutes of the Belgian Universities, it is stated, 'the president shall be named by the King, and 'must be resident in the town where the University is establish-'ed.' 'These curators shall be nominated immediately by the 'King, and chosen—at least three-fifths of them—in the province 'where the University is established; the two others may be 'chosen from the adjacent provinces.' 'The chief magistrate of 'the town in which the University is situated, is, in virtue of, but 'only during the continuance of his office, a member of the col-'lege of curators.' Beside the duties touching the superinten-dence and administration of the University, 'when a chair falls 'vacant, the curators shall propose to the Department of Instruc-'tion in the Arts and Sciences' (in the Batavian statutes, 'to the 'ministry of the Home Department') 'two candidates for the 'situation, and they shall subjoin to their proposal the reasons 'which have determined their choice. The definitive nomination 'shall be made by the King.' To hold, annually, two ordinary and as many occasional meetings as circumstances may require. 'The 'curators shall, on their appointment, make, before the King, the 'following oath: *I swear* (*I promise*) *fidelity to the country and 'to the King. I swear to observe the regulations and enactments 'concerning academical establishments, in so far as they concern my 'function of curator of the University of* ——, *and to co-operate, 'in so far as in me lies, to its welfare and celebrity.*' Office of curator gratuitous; certain travelling expenses allowed. 'To 'every college of curators a secretary is attached, bearing the 'title of Secretary-inspector, and having a deliberative voice in 'their meetings. He shall be bound to residence in the town where 'the University is established, and, when the college of curators 'is not assembled, shall watch that the measures touching the high 'instruction and the regulations of the University are observed, '&c.'

We have spoken specially of Leyden, but all the schools of Holland owed their celebrity to the same constitution; and the emulation of these different boards contributed greatly to their prosperity. The University of Franeker, founded in 1585, had three curators and a secretary. That of Groningen, founded in 1615, was governed by a college of six curators, appointed by the States of the province; Utrecht, raised from a *Schola illustris* to a University in 1636, and in endowments second only to Leyden, had five curators and a secretary; and Harderwick by (we believe) a board of five curators and a president. The Athenæum of Amsterdam,

which emulated the Universities of Leyden and Utrecht, was governed by two curators; and the other *Scholæ illustres* were under a similar constitution. On the curatorial system likewise was established the excellence of the classical schools of Holland; and these, as recently admitted by the most competent authority in Germany, have been long, with a few individual exceptions, the very best in Europe.

But let us consider how the system wrought. We shall speak only of Leyden.

It is mainly to John Van der Does, Lord of Noortwyk, a distinguished soldier and statesman, but still more celebrated as a universal scholar under the learned appellative of Janus Douza, that the school of Leyden owes its existence and reputation. As governor of that city, he had baffled the leaguer of Requesens; and his ascendency, which moved the citizens to endure the horrors of the blockade, subsequently influenced them to prefer the boon of a University. In the constitution of the new seminary it was he who was principally consulted; and his comprehensive erudition, which earned for him the titles of the 'Batavian 'Varro' and 'Common Oracle of the University,' but still more his lofty views and unexclusive liberality, enabled him to discharge, for above thirty years, the function of first curator with unbounded influence and unparalleled success. Gerard Van Hoogeveen, and Cornelius de Coning, were his meritorious colleagues.

Douza's principles were those which ought to regulate the practice of all academical patrons; and they were those of his successors. He knew, that at the rate learning was seen prized by the state in the academy, would it be valued by the nation at large. In his eyes a University was not merely a mouthpiece of necessary instruction, but at once a pattern of lofty erudition, and a stimulus to its attainment. He knew that professors wrought more even by example and influence than by teaching; that it was theirs to pitch high or low the standard of learning in a country; and that as it proved arduous or easy to come up to them, they awoke either a restless endeavour after an ever loftier attainment, or lulled into a self-satisfied conceit. And this relation between the professorial body and the nation, held also between the professors themselves. Imperative on all, it was more particularly incumbent on the first curators of a University, to strain after the very highest qualifications; for it was theirs to determine the character which the school should afterwards maintain; and theirs to give a higher tone to the policy of their successors. With these views Douza proposed to concentrate in Leyden a complement of professors all illustrious for their learn-

ing; and if the *most* transcendent erudition could not be procured for the University, with the obligation of teaching, that it should still be secured to it without. For example. Lipsius, 'the Prince 'of Latin literature,' had retired. Who was to replace him? Joseph Scaliger, the most learned man the world has ever seen, was then living a dependent in the family of Rochepozay. He, of all men, was if possible to be obtained. The celebrated Baudius, and Tuning, professor of civil law, were commissioned to proceed as envoys to France, with authority to tender the appointment, and to acquiesce in any terms that the illustrious scholar might propose. Nor was this enough. Not only did the Curators of the University and the Municipality of Leyden write in the most flattering strain to the 'Prince of the literary Senate,' urging his acquiescence, but also the States of Holland, and Maurice of Orange. Nay, the States and Stadtholder preferred likewise strong solicitations to the King of France to employ his influence on their behalf with the 'Phœnix of Europe;' which the great Henry cordially did. The negotiation succeeded. Leyden was illustrated; the general standard of learned acquirement in the country, and the criterion of professorial competency, were elevated to a lofty pitch; erudition was honoured above riches and power, in the person of her favourite son; nor had the fallen despot of Verona to regret his dignity, while republics, and princes, and kings, were among the suitors to the Dictator of the Commonwealth of Letters. After the death of Scaliger, who never taught, the curators, with a liberality in which they were soon after checked, tried to induce the Catholic Julius Pacius (for whom the Universities of Germany, France, and his native Italy, likewise contended) to accept a large salary, on condition only of residence in Leyden. But the place of Scaliger was to be filled by the only man who may contest with him the supremacy of learning; and Salmasius, who, though a Protestant, had been invited to Padua, but with the obligation of lecturing, preferred the literary leisure of Leyden, with the emoluments and honours which its curators and magistracy lavished on him; simply, that, as his call declares, 'he might improve by conversation, and stimulate by example, 'the learned of the place;' or, in the words of his funeral orator, 'ut nominis sui honorem Academiæ huic impertiret, scriptis ean-'dem illustraret, præsentia condecoraret.' And yet the working professors of Leyden, at that time, formed a constellation of great men which no other University could exhibit.

Such is a sample of the extraordinary efforts (for such sinecures were out of rule) of the first curators of Leyden, to raise their school to undisputed preeminence, and their country to the most learned in Europe. In this attempt they were worthily seconded

by their successors, and favoured by the rivalry of the patrons of the other Universities and *Scholæ illustres* of the United Provinces. And what was their success? In the Batavian Netherlands, when Leyden was founded, erudition was at a lower ebb than in most other countries; and a generation had hardly passed away when the Dutch scholars, of every profession, were the most numerous and learned in the world. And this not from artificial encouragement and support, from superfluous foundations, affording at once the premium of erudition, and the leisure for its undisturbed pursuit, for of these the Provinces had none; not from the high endowments of academic chairs, for the moderate salaries allowed professors were returned (it was calculated) more than twelve times to the community by the resort of foreign students alone; but simply by the admirable organization of all literary patronage, by which merit, and merit alone, was always sure of honour, and an honoured, if not a lucrative appointment;—a condition without which colleges are nuisances, and Universities only organized against their end. Leyden has been surpassed by many other Universities in the emoluments and in the number of her chairs, but has been equalled by none in the average eminence of her professors. Of these, the obscurer names would be luminaries in many other schools; and from the circle of her twelve professors, and in an existence of two hundred years, she can select a more numerous company of a higher erudition than can be found among the public teachers of any other seminary in the world. Far more, indeed, is admitted of Leyden by a learned German, himself an illustrious ornament of a rival University. 'Hanc urbem,' says Graevius, (who, though a Protestant, was also invited by the Moderators of Padua,)—'hanc urbem prae ceteris nobilitavit, et super 'omnes extulit illustrissimum et augustissimum illud sapientiæ et 'omnis doctrinæ sacrarium, maximum orbis museum, *in quo plures* '*viri summi, qui principatum ingenii et eruditionis tenuerunt,* '*floruere, quam in ceteris omnibus Europæ Academiis.*'

That Leyden and the other Dutch Universities do not now retain their former relative superiority, is not owing to any absolute decline in them, or corruption in their system of patronage, but principally, if not entirely, to the fact, that as formerly that system wrought almost exclusively in their behalf, so it has now, for a considerable period, been turned very generally against them. The rise of the German Universities necessarily determined a decline in the external prosperity of the Dutch.

The Universities of the Empire, indeed, exhibit perhaps the most striking illustration of the exclusive efficacy of our principle. For centuries these institutions had languished in an obscurity which showed the darker by contrast to the neighbouring splen-

dour of the Batavian schools; when, by the simple application of the same curatorial patronage with some advantages, and relieved from the religious restrictions which clogged its exercise in Holland, the Protestant Universities of Germany shone out at once with a lustre that threw almost into the shade the seminaries by which they had themselves been previously eclipsed.

The older German Universities, like those of France, the Netherlands, England, and Scotland, were constituted on the Parisian model; consequently, all graduates became, in virtue of their degree, ordinary members of the several faculties, with equal rights in the government of the corporation, and equal privileges and obligations as academical teachers. But though the privilege of lecturing in the University was preserved to the graduates at large, a general dispensation of its compulsory exercise was in Germany, as in other countries, soon rendered possible by the endowment which took place of a certain number of lectureships on the most important subjects, with salaries arising from ecclesiastical benefices, or other permanent funds. Of these, which were usually twelve, at most twenty, in all, the holders were, of course, bound to gratuitous instruction; for throughout the European Universities the salary of an academical teacher was always given (as a boon to the public, and more especially to the poor) in lieu of his exigible *pastus*. The devices by which this obligation has been, in various countries, variously (*per fas*, *per nefas*) eluded, would form a curious history.

From towards the middle of the sixteenth century, no German University was founded without a complement of such salaried teachers, or—as they began, from the commencement of that century, distinctively to be denominated—*Professors;* and from this period, these appointments were also generally for life. These professors thus came to constitute the ordinary and permanent members of the faculties to which they belonged; the other graduates soon lost, at least on equal terms, the privilege of academical teaching, and were wholly excluded from the every-day administration of the University and its faculties.

To the salaried teachers thus established in the Universities—either collectively—in colleges—or in faculties, the privilege was generally conceded of choosing their own colleagues; and this in the fond persuasion, as the deed of concession usually bore, that the election would be thus always determined with knowledge, and by the superior merit of the candidate. The princes and free cities, who, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, founded Universities and endowed professorships, abandoned to the salaried teachers this right either entirely or in part. Leipsig and Tuebingen are examples of the one, Ingoldstadt of the other. In

the sixteenth and following centuries, on the contrary, when the custom of endowing every public chair with a salary, and that for life, became more and more universal, no German University was erected in which an unfettered right of election was granted to the professors; and as experience had now proved the pernicious policy of such a concession to the older Universities, it was also from them generally withdrawn. The senate or the faculties obtained at most the privilege of *presenting* candidates for appointment. Of this Koenigsberg is an instance. But until the foundation of the University of Halle, in 1694, by the statutes of which, the chairs in the juridical and medical faculties were declared absolutely in the appointment of the Prince, (though these bodies still ventured to interpose their advice,) the selection and ordinary appointment of professors, under the various forms of *presentation*, *commendation*, *proposal*, or *designation*, was virtually exercised by the professorial bodies; there was in fact, in the state, no other authority on whom this function peculiarly or responsibly devolved. It was the establishment of the University of Goettingen, exactly a century ago, which necessitated a total and most salutary change of system. 'The great Muenchhausen,' says an illustrious professor of that seminary, 'allowed our University 'the right of Presentation, of Designation, or of Recommend-'ation, as little as the right of free election; for he was taught 'by experience, that although the faculties of Universities may 'know the individuals best qualified to supply their vacant chairs, 'that they are seldom or never disposed to propose for appoint-'ment the worthiest within their knowledge.'

The length to which this article has already run, warns us not to attempt a contrast of the past and present state of the German Universities. On this interesting subject, 'satius est silere quam 'parum dicere.' By Germans themselves, they are admitted to have been incomparably inferior to the Dutch and Italian Universities, until the foundation of the University of Goettingen. Muenchhausen was for Goettingen and the German Universities, what Douza was for Leyden and the Dutch. But with this difference,—Leyden was the model on which the younger Universities of the Republic were constructed; Goettingen the model on which the older Universities of the Empire were reformed. Both were statesmen and scholars. Both proposed a high ideal for the schools founded under their auspices; and both, as first curators, laboured with paramount influence in realizing this ideal for the same long period of thirty-two years. Under their patronage, Leyden and Goettingen took the highest place among the Universities of Europe; and both have only lost their

relative supremacy, by the application in other seminaries of the same measures which had at first determined their superiority.

From the mutual relations of the seminaries, states, and people of the Empire, the resort to a German University has in general been always mainly dependent on its comparative excellence; and as the interest of the several states is involved in the prosperity of their several Universities, the improvement of one of these schools necessarily occasioned the improvement of the others. No sooner, therefore, had Goettingen risen to a decided superiority through her system of curatorial patronage, and other subordinate improvements, than the different governments found it necessary to place their seminaries, as far as possible, on an equal footing. The nuisance of professorial recommendation, under which the Universities had so long pined, was generally abated; and the few schools in which it has been tolerated, subsist only through their endowments, and stand as warning monuments of its effect. Compare wealthy Greifswalde with poor Halle. The virtual patronage was in general found best confided to a small body of curators; though the peculiar circumstances of the country, and the peculiar organization of their machinery of government, have recently enabled at least one of the German states to concentrate, without a violation of our principles, their academical patronage in a ministry of public instruction. This, however, we cannot now explain. It is universally admitted, that since their rise through the new system of patronage, the Universities of Germany have drawn into their sphere the highest talent of the nation; that the new era in its intellectual life has been wholly determined by them; as from them have emanated almost all the most remarkable products of German genius, in literature, erudition, philosophy, and science.

The matter of academical patronage has of course been discussed in Germany, where education in general has engrossed greater attention than throughout the world beside; and where, in particular, the merits of every feasible mode of choosing professors have been tried by a varied experience. But in that country the matter has been hardly ever mooted. All are at one. Every authority supports the policy of concentrating the academical patronage in an extra-academical body, small, intelligent, and responsible; and we defy the allegation of a single modern opinion in favour of distributing that patronage among a numerous body of electors,—far less of leaving it, in any circumstances, modification, or degree, under the influence of the professorial college. The same unanimity has also, we have noticed, always prevailed in Holland. As a specimen of the state of

opinion in Germany on this decided point, we shall cite only three witnesses, all professors, and all of the very highest authority. These are Michaelis, Meiners, and Schleiermacher.

Michaelis.—'It is inexpedient to allow the choice of academical teachers to the professors themselves, be it either to the whole concilium or to the several faculties; and those Universities which exercise this right, pay the penalty of the privilege. A choice of this description is always ill made by a numerous body, and a single intelligent judge is better than a multitude of electors. — — — In an election by professors, it is also to be feared that partiality, nepotism, complaisance to a colleague in expectation of a return, would be all-powerful; and were it only a patriotic preference of natives to strangers, still would the election be perverted. There is, moreover, a painful circumstance on which I am loath to touch. It is not impossible that the most intelligent judge among the professors, one in the enjoyment of distinguished influence and reputation, may, in the appointment of a colleague, look that this reputation and influence be not eclipsed, and consequently, to the exclusion of all higher talent, confine his choice to such inferior qualifications as he can regard without dread of rivalry. Professors may, it is true, be profitably consulted; but no reliance should be placed on the advice of those who have any counter interest to the new professor. — — — The direst evil in the choice of professors, and the certain prelude to the utter degradation of a University, is nepotism; that is, if professors, whether directly through election, or indirectly through recommendation and advice, should succeed in obtaining academical appointments for sons, sons-in-law, &c., of inferior learning. The man who in this manner becomes extraordinary professor will, without merit, rise also to the higher office; and the job which is tolerated on one occasion, must, from collegial friendship and even equitable reciprocity, be practised on others,' &c. &c.

Meiners.—'It should be no matter of regret that faculties have now lost the privilege of electing their members, or of recommending them for appointment. Certain as it is, that each faculty is best competent to determine what qualifications are most wanted for its vacant chairs, and who are the persons possessing these qualifications in the highest eminence; certain also is it, that in very many cases the faculties would neither elect nor recommend the individual deserving of preference;—that is, in all cases where they might apprehend that the worthiest would prejudice the interests, or throw into the shade the reputation, of themselves or friends. — — — Let academical patrons be cautious as possible, and let them consult whom they may in the choice of public teachers, it cannot but happen that they should commit occasional mistakes. And when such occur, then is it that we are sure to hear—"This could not have happened, had the University or faculty been consulted." Yet far worse and far more frequent errors would occur, did the faculties possess the right of free election, or did the higher authorities only choose out of a list presented by the professors. — — —

'The actual choice and confirmation of public teachers is now, in most Universities, in the hands of the Prince, and of the curators appointed by him; in very few is it exercised by the Universities themselves, or

by their several faculties and functionaries. The Universities in which teachers are chosen and confirmed by the Prince, or by the curators nominated by him, are distinguished among themselves by this difference: —that in some, the whole professorial body, or the several faculties, have either the right or the permission to propose, or at least recommend, candidates for the vacant places; and that, in others, they have not. The questions thus arise:—Is it better that the Universities themselves, or those in authority over them, should elect the professors? Is it better that the University or academical bodies should or should not have the right or permission to propose or recommend for appointment?

'It does not admit of doubt, that the choice of professors by extra-academical governors, is preferable to their election by the senatus or faculties. Curators, however learned they may be, still cannot be so familiar with every department of erudition, as to be able, on every vacancy, to determine, from their own knowledge, what individuals ought to be taken into consideration, and who of these is best deserving of preference. To this the most learned professor would be equally incompetent as the academical curators. It is not, however, difficult for well-disposed and enlightened curators to obtain the information which they themselves cannot possibly possess. They reside, in general, either in great cities, or, at least, in towns inhabited by men of learning, intimately acquainted with every branch of literature. They likewise in general personally know, in the Universities over which they preside, individuals of approved erudition, who can either afford advice themselves, or obtain it from others with whom they are acquainted. In either way, it is easy to ascertain both the number and the relative qualifications of those who would accept the office. This must be admitted; nor can it be denied, that curators will in almost every instance elect those recommended to them as the worthiest, by the best informed and most impartial advisers. Curators have no other, at least no stronger interest, than the maintenance and increase of the prosperity of the University intrusted to their care. This interest induces them, in the academical appointments, rigidly to scrutinize the qualifications of candidates, and to accord the preference only to the most deserving. The individuals out of whom they choose are not of their connexions, and seldom even their personal acquaintances. There is thus rarely any ground of partiality or disfavour. If curators elect according to merit, they enjoy, beside the inestimable approbation of a good conscience, the exclusive honour of their choice. Do they allow themselves to be influenced by unsifted recommendations, to choose another than the worthiest—they expose themselves, by their neglect of duty, to public and private reprobation.

'Academical senates and faculties possessing the privilege of self-election, have at least this advantage over curators of Universities, that they are able, from their own knowledge, to appreciate the merit of candidates. But, on the other hand, they are in this inferior to curators, that we can rarely allow them credit for the will to elect him whom they are themselves conscious is best entitled to the place. The worthiest are either opponents or rivals of the electors themselves, or of their friends. The electors, or their friends, have relations or favourites for whom they are desirous to provide. In most cases, likewise, the very inte-

rest of the electors excludes the most deserving, and prescribes the choice of an inferior candidate. Impartial elections can only take place in academical senates and faculties, when a chair is to be filled for which there is no competition, and the prosperity of which is for the direct and immediate advantage of the electors at large. It will be granted that the case occurs but seldom. As long, therefore, as we must admit that academical senates and faculties are more frequently partial than curators of Universities are ill-informed, so long must we maintain, that professors should be elected by a superior authority, and not by the University itself. This, history and experience have already for centuries determined.

'Proposals and recommendations of candidates by senates and faculties, are a minor evil than actual election; but still an evil which should be abolished or avoided. The same causes which determine the election of inferior merit, must operate against the proposal and recommendation of superior. Where it is the custom that the senate or faculty proposes a certain number of candidates, out of which the higher authorities make choice, there arises, if not an open nepotism, at least a provincial spirit of preference, and a secret conspiracy against foreigners, pernicious to a University. If the higher authorities, therefore, confine their choice to those thus recommended, they will always find that the vacant chairs are not provided with the most eminent professors. On the other hand, if they disregard their recommendation, they afford the academical bodies cause of umbrage, and render them the sworn enemies of the professor actually appointed; complaints are raised of broken privileges; and he who is forced on them through such a breach, becomes the object of odium or persecution. It is, therefore, highly advisable, that the founder, and those in authority over Universities, should remain unfettered in the choice of professors; and that in the exercise of this function, they should obtain the advice of those, within and without their Universities, who will afford them the most impartial and enlightened counsel.'

Schleiermacher.—'The University itself must certainly best know its want, when a vacancy occurs, or the opportunity offers of extending the sphere of its instruction; and as we are bound to presume in its members a knowledge of all that appears of any scientific importance in the country, they must likewise know from whence to obtain wherewithal to supply this want. But, alas! no one would on that account be inclined to accord to a University the choice of its teachers. Universities are, one and all, so infamous for a spirit of petty intrigue, that were this privilege once conceded, what rational being is there who, from their devotion to party, from the passions excited in their literary feuds, and from their personal connexions, could not anticipate the pernicious consequences?'

Having thus generalized the principles which govern a well-organized system of academic patronage, and shown that these principles have been actually applied in *all* the most distinguished Universities, we shall now conclude our discussion by considering the modes of appointing professors in use in Scotland.

To say nothing of the special patronage of a few individual chairs, the merits of which we cannot at present pause to consider, the general systems of academical patronage here prevalent, are three; the trust being deposited in the hands either of a municipal magistracy—of the professorial body itself—or of the Crown.

The first of these systems, though not unknown in one of the other Universities, is preponderant only in that of Edinburgh, where the far greater number of professors are elected immediately by the suffrages of the thirty-three members of the Town Council.

This system is generally and justly admitted to be greatly preferable to the other two. An admission, however, of the kind, proves nothing less than the absolute excellence of the method. It is melancholy indeed that such a system should be tolerated in our country; still more melancholy that it must be lauded as the best we have. The utmost that can be said in its favour, is, that compared with the other two, it is of itself less disposed to evil, and more capable of being inclined to good.

A body like the Edinburgh Town Council, as it was, fulfils none of the conditions of a well-organized board of academical patrons. From their education and rank in society, they were, on the average, wholly destitute of that information and intelligence which such patrons ought to possess; they were a collection of individuals,—numerous,—transitory,—obscure; and the function itself was an appendage wholly accidental to their office.

Such a body of patrons was wholly incapable of an active exercise of their trust. Their unintelligence, numbers, and fluctuating association prevented them from anticipating and following out any uniform and systematic measures. No general principle determined among them a unity of will. They could not attempt an extensive survey for a discovery of the highest qualifications; nor make a tender of the appointment to those who might accept what they would not solicit. Their sphere of choice was thus limited to actual candidates; and the probabilities of success again always limited candidates to those whose merits were supported or supplied by local and adventitious circumstances. Even in the narrow circle of candidates the choice of the civic patrons was always passive; and its character for good or ill, wholly dependent on the nature of some external determination. The judgment of a proper body of patrons should be higher than that of the community at large; it should guide, not merely follow, public opinion. This, however, was not to be expected from a body of burgesses; in fact, it has been the only merit of the Town Council of Edinburgh, either claimed or accorded, that public opinion was not without a certain weight in their decision. But public opinion is not unfrequently at fault; it favours the popular and

superficial, not the learned and profound. The qualifications of a professor are frequently wholly beyond its cognizance; and still more frequently the qualifications of candidates are unknown. Public opinion was thus either not expressed in favour of any candidate, or it was divided; and the patrons solely abandoned to accident, or the impulsion of some less salutary influence,—an influence frequently found omnipotent, even against public opinion itself.

The Town Council of Edinburgh was, in fact, peculiarly exposed to have its patronage corrupted through a variety of channels; and the history of the University shows, that the highest merit, and the public opinion of that merit most emphatically pronounced, have never, in a single instance, prevailed, when a perverse influence has been adequately brought to bear on the electors. Nor could it possibly be otherwise. A body of electors more completely relieved of responsibility, and the consciousness of responsibility, could scarcely be imagined. We had here a body, itself the creature, and consequently the pliant instrument, of favour, intrigue, and corruption. The members of this body were men, in general, wholly unable to represent to themselves the high importance of their decision, or to be actuated by any refined conception of their duty; nor could public reprobation be felt at all, when the responsibility was so pulverized among a passing multitude of nameless individuals. Such a body was, of all others, liable to be led astray from their duty by those who had an interest in perverting their choice. 'It is remarkable,' says Dr Chalmers, 'that 'some of the chief deviations by Magistrates and Councils in the 'exercise of this trust, have been brought about by the influence 'of leading men in the Church or in the University.' This influence, which was long as systematically as perniciously exerted, operated equally to the corruption of the Church and the University; and the last, worst form of academical patronage, that by the professorial body itself, was thus covertly at work, without even the trifling checks which accompanied its open exercise. Itself the breath of party, the Town Council hardly pretended to impartiality when politics disturbed their choice; and the most transcendent claims were of no avail against the merits of a municipal relationship. A large proportion of the electors were necessarily in dependent relations; and some hardly above the condition of paupers. They were thus wholly incapacitated from resisting the various sinister influences which assailed their integrity; and even direct bribery, which is said to have been sometimes tried, was probably not always unsuccessful. It was thus, only when left to themselves, and to the guidance of public opinion, that the civic patrons could be trusted;—only when the

powers which commanded their voices had no sufficient interest in warping their decision. The fact, that they not only tolerated, but expected, the personal solicitations of candidates and their friends, proves also, of itself, that they had no true conception of their office;—that they thought of granting a favour, not merely of performing a duty. Patrons who exercise their power only as a trust, will spurn all canvassing as an insult, if candidates do not feel it as a disgrace. Judges were once courted in this and other countries in a similar manner. We look back on such a practice as on a marvel of political barbarism; and it will not, we trust, be long until we recollect with equal wonder the abomination of solicited trustees.

That municipal magistrates could possibly exercise, of themselves, the function of academic patrons, seems in no other country to have been imagined; and even in Edinburgh, the right of choice was originally limited by conditions which the Town Council have only latterly evaded. Their election formerly expressed only the issue of a public concourse of candidates, and disputation in the Latin tongue; and the decision, too, we believe, was only valid when sanctioned by the approval of the Presbytery. We recollect only two foreign Universities in which the municipality were patrons,—Louvain and Altdorf. In the former, this right, which extended only to certain chairs, was controlled by the faculties, whose advice was to be always previously taken; and the decline of that great and wealthy seminary was mainly determined by its vicious patronage, both as vested in the University and in the town. Altdorf, on the other hand, founded and maintained by the free city of Nuremberg, was about the poorest University in Germany, and long one of the most eminent. Its whole endowments never rose above L.800 a-year; and till the period of its declension, the professors of Altdorf make at least as distinguished a figure in the history of philosophy, as those of all the eight Universities of the British Empire. On looking closely into its constitution the anomaly is at once solved. The patrician senate of Nuremberg were not certainly less qualified for academical patrons than the Town Council of Edinburgh; but they were too intelligent and patriotic to attempt the exercise of such a function. The nomination of professors, though ratified by the senate, was virtually made by a board of four curators; and what is worthy of remark, so long as curatorial patronage was a singularity in Germany, Altdorf maintained its relative preeminence,—losing it only when a similar mean was adopted in the more favoured Universities of the Empire.

These observations are, in their whole extent, applicable only to the old Town Council; but it is manifest that all the principal

circumstances which incapacitated that body, under its former constitution, for a competent exercise of their academic patronage, continue still to operate under its present; and if some minor objections are removed, others, perhaps of even greater moment, have arisen. On these, however, we cannot at present touch. Indeed, it is only in a country far behind in all that regards the theory and practice of education, that the notion of intrusting a body like a municipal magistracy with such a trust, would not be treated with derision; and we have so high an opinion of the intelligence and good intentions of the present Town Council, that we even confidently expect them to take the lead in depositing in proper hands that important part of their public trust, which they are unable adequately to discharge themselves.

Their continuance as patrons would, in fact, seal the downfall of the University of Edinburgh; unless, which is now impossible, systems of patronage still more vicious should continue to keep down the other Universities of Scotland to their former level. All of these are superior to Edinburgh in endowments; and if the one decisive superiority which Edinburgh has hitherto enjoyed over them, in the comparative excellence of her patronage, be reversed in their favour, the result is manifest.

From the best of our Scottish systems of patronage, we now pass to the worst; and public opinion is even in this country too unanimous in condemnation, to make it necessary to dwell upon its vices.

In the unqualified form in which it has so long prevailed in Scotland, it was tried, in the darkness of the middle ages, in a very few of the continental Universities; and in these the experiment was brief. In an extremely modified shape, and under circumstances which greatly counteracted its evils, it was tolerated for a considerable period in the German Universities; experience, however, proved its inexpediency under every mitigation, and it has been long in that country, as we have shown, absolutely and universally condemned.

As established in Scotland, this system violates, or rather reverses, almost every condition by which the constitution of a board of patrons ought to be regulated. In the first place, by conjoining in the same persons the right of appointment and the right of possession, it tends to confound patronage with property, and thus to deaden in the trustee the consciousness of his character; in fact, to foster in him the feeling, that, in the exercise of his function, he is not discharging an imperative duty, but doing arbitrarily what he chooses 'with his own.' In the second place, as it disposes the patron to forget that he is a trustee, so it also primes him with every incentive to act as a proprietor. Natural

affection to children and kindred;* personal friendship and enmity; party, (and was there ever a University without this curse?); jealousy of superior intelligence and learning, operating the stronger the lower the University is degraded; the fear of an unaccommodating integrity; and finally, the acquiescence even of opposite parties in a job, with the view of a reciprocity;—these and other motives effectually co-operate to make the professorial patron abuse his public duty to the furtherance of his private ends. The single motive for bestowing on professors the power of nominating their colleagues, was the silly persuasion that they were the persons at once best able to appreciate ability, and the most interested in obtaining it. If this were true—if it were not the reverse of truth, we should surely find our professorial patrons in Scotland, like the curators of foreign universities, looking anxiously around, on every vacancy, for the individual of highest eminence, and making every exertion to induce his acceptance of the chair. But has it been heard that this primary act of a patron's duty was ever yet performed by a college of professorial patrons? In the nature of things it could hardly be. For why? This would be an overt admission, that they were mere trustees performing a duty, not proprietors conferring a favour. Were the highest qualifications once recognised as the sole rule; why not make its application universal? But then, the standard of professorial competence would be inconveniently raised; the public would expect that the reputation of the University should not be allowed to fall; and the chairs could therefore no longer be dealt about as suited the private interest of the patrons. The private interest of the patrons, therefore, determined an opposite policy. The standard of professorial competence must be kept down—it seldom needed to be lowered—to the average level of their relatives and partisans. Not only must no invitation be given to men of reputation, they must be disgusted from appearing as candidates. The value of the chairs as places of honour must be reduced; that, as places of emolument, they might not, and that in an unlearned country, be beyond the reach of ordinary men. Instead of receiving an unsolicited call to take his seat among the members of an illustrious body, the man of highest reputation, to obtain the *chance* even of a chair,

* 'Hence the hereditary successions in colleges which are thus patronised—the firm and infrangible compacts which sometimes last for generations, cemented as they are by the affinities of blood and relationship—the decaying lustre of chairs once occupied by men of highest celebrity and talent, but the very ascendency of whose influence when living, or of whose names after they were dead, effected the transmission of their offices to a list of descendants.'—*Dr Chalmers.*

must condescend to beg the lowered office as a favour, from a crowd of undistinguished individuals, to obtain whose voices was no credit, and not to obtain them would still be felt as a disgrace; and submit to the humiliation of being fellow-candidate of all and sundry, whom the humble vanity of standing for a chair, or personal and party interest with the electors, called—and with probable success—into the field. To be left to divide the cake in the shade, has been the aim of all professorial patronage. We do not assert that under this system no men of distinguished merit have illustrated our Universities;—far from it; but we assert that of all others it tends to make celebrity the exception, obscurity the rule. And of the small number of great names to which the professorial patronage can lay claim, some conquered their appointments by other reasons than their merits, and more took their patrons and the world by surprise in their subsequent celebrity. We know something of the history of foreign Universities, and something at least by negation of the history of our own. And this we affirm, that if a premium were given to the University which could exhibit among its professors the largest proportion of least distinguished names, the Scottish Universities, where self-election is prevalent, would have it only to contend for among themselves.

As the worst administrators of their trust, the professorial electors will consequently be the most tenacious of its possession. But with them it will not be necessary to ascend to principles to show the justice of relieving them of this duty. An intelligible hint in certain quarters, touching the effects of an exposure of the illegal exaction of fees, will at one paralyse resistance. *Sed hæc olim.*

We may here anticipate an objection we have often heard, that, however bad in theory, the patronage of the Scottish Universities is found, in practice, to work well; these seminaries fully accomplishing their end, as shown by the flourishing state of learning in the country.

Assuming, with the objector, the effect produced, as a test of the instrument producing,* this patronage must on the contrary be granted to have wrought almost worse in practice, than reasoning could have led us to anticipate; erudition, in every higher acceptation, being in Scotland at a lower pass than in any other country almost of Europe. Without, we think, any overween-

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* Though the *principal*, we do not, of course, hold that a good academical patronage is the *only* condition of high learning in a country. An exposition of all the concurrent causes of this result would form the subject of an important discussion.

ing patriotism, we may assert, that no people in modern times has evinced more natural ability than our own; and in all the departments of knowledge where intellectual vigour, rather than extensive erudition, may command success, the Scotch are at least not inferior to any other nation in the world. 'Animi illis,' says Barclay, 'in quæcunque studia inclinant, 'mirifico successu inclyti; ut nullis major patientia castrorum, 'vel audacia pugnæ, et Musæ nunquam delicatius habeant, 'quam cum inciderunt in Scotos.' Nor, assuredly, have they shown an incapacity for the highest scholarship, when placed in circumstances disposing them to its cultivation. On the contrary, no other people has achieved so much in this department in proportion to their means. From the petty portion of her scanty population, whose education was not stunted in her native seminaries, Scotland can show at least some three or four more consummate masters of a Latin style, and that both in prose and verse, than the other nations of the British Empire can exhibit, with ten times her population, and so many boasted schools. Nature gives ability, education gives learning; and that a people of such peculiar aptitude for every study, should remain behind all others in those departments and degrees of erudition, for the special cultivation of which Universities were established, proves, by the most appropriate of evidence, that those of Scotland are, in their present state, utterly unqualified for the higher purposes of their existence. Of these correlative facts, we shall supply two only, but these, significant illustrations.

It will be admitted, that a very trifling fraction of the cultivated population of any country can receive its education and literary impulsion in foreign lands; consequently, that if the seminaries of Scotland were not incomparably inferior, as instruments of *erudition*, that the immense majority of Scottish scholars must have owed their education exclusively to Scottish schools. Now, what is the fact? Of Scottish scholars, all of the highest eminence, and far more than nine-tenths of those worthy of the name of scholar at all, have been either educated in foreign seminaries, or their tastes, and the direction of their studies, determined in the society of foreign learned men.

Nor is the second illustration less remarkable. It will be admitted, that the erudition of a national (we do not mean merely *established*) church, affords not only a fair, but the most favourable criterion of the erudition of a nation. For, in the first place, Theology, comprehending (or rather being itself contained in) a far wider sphere of scholarship than other learned professions, and its successful cultivation necessarily proportioned to the degree in which that scholarship is applied; it follows, that the Theology of a country

can never transcend, and will rarely fall beneath, the level of its erudition. In the second place, the clergy form everywhere the most numerous body of literary men; consequently, more than any other, express the general diffusion of literary accomplishment throughout a people. In the third, the clergy or those educated for the church, constitute the class from which tutors, schoolmasters, and professors, are principally taken. Their proficiency and example thus react most powerfully and extensively, either to raise and keep up learning, or to prevent its rising among all orders and professions. In the fourth; as almost exclusively bred in the schools and Universities of their country, they reflect more fairly than the rest of the educated ranks, the excellences and defects of the native seminaries. And in the fifth; as their course of academical study is considerably longer than that of the other learned professions, they must be viewed as even a highly favourable specimen of what their native seminaries can accomplish.

Now, in Scotland, on this criterion, what is the result? Simply this: Though perhaps the country in Europe where religious interests have always maintained the strongest hold, Scotland, in the history of European Theology, has, for nearly two centuries, no name or place. For nearly two centuries, the home-bred clergy of Scotland, established and dissenting, among their countless publications of a religious character, some displaying great and very various talent, have, with two, not illustrious exceptions, contributed not a single work to the European stock of theological erudition; and for an equal period, they have not produced a single scholar on a level with a fifth-rate philologer of most other countries. In these respects, many a dorf in Germany or Holland has achieved far more than the broad realm of Scotland. A comparison of the Scotch and English Churches affords a curious illustration in point. In the latter, the clergy have a tolerable classical training, but for ages have enjoyed, we may say, no theological education at all. In the former, the clergy must accomplish the longest course of theological study prescribed in any country, but with the worst and shortest classical preparation. Yet in theological erudition, what a contrast do the two Churches exhibit! And this, simply because a learned scholar can easily slide into a learned divine, without a special theological education; whereas no theological education can make a man a learned divine, who is not a learned scholar;—theology being, in a human sense, only an applied philology and history. A farther illustration. In other countries, the clergy, or those educated for the church, as a class, take the highest place in the higher departments of learning. Scotland, on the contrary, is singular in this, that all her scholars of any eminence, have, for

almost two centuries, been found exclusively among the laity, and these, as we have noticed, rarely educated in her native institutions.

The third and last mode of appointing to academical offices in Scotland, is nomination by the Crown. There being no special department, in our Government, for public instruction, this patronage has fallen to the Secretary of State for the Home Department. The defects of this mode of appointment are sufficiently obvious. Here a great deal certainly depends on the intelligence and liberality of the individual Minister, to counteract the natural defects of the system. But, even under the best and most impartial Minister, it can accomplish its end only in a very precarious and unsatisfactory manner. The Minister is transitory; the choice of professors is a function wholly different in kind from the ordinary duties of his department; is not of very frequent recurrence; and concerns a distant quarter of the empire where the Universities are situated, and the candidates generally found. The Minister cannot, therefore, be presumed to think of specially qualifying himself for this contingent fraction of his duty. He must rely on the information of others. But can he obtain impartial information, or be expected to take the trouble necessary in seeking it? On the other hand, he will be besieged by the solicitations of candidates and their supporters. Testimonials, collected by the applicant himself among his friends, and strong in proportion to the partialities of the testifier, and the lowness of the criterion by which he judges, will be showered in, and backed by political and personal recommendations. If he trust to such information, he limits his patronage to those who apply for the appointment; and as all certificates of competence are in general equally transcendent, he will naturally allow inferior considerations to incline his preference among candidates all ostensibly the very best.

To lift this patronage out of the sphere of political partiality, and to secure precise and accurate information from an unbiassed, intelligent, and responsible authority, is what every patriotic Minister of the Crown would be desirous to effect. But this can be best accomplished by organizing a board of curators (the name is nothing) for each University, on the principles of patronage we have explained; whose province would be to discover, to compare, to choose, to recommend, and to specify the grounds of their preference, to the Minister, with whom the definitive nomination would remain—a nomination, however, which could be only formal, if the curators conscientiously fulfilled the duties of their trust. How beneficially these authorities would reciprocally act as checks and counter-checks, stimuli and counter-stimuli, is

apparent. By this arrangement, the Crown would exchange an absolute for a modified patronage in those chairs now in its presentation; but this modified patronage would be extended over all others. The definitive nomination would certainly be no longer of value as a petty mean of ministerial influence; but the dignity of the Crown would thus be far better consulted in making it the supreme and general guardian of the good of all the Universities. Nor would the sytem of curatorial boards be superseded, were a separate department of public instruction, to be established in the administration of the State. On the contrary, in most countries where this organization of government prevails, the University curators form one of the most useful parts of its machinery; and nothing contributes more to perfect the curatorial system itself, than the consciousness of the curator that his recommendations is always strictly scrutinized by an intelligent and well-informed Ministry, before being carried into effect.

In the present article, we have limited our discussion to the general conditions of a good system of academic patronage. We do not, therefore, now touch on the difficult and important question—How is a board of academic patrons to be best constituted under the particular circumstances of this country?

Art. XII.—1. *Poor Laws in Ireland, considered in their probable effects upon the Capital, the Prosperity, and the Progressive Improvement of that Country.* By Sir John Walsh. 8vo. Second Edition. London: 1831.

2. *Report of Evidence from the Select Committee on the State of the Poor in Ireland.* (Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 1830.)

It is a total mistake to imagine, that women of fashion and French milliners are the only classes who claim and exercise a right of arbitrary change of opinion. Mesdames Maradan Carson, and Paÿn, are, it is true, over all things of lace and feathers, supreme; and according to the decrees of their celestial empire, the colour of *feu d'enfer* succeeds the *eau du Nil*, or the *fumée de Londres* combines as naturally with the *boue de Paris*, as the Ministers of Louis Philippe do with the Whig Cabinet. The love of Fashion, or the rule of Fancy—let us call it which we will—extends much farther, and claims among its subjects persons of a very different caste. If we consult our physician, he will admit that in his art the tide sets at times in most strange and

unaccustomed currents. At one period the rage is for tar water: books are written to prove that wits and beauties will be preserved as durably as canvas and cordage, if they will only submit themselves to be saturated with tar. At another period, all the world are directed to smoke, and stramonium and cigars poison our apartments. A contest next arises between waters hot and cold, as cures for gouty patients; and the war is carried on with varied success, till both are driven from the field by colchicum. We recollect, that for one year the growth of mustard-seed was as rapid in the prescriptions as in the parable. Opium succeeded, and stretched a leaden sceptre over the land, which was, however, soon roused from its lethargy by an explosion of blue pills from innumerable mortars, and was finally overwhelmed by a fall of powdered calomel, as formidable as were the ashes of Vesuvius to Herculaneum. At present, we believe that quinine reigns triumphant; and that Whigs, Tories, and Radicals, however they may differ on other points, unite in the common worship of this most salubrious bitter.

The empire of Fancy and Fashion extends still further. These powers have not only sighed for, but have discovered other worlds to conquer; and like the great philosopher of old, they place their engines on that other world, in order to move this. The seraphic doctor, and the angelic casuist of the middle ages, find representatives in our own times. Irving succeeds to Johanna, and the miracle of the tongues occupies those who formerly awaited with impatience the birth of Shiloh.

If such be the case, it is not very surprising that both literature and politics should partake of these whimsical changes. It is not surprising that our worthy and approved good masters, the booksellers and publishers, should alternately find their stock of poetry to accumulate, unread, upon their shelves, from the increasing demand for metaphysics and philosophy; or the ode and the sonnet to reclaim, after a time, the preeminence from which they have been driven. The battle between the historian and the writer of memoirs is fought with a courage worthy of the days of the Plantagenets; and it requires the 'weighty bullion' of Mr Hallam to rescue futurity from the necessity of daily repeating the question of Pilate, amidst the multitude of those cotemporary counsellors with whom there is no safety. Even in the more practical affairs of life, and in those scenes from which we might imagine that fashion would be wholly excluded, the results are still the same. Political Economy has its favourite colours, which distinguish the wedding garments of the chosen guests; and Politics assume badges, and give out passwords, without the adoption of which no person is allowed within the

lines. The changes of opinion which are proclaimed and defended, are not more sudden than they are at times incomprehensible; and without the continued sleep of Rip van Winkle, a very few years of absence from the world renders the pilgrim, on his return, as ignorant of many of the doctrines and opinions of his fellow-men as if he had dropped from another planet. The most extraordinary change of this description that has ever taken place, is with respect to the subject which we propose to discuss in the present article;—a change which comprehends all the phenomena to which we have just adverted, besides a few entirely peculiar to itself. During the last half century have we considered that the current of opinion has set pretty uniformly in one direction. During that period, and up to the present times, have moralists, political economists, and practical statesmen, united in deploring the innumerable evils which a legalized system of relief has produced: during that period interminable have been the enquiries instituted,—numberless have been the preparations made to alter the principle, or correct the administration of Poor Laws in South Britain. Bills have been presented to Parliament in as great an abundance as by tradesmen at Christmas; chairmen have reported,—the very shorthand writers have been run out of breath. Pitt, Whitbread, Sturges Bourne, Scarlett, and many others, have toiled for years seeking remedies, and finding none. Malthus has written, Chalmers has preached—debate has succeeded to debate, and pamphlet to pamphlet; and yet, in the midst of all this intelligence and activity, the number of paupers has not as yet been reduced, and the admitted evil has as yet increased almost in the same proportion with the increasing alarm and despondency. In the meanwhile, a Royal Commission, composed of many grave and reverend persons, has been named. The individuals who compose it represent almost as many distinct species as were comprehended in the ark; they take unto themselves subordinate ministers, like the stars of heaven in number; they scour the country; they circulate their questions; they send forth their well-printed octavo as a precursor of the innumerable folios which were to follow; and just at the moment when all mankind are terrified at the picture they have drawn, and the dangers they have described, it is by others proposed solemnly and seriously to apply the system from whence these dangers have originated, to another and a less favoured land. Now, these fantastic opinions are not only wonderful, as exhibiting one of those changes to which we have adverted, and for which it is most difficult to account, but they also exhibit the phenomenon, that in the political atmosphere we are not only subject to a change of the winds, but they prove that there are times and seasons during which the two

monsoons can blow together, and within the same limits. From the same lips we hear a bitter condemnation of the poor laws in England, and an eager advocacy of their introduction into Ireland. It is true, that the condemnation may be combined with some indistinct defence of the principle, and the advocacy is limited by a protest against mal-administration. On both these subjects we shall have much to remark hereafter, but, speaking in general terms, the same commanding officers are ordering a charge in Ireland, and a retreat in England; when, in fact, the contest is the same in both countries; or, if there be distinctions, those distinctions ought to prescribe caution and distrust, where there is the greatest disposition to an inconsiderate restlessness, and a dangerous spirit of enterprise.

We are bound in candour to suggest one hypothesis, as the only mode which can possibly reconcile these seeming contradictions. If there be in Ireland a superabundance of good principle, and of sound sense, of thoughtfulness for the wants of to-morrow, of careful providence—if there be a horror of all jobbing, an acknowledged purity in dealing with the public money, and a love and respect for the law and its pure administration—if all these perfections are to be found in Ireland, then it may possibly follow that a system which moralists and philosophers have condemned, and which statesmen have vainly endeavoured to reform at this side of the Channel, may, without risk of abuse, or danger of evil consequences, be safely, wisely, and benevolently introduced at the other. Those who are sanguine enough to adopt this faith, may thereby justify their practice; but to other reasoners we are almost tempted to apply the words used by Sir Robert Peel, in his reply to General Gascoigne, when that gallant statesman and learned officer advocated the question of the Irish Poor Laws,—'My honourable friend seems to be in the situation of the 'fox in the fable, who, having lost his tail, felt anxious that all 'other foxes should lose theirs.' If, indeed, it might be shown that the pauper system could be passed like a vagrant from the one country into the other, however difficult it might be to reconcile with Christian charity this mode of shifting a burden from our own shoulders to those of our neighbours, still this policy, though selfish, would be intelligible. This is not, however, the question to be decided; some persons, it is true, contend, upon grounds the truth of which we shall hereafter controvert, that the change they recommend might mitigate some of the symptoms of the disease in England, although it could not effect a cure. But no person is hardy enough to assert, that the real evils of the system in England, would be removed by any alteration of the law as affecting the poor of Ireland.

There are few political propositions which equal in importance that which is by many disposed of as if it were an indisputable truth, or a question which ignorance or selfish interest alone could presume to doubt or to deny. It should be remembered, that the step, once taken, is very nearly irrevocable. It should be remembered, that if once we advance in this path, there is no retreat. If expectations of relief are created in the minds of millions—if millions are taught by the legislature to depend upon any other resources than their own industry,—it will be difficult indeed to withdraw from them hereafter that support on which the law has assured them they might rely. If the mass of those who are without property are informed, by the supreme power of the State, that without labour or exertion they possess an equitable lien on the property of their neighbours, this claim must necessarily have a tendency very speedily to become a right, and to extend itself indefinitely, till the former possessor appears only in the light of a lazy annuitant, or an unfeeling usurper, who stands in the way of those who, under a more sacred title, derived from what is called the law of God and Nature, are called upon to vindicate their pre-existing rights. In all countries, these doctrines are not only questionable, but somewhat dangerous; but in a country in which not only the usual causes of jealousy exist between want and property, but in which confiscation is the original title to eleven-twelfths of the landed estates, and a loose notion of a latent right of reassumption is kept up in the minds of the people, the suggestion of a legal right to relief is one which could not fail to be palatable, and which, if once introduced, would inevitably be carried forward to consequences more extensive, and more formidable, than any anticipated by its British advocates.

We confess that we have felt regret and disappointment at the mode in which this important subject has been discussed, both in and out of Parliament. So far from being approached in a calm and philosophical spirit, it has rarely been touched upon except for the purpose of rousing the most angry and the least generous feelings. To one class of reasoners it seems impossible to resist the introduction of the Poor Laws into Ireland, without denying either the existence of misery and distress in that country, or without an indifference to the moral duty which that misery and distress ought to call into action. To this class it is enough to reply, that it is perfectly consistent to admit and to commiserate the existence of a disease, and yet to doubt the efficiency of the particular remedy suggested. It does not necessarily follow, because the lungs of a patient are affected, that he should therefore submit to the counter-irritant application of

Mr St John Long. Another class seem to trace every objection to the influence of the heartless cruelty of the Irish landed aristocracy; but they cannot suspect Mr Senior to be in the pay of the proprietors of the Bog of Allen, Mr Malthus to be an Irish grand juror in disguise, or Dr Chalmers to be insensible to the voice of Christian charity and benevolence. When, in addition to authorities of this weight and importance, we see a combination of men, who perhaps agree upon no one other topic,—when Repealers are united with Orangemen, Sir Henry Parnell with Colonel Perceval, Mr O'Connell with Mr Spring Rice, it surely becomes a duty to enquire, rather than to dogmatize, and to proceed to the sober investigation of facts, rather than to launch into the vagueness of general assertion, or into personal invective, still less defensible and less conclusive. In the trial of this issue, political economists are met by a peremptory challenge, and all the persons most intimately connected with Ireland are examined on the *voir dire;* or, in other words, in a question, the solution of which depends upon the knowledge of general principles, and of matters of fact, those who are conversant either with the theory or the practice are considered as incompetent witnesses. The question to be investigated is not whether a penal law is to be enacted to punish the supposed heartlessness and cruelty of Irish landlords and absentees, but whether any modification of the system of legalized relief for the Irish poor can be introduced, so as to improve the condition of Ireland, and of the United Empire.

Before we proceed with this enquiry, it is important to consider in what position the subject is left by the recorded opinion of Parliamentary committees. We do not look back to what took place in the Irish House of Commons; for we plead guilty to the charge, if it be one, of relying mainly on the intelligence, impartiality, and public spirit of the Imperial Legislature, whether its deliberations are directed to a portion of the King's dominions, or to the whole.

So long back as in the year 1804, the subject of the relief and support of the aged and infirm poor of Ireland was considered by a select committee, of which Sir J. Newport was chairman, and Mr Wilberforce was a member. This committee reported, 'that 'the adoption of a general system of relief for the poor of Ire-'land, by the way of parish rate, *or in any similar manner*, would 'be highly injurious to the country, and would not produce any 'real or permanent advantage even to the poorer classes of the 'people, who must be the objects of such support.' From 1804 to 1819, the question does not appear to have been distinctly agitated. During the greater part of that interval, the esta-

blishment of a free trade in corn with England, and the excitement of war prices, gave a stimulus to industry, and created an increased demand for labour, which rendered such discussions less urgent. But the fatal epidemic of 1819 induced the House of Commons to appoint a committee, and to enquire into the condition of the labouring poor of Ireland. It is impossible to conceive the existence of any circumstances that could have rendered such an enquiry more necessary, or that could have ensured a more attentive consideration of the subject. Fever had prevailed to a most frightful extent; and the necessity of the interposition both of the Government and of the State, was admitted by all. Over this committee presided that venerable patriot, who succeeded to the duties, and who possessed all the patriotism of Grattan; and the report framed by Sir J. Newport states, 'that for the 'evils of mendicancy and vagrancy existing in Ireland, it was very 'difficult to devise any remedy which would not lead, in its conse-'quences, to the establishment of a system of Poor Laws, produ-'cing, in a country like Ireland, incalculable evils to every class of 'the community.' Again, in 1823, the subject of the employment of the Irish poor was considered; and the distress which had prevailed, as well as the generous efforts made by Great Britain to alleviate the calamities of famine which extended over ten counties of Ireland, not only gave a peculiar interest to the enquiry, but furnished a new class of witnesses of great intelligence and perfect disinterestedness.

Of this committee the late Mr Ricardo was a member; and that excellent man, whose uncompromising love of truth was not greater than his gentleness of mind and true benevolence, concurred in a report which stated, 'that any system of relief, 'however benevolently extended, leading the peasantry to depend 'on the interposition of others rather than on their own labour, 'cannot but repress all those exertions of industry which are 'essentially necessary to the improvement of the condition of 'the labouring classes.' We have felt it our duty to refer to these authorities, not that they can or ought to control the judgment which Parliament and the public are now called upon to pronounce, but because opinions thus deliberately formed and expressed, after the examination of evidence, and by persons whose intelligence and impartiality place them beyond all suspicion, may at least prove to those who seem prepared to dispose of the future destiny of millions by a bold assertion, or by a suggestion of interested motives, that their contest is not solely with Irish landlords; but that they are called on to answer and to refute the declared opinions of some of the most benevolent and enlightened practical statesmen and philosophers.

We have referred to some Parliamentary authorities which apply to this question; but it is most remarkable, and, in our mind, very much to be regretted also, that the Committee moved for, in 1830, by Mr Spring Rice, declined or omitted to report on this subject. We regret this the more when we consider, that Mr Sturges Bourne, Sir J. Newport, Lord Althorp, Sir Robert Peel, Sir H. Parnell, Sir T. Acland, and several other members of weight and authority, were members of this Committee; and that Dr Chalmers, Bishop Doyle, Mr M'Culloch, Mr Musgrave, Colonel Page, Mr Bicheno, and others, were examined as witnesses. How it could have been possible for the Committee to avoid expressing an opinion on this subject, we presume not to guess; unless, indeed, they felt it characteristic, in an Irish enquiry, to consider all things except that question which was the principal matter referred to, both in the mover's speech and the evidence given before them. The evidence is, however, of the greatest value and deepest importance; and if we may venture such a suggestion, without having the fear of the Sergeant-at-Arms before our eyes, the sound and philosophical views of some of these witnesses, and the perfect knowledge of Ireland exhibited by others, are entitled to more weight, as assisting in the formation of just opinions and the enactment of useful laws, than the most studied report that could have been presented to the House.

From this evidence, as well as from papers subsequently presented to Parliament, it is proved beyond all question, that the capital of Ireland has very considerably increased, that agriculture has improved, and agricultural produce advanced both in quality and in quantity; that important branches of manufacture are rapidly extending; that the people have now a greater command of the comforts and necessaries of life than heretofore; that inland navigation, and the trade with Great Britain, have made most rapid strides; that the use of machinery is more common; that all farming implements are constructed on more improved principles; and that the general system of managing land is much better than it was formerly. But from the same evidence it also appears, that the distress of the very poorest class is extreme; that the amount of redundant labour is in many districts considerable, and the want of employment proportionally great. This combination of national improvement and of individual suffering may, it is evident, take place very frequently. The capital of a country may, under peculiar circumstances, increase; but if the increase of population is more rapid than the augmentation of wealth, it is clear that the condition of the labouring orders may be retrogressive, cotemporaneously with the accumulation of capi-

tal. It appears also, that capital is not applied to the improvement of land to the extent that might have been anticipated from the acknowledged facility of obtaining a profitable return. The national character is shown to combine many contrasted virtues and vices: the strongest sympathy for distress, and the most charitable anxiety to relieve it; a strict observance of the duties of private life; children models of filial piety, parents models of devoted attachment; female chastity unspotted,—wives faithful; a respect felt for old age, and, even among the poorest, active and generous benevolence manifesting itself by innumerable sacrifices, made with ready cheerfulness; hospitality is not only a virtue, but a habit; and a generous charity seems an essential portion of the disposition of the people. On the other hand, we find a general indisposition towards all legal restraint; a desperate recklessness of the consequences of actions; a readiness to combine in order to control the actions of others; a disregard of the rights of property; a spirit of revenge, not to be satiated except by blood; a contempt for the lives of others; and an indifference to self-preservation; a total want of forethought, and a mistrust of those rewards which, under a better system of society, independent old age deserves and receives, as the consequence of active and industrious youth. It is also shown, that the different classes of society are singularly disjointed and separated; that mighty chasms exist, and that the imperceptible and beautiful gradation by which, in Britain, harsh contrasts are prevented, and the different orders 'blend, soften, and unite' one into the other, are, in too many cases, unknown. It is absolutely necessary that these distinctive features of the national character should be borne in mind, in discussing the effect which any legalized system of compulsory assessment cannot fail of producing in Ireland. We pretend not to have done more than to trace a very rude outline,—to fill up the picture would require the pencil of a Caravaggio; but we believe that the sketch we have drawn is faithful, and that, however it abounds in strong contrasts, it cannot be considered as a distorted exaggeration.

By many persons the Poor Laws are considered to have originated, not only in political wisdom, but in pure benevolence and Christian charity: the 43d Elizabeth is referred to as the great charter of the miserable and distressed; and as evidence how deep were the sympathies of Burleigh, as well as of his royal mistress, for the sufferings of their fellow-creatures. To those who have more attentively considered the subject, the fallacy of this romantic hypothesis is well known. The object of the legislature seems throughout to have been rather the prevention and punishment of vagrancy, than the relief of want or impotency;

and so far is the 43d Elizabeth from being the original enactment on this subject, or the suppression of the monasteries the cause of this system of legislation, that, on the contrary, we can trace many, if not all the principles of our present system, to statutes much more ancient. Thus, so early as in 1388, labourers are prohibited from departing from their own towns and districts without the written permission of the justice of the peace; and in default of this permission, such labourers were subjected to be put in the stocks, till they gave security to return to their proper homes. In 1495, a settlement by residence or birth was fixed; and beggars, wandering out of their hundred, were required to confine themselves within defined limits. In 1504, the settlement by residence was more strictly defined, as being the place where a beggar shall have last abode for a period of three years. In 1531, mendicancy seems to have been legalized upon certain conditions; but the penalty of whipping is superadded to the obligation of an oath. By a statute passed in 1536, a compulsory system of relief was introduced for the 'poor impotent folk,' and more effective means were given to employ the 'valiant beggars;'—all preachers, parsons, and curates, as well in sermons and *bidding of the beads*, as in *confession* and making of wills, being required to 'exhort, move, stir up, and provoke the 'people to be liberal.' By these laws, a sturdy beggar offending, was condemned to be whipped for the first offence, to lose his right ear for the second, and, if convicted a third time, to suffer death as a felon. Under the milder rule of Edward VI., the extreme severity of prior enactments was, in 1547, somewhat mitigated; and branding on the shoulders, slavery for two years, and slavery for life, with chaining, beating, and branding on the forehead, were introduced as supplemental punishments. In 1551, it became necessary to supply ways and means for carrying the previous statutes into operation; and the authority of the clergy was again appealed to; the Bishops being required 'gently to ask 'every man and woman' what they would give towards the relief of the poor. In the succeeding reign, the aid of the secular arm seems to have been required; and the Bishop was empowered, in 1563, to bind over to appear at the quarter-sessions, any person who shall, 'of his own froward will,' obstinately refuse to give relief. At sessions, the Justices were, in their turn, required 'charitably and gently to move and persuade 'such obstinate person;' and, in case of contumacy, to tax him at their discretion, and to send him to jail in default of payment. A few years subsequently, in 1572, a more general power of taxation for relief was vested in the Justices; and 'grievous whippings,' burning through the gristle of the ear, and finally death, were

added as penalties upon offenders. It has been through these certain strainers, well refined, that the principle of the Poor Laws has been extracted; and in the statutes to which we have referred, may be found almost all the essential elements of the present system,—a law of settlement, a power of removal, the distinction between the impotent and the able-bodied poor, and, above all, the power of compulsory assessment. Many of these statutes, as our readers will, from their dates, remark, were common to the two islands; and they were accompanied by cotemporaneous legislation of an analogous kind, peculiar to Ireland. As early as the 25 Henry VI., labour and industry were attempted to be enforced by an Irish act of Parliament, under the penalty of imprisonment and a discretionary fine. By the 28 Henry VIII., children not attending school were directed to be kept at handicraft or husbandry, and fines were imposed on parents offending. Some of these Irish enactments are whimsical, and it is not quite easy at this period to account for their provisions. Thus by the 3 and 4 Philip and Mary, on the assumption that horse-dealing was inconsistent with industry, labourers were restrained from buying or bargaining for any horse. By the 10, 11 Car. I. c. 16, wandering poets, who extort meat, drink, or relief, under threat of some scandalous rhyme, were made liable to imprisonment; and by the 6 Anne, c. 11, all pretended Irish gentlemen who will not work, or betake themselves to an honest livelihood, are subjected to transportation.

Our readers will thus have seen, that the same principle, with respect to vagrancy, has pervaded the legislation of the two islands; but that, engrafted upon the penal enactments, there has been introduced into the English law the system of relief. This affords to the advocates of the Poor Laws one of their favourite arguments. Does it not therefore follow, they ask, that, if there be this difference in the law, you may thence deduce the peace, order, and prosperity of England; and that, if Ireland wishes to share her happiness, she must imitate her example? Now, with all due respect, it may be doubted whether this is not a mode of reasoning wholly incompatible with all accurate investigation. Before the conclusion be adopted, it must be shown, not only that England is prosperous, but that she is prosperous in consequence of these laws; and it must be further shown, after having proved the first proposition, that there exists in Ireland the means of introducing and administering the same system, and that, if introduced, it would produce equally useful consequences. Now, these two propositions involve the entire question.

Our readers would, however, be much mistaken if they supposed, that the enactment of laws for the punishment of vagrancy

was all that had been done in Ireland to improve the condition of the poor. On the contrary, the provision made by law for the prevention, relief, or the mitigation of various sources of suffering, is most extensive and most effective. Infirmaries, or county hospitals, are very general; and are supported chiefly from the county rates, raised by grand jury assessment. Fever hospitals have likewise been established, and are maintained in like manner. Dispensaries for the sick poor are numerous; and grand juries are authorized to raise, for their support, a sum equal in amount to the sums collected by private contributions. The direction of these several hospitals is wisely vested in such persons as become governors by subscription. A most efficient system of relief has been established throughout all Ireland for the lunatic poor; and the district asylums, now erected, are the most complete institutions of the kind in Europe. Mr Bicheno states, (Q. 4228, *Report*, 1830,) that 'it appeared to him that there was even a 'more liberal provision made for this class in Ireland than in 'England.' And on the more general question of relief for the sick poor, one of the strongest advocates for the introduction of a compulsory system of assessment admits, (Q. 623,) that the assistance now afforded in sickness through the hospitals and dispensaries is quite sufficient. The testimony of Bishop Doyle on this subject is still more important. He is asked, (Q. 4375,) 'Do 'you consider the system of relief which is now provided in the 'way of medicine and medical attendance for the poor, to be ade-'quate to the necessity of the case?' His reply is, 'Fully ade-'quate; perhaps in some portions of those districts to which my 'examination refers, there may not be a sufficient supply of means 'of relief to persons afflicted with fever; but, making that excep-'tion, I am confident the dispensaries are well managed, that 'they are more than sufficient in number, and that there is no 'person having a just claim to relief who is not attended to.' We cannot close this description of the Irish charitable establishment for the sick, without quoting the conclusive observations of a most intelligent and unprejudiced English witness, to whom we have already referred. Mr Bicheno states, 'It appeared to me that the 'provision for the sick poor was larger than in England. The 'infirmaries, fever hospitals, and lunatic asylums, are often on a 'magnificent scale; those which I saw at Cork, Waterford, Lime-'rick, Dublin, and Belfast, were all well managed, as far as my 'cursory observations went. The Irish system is more com-'plete than the English; far more complete. The infirmaries 'we have in England, are only erected in very large cities and 'towns; whereas, in Ireland, they are become a system—a part 'of the law of the land.'

It is, however, true, that these establishments, however extended, do not provide the means for relieving distress, unaccompanied by sickness. Want and destitution, infancy and old age, cannot find an asylum in these hospitals. This cannot be denied; but in examining the actual state of the case, the evidence to which we have already referred should always be borne in mind; because there are many well-meaning, but ill-informed persons, who not only contend that much more remains to be done in Ireland, but that, in point of fact, nothing has as yet been accomplished. To this imputation, the evidence of 1830 affords a complete answer.

But the general law of Ireland, and the practice in particular districts, has gone much farther than we have as yet described. At the suggestion of Dr Woodward, who, in 1773, published his 'Argument in favour of the right of the Poor of Ireland 'to a national provision,' the erection of houses of industry was generally authorized. Under the 11, 12 Geo. III. c. 30, eleven of these institutions have been established, and are maintained chiefly by local taxation. These houses of industry are intended for the double purpose of relieving age, permanent infirmity, and distress, and for the punishment of vagrancy. This has been the nearest approach as yet made in Ireland to the principle of the English Poor Laws; and it becomes extremely important to investigate how the system has worked. So long back as in the time of Swift, an experiment of this description seems to have been tried, but without leading to any very satisfactory results. 'It hath been a very general complaint,' he observes in his *Proposal for giving badges to the beggars of Dublin*, written in 1737, 'that the poor-house, especially since its 'new constitution by act of Parliament, hath been of no benefit 'to this city, for the ease of which it was wholly intended. The 'principal end of the poor-house I take to have been that of 'maintaining the poor and orphans of the city, where the parishes 'are not able to do it, and clearing the streets from all stroll-'ers, foreigners, and sturdy beggars, with which, to the univer-'sal complaint and amazement, Dublin is more infested since the 'establishment of the workhouse, than it was known to be since 'its first erection.' In 1820, a special Commission of Enquiry was instituted by the Government, to consider the state of the House of Industry of Dublin. On that great establishment nearly one million of public money has been expended. It has been managed by governors, bound to devote their whole time to the institution; and yet, with these advantages, the results seem to have been more than problematical. The benevolent and enlightened Commissioners of Enquiry reported, in 1820,

that 'if, at any period during the preceding twenty years, the 'house of industry had been wholly evacuated, and its inmates 'transported to another country, there can be but little doubt 'that it would have been filled again in a very short period from 'the city of Dublin alone; its powers of acting in restraint of 'mendicity would again have been annihilated; and the vacancies 'created by the removal of the Dublin beggars into the house, 'would have been speedily supplied from the country. So far 'from having produced the effect of suppressing mendicity, it 'is by no means certain that it may not have contributed to 'augment the evil, by attracting numbers to Dublin in expec-'tation of relief.' How fully does this bear out that most just and philosophic observation of Dr Chalmers, when he states that the mischief done in such cases is by no means to be measured by the extent of active interposition, but by the hopes excited, the more natural motives disturbed, and by the disappointment and discouragement resulting from such causes! But even those witnesses who are the most strongly impressed with the expediency of introducing a system of assessment into Ireland, condemn these institutions. 'In principle,' observes Colonel Page, (735,) 'I do not like houses of industry or workhouses at all.'—Mr Delacour admits, that at Cork he 'cannot observe that the 'house of industry has any tendency to diminish the causes 'which produce distress' (2750); and Bishop Doyle (4472) goes still further: 'I abominate workhouses,' he observes; 'they 'would be totally unfit for Ireland; and if it were proposed to 'make such establishments general and compulsory, he would 'use every means in his power to arrest such a measure.'

We now proceed to consider the main question, and to enquire how far it would be expedient or practicable to introduce into Ireland a system of parochial support for the poor. We are, however, stopped at the very threshold by the want of a precise definition. What class is meant by the poor? Is the term intended to comprehend those only who, from sickness or bodily infirmity, are unable to support themselves? ought it also to include those who are helpless from old age or infancy? or is the definition to be still farther extended to the able-bodied poor who may find it difficult to procure employment? If the first and more restricted definition be adopted, the case is not a difficult one. 'I would say,' observes Dr Chalmers, 'that all cases of 'hopeless or irrecoverable disease, or even those cases which are 'better managed in public institutions than in private families, 'ought to be provided for with the utmost liberality' (3570); and he adds his conviction, that relief may be safely extended in all cases where the relief has no tendency to augment the num-

ber of applications. The same distinction is admirably well drawn by Garnier, in his Notes on the 'Wealth of Nations': 'Il faudrait commencer par s'entendre,' he observes, 'par 'savoir ce que l'on comprend sous le nom de pauvre. Si vous 'entendez designer par là, celui qu'une infirmité naturelle ou 'accidentale met hors d'état de travailler, et qui ne peut subsister 'que par le recours d'autrui, la question est simple et facile à 'resoudre. La societé doit nourrir ces pauvres,—c'est un devoir 'que l'humanité lui impose; on n'a pas à craindre qu'une telle 'charge vienne trop à s'etendre; les infirmités physiques ne sont 'pas contagieuses comme les infirmités morales; et ne sont pas 'susceptibles de se multiplier à mesure des faveurs qu'elles 'reçoivent.' But if this is all that is meant or intended, we conceive that all controversy is over. We have shown, contrary to what is generally imagined, that much is already done in Ireland for the relief of physical ailment. More may, however, in all cases, and in some cases more must be required. Asylums for the halt, the lame, and the blind, for the deaf and dumb, and for the poor suffering from any other permanent bodily infirmity, ought to be established. We do not dread any evil consequences from such an extension of public charity. Some few cases of imposition must necessarily occur, it is true; and persons may obtain support at the expense of the county and district, who might be more properly maintained at their own. Some selfish and hard-hearted children may thus be induced to transfer to the community duties more justly belonging to themselves. But the whole evil must necessarily be confined within certain limits, and to the extent of those limits we are disposed to go, on the principles laid down by Dr Chalmers and M. Garnier. Even here we are well aware that we expose ourselves to the censure of some of the purists in political economy. Miss Martineau has condemned hospitals and dispensaries, and seems to think that a provision of crutches and of cork legs ought to be made in youth, to meet the possible casualties in after life of fracture or amputation. This exaggeration strains the cord too tight, and an important principle is endangered by its preposterous misapplication.

The cases of infancy and of old age are very different indeed. It becomes difficult, if not impossible, to provide for the infant poor without holding out to unfeeling and unprincipled parents an irresistible temptation to abandon their most sacred and natural duties. The annals of foundling hospitals throughout the world universally teach the same lesson. Even human life, the preservation of which is the first object of these institutions, is more frequently sacrificed than saved. But admitting that a cer-

tain number of lives are thus saved, the end is attained at the sacrifice of nature and principle; and the evil effected by a bad law is infinitely greater than any evil which the operation of that law is intended to avert. Where the mortality in foundling hospitals is great, the system is one of legalized infanticide; and where such is not the case, the system is a bounty on profligacy, and on an abandonment of parental duty. We should therefore infinitely prefer the chance of child-murder in one case, to the certainty of desertion in twenty. Against the first the sanction of the criminal law is some protection; the tie of parental affection is a protection still greater. But desertion of infants almost ceases to be a legal offence, if the law provides support for the child when deserted; and a snare is prepared for the consciences of the weak and selfish, when society undertakes those duties and that responsibility which ought to devolve only on parents. Though society may undertake those duties, it by no means follows that it either does or can fulfil them. On the contrary, granting that no sacrifice of life occurs, the wretched foundling, or inmate of a workhouse, is left unprepared for the world or its temptations. He becomes a helpless insulated being, without any knowledge of those obligations which early affection produces: moral principles are not formed — moral restraint not inculcated—no home ties exist to bind him to virtue—the community, in fact, has contracted engagements which it has not the means of performing; and even when lives are preserved, moral death is the consequence of so fatal an experiment. In addition to these considerations, the prudential motives which protect female virtue are diminished, and many of the checks against improvident marriages are withdrawn. Profligacy and recklessness are encouraged, and the bonds which ought to confine man in his social state are relaxed. On these grounds we do not hesitate to express our unqualified opinion, that neither on political, on moral, or on religious grounds, can a provision for the physical wants of the infant poor be defended or justified.

The objections to a legalized maintenance for the aged, are of a somewhat different character, but appear to us equally cogent. Old age differs from the casualties of sickness or of accident in one important particular. Few persons are sufficiently philosophical to anticipate an attack of paralysis, or an accident which may deprive them of an eye or a limb, and no one assuredly can desire such trials. But old age is an object of desire to the majority, and may be anticipated generally. It is therefore the duty of each individual to make an adequate provision for the evening of his days, and such a necessity becomes a stimulus to exertion in youth; that stimulus cannot be safely withdrawn;

and a fearful responsibility rests with the legislature which substitutes for the contented home of industrious old age, the wretched asylum of a parish workhouse. Nor is this the sole evil; not only is the parent deprived of a motive to early industry, and of the reward of honest old age, but his children are also relieved from filial duty and responsibility. The aged father is placed in the position of appearing an intruder beneath the roof of his son. The parish workhouse is made his true home; and a parish allowance the ungracious substitute for that support which should be given, not only as an act of duty, and as a source of happiness, but in recompense for the care and attention which had been lavished on the infancy and youth of his children. All these obligations are torn asunder by the pauper system; and it is perhaps but retributive justice, that a child who has been himself fed by the parish overseer, should consign his parent to the wretched charity of the almshouse. With what pride and gratification may we extract a higher example of morals from our northern social system! Even the words of some of our national songs read a lesson by which our southern neighbours might profit. Burns could scarcely have written his song of 'John 'Anderson my Jo,' if the 'frosty pow' had no better shelter than the poor-house; and we doubt whether the influence of the 43 Elizabeth would ever have inspired a Sussex peasant with the hopes and affections of the Scottish fisherman:—

'When Sandie, Jock, and Janetie,
Are up and gotten lear,
They'll help to gar the boatie row,
And lighten all our care;
And when wi' age we're worn down,
And hirpling at the door,
They'll row to keep us warm and dry,
As we did them before.'

Having thus admitted to the fullest extent the claims of sickness and permanent bodily disability to protection and relief; and having, on grounds which to us appear unanswerable, negatived the expediency of a provision for infancy or old age; a third question remains to be disposed of; namely, the case of the able-bodied poor reduced to distress for want of employment.

And here let us pause to repeat our astonishment that such a proposition can be seriously advanced, or can require a serious answer, in the days in which we live. All the best authorities on the subject of the Poor Laws of England, however they may differ in other particulars, seem to concur in one principle, that to the support of the able-bodied poor by the parish, are traceable many of the greatest evils and most formidable dangers which

now affect or menace the social system of Great Britain. In the admirable *Report* of 1817, generally attributed to that excellent and enlightened man, Mr Sturges Bourne, it is distinctly laid down, that an order for relief which does not state that the party is 'impotent' as well as 'poor' is invalid. The same opinion was expressed in Parliament, on the high legal authority of Sir James Scarlett. But whatever may be the law of the case, there seems to be scarcely any difference of opinion with respect to the effects of the system, whether it is applied in payment of allowances, in a labour rate, by the establishment of roundsmen, or under any other modification whatsoever. The refusals to work for private employers, the deterioration in quality of the work given, the discontent and degradation of the labourer receiving relief, and the unjust pressure cast upon the industrious labourers who avoid the pauperizing system,—these are facts, which, as applicable to England, are seldom doubted, much less controverted. The energy of our best statesmen, the wisdom of our soundest philosophers, and the benevolence of our most enlightened philanthropists, are now applied to devise means by which we can break the meshes of that heavy net which ignorance and wickedness have cast upon us, in restraint of the powers of all independent exertion. And yet it is recommended, upon grounds that we shall hereafter have occasion to controvert, that this very part of the Poor Law system is to be made applicable to Ireland! Many years have not passed since the narrative of Captain Golownin occupied the attention of the public very agreeably, and gave the European world some insight into the manners and customs of Japan. That empire consists, as our readers know, of several islands. Now, with what amazement should we learn from the Journal of the Russian traveller, that the wise men of Japan were most earnestly employed in relieving the island of Niphon from the evil consequences of some impolitic law, and were at the same time exerting their utmost energy to introduce the very same condemned usages into the neighbouring island of Matsmai! How loud would be our censure—how unmeasured our contempt; and with what pride and self-complacency should we exalt ourselves, as European statesmen and philosophers, above the level of these wretched Orientalists! Yet when it is proposed to enact a provision for the able-bodied poor in Ireland, and to restrict the same practice in England—this contrast of opinion and practice, so far from exciting surprise, seems to some persons perfectly justifiable and philosophic!

But we may be permitted to examine this question on more abstract principles. Relief to the able-bodied poor can only be given one of two ways—either gratuitously, or in exchange for labour.

If the former alternative be assumed, is it not clear that the appropriation of any given sum in money must be a proportionate deduction from that fund which would otherwise be expended in employing labour? If a demand of L.500 is made upon the owners and occupiers of land in any parish, to be expended in the money relief of the poor, the parties assessed to this sum will find their powers of cultivating their farms diminished to that extent. As, by the hypothesis, this relief is to be given to those who cannot find employment, the reduction of capital applicable to the payment of wages, will act upon those who have heretofore been in work; and, consequently, every shilling thus applied for the purposes of relief, is so much deducted from the funds which would otherwise support independent labour. As this application continues to increase, wages must consequently fall, and a double agency to lower the condition of the poor is thus brought into action. The number of paupers must increase, and thereby the local charge must augment; and as a consequence of such augmentation, the wages of the labourer still employed must fall, and their condition will become more and more deteriorated. But it will be said, that care may be taken to prevent so calamitous a result by prohibiting all gratuitous relief, and by exacting work as a consideration for labour. Overlooking, for the present, the difficulty of finding employment, we are by no means extricated, by this second course, from the inconveniences incidental to the first mode of relief. Defoe observes, that, 'to set poor people to 'work on the same thing that other poor people were employed 'on before, and at the same time not to increase the consump-'tion, is giving to one what you take away from another; en-'riching one poor man to starve another; putting a vagabond 'into an honest man's employment; and putting the diligence of 'the latter on the tenters to find some other work to maintain his 'family.' Let this be tried by a practical illustration. Let us suppose, that in a town in which the principal manufacture is of hats, distress exists, and that a sum of L.1000 is raised by assessment for parochial relief. This sum must mainly be raised on the property of those who employ the journeymen hatters; and by such assessment their capital is reduced, the competition of the masters is lessened, and wages fall necessarily. But if this sum of L.1000 is employed in setting to work the journeymen who are out of work, their labour must either displace an equal quantity of active and independent industry, or else a factitious encouragement must be given to the manufacture, which will add to the stock already in the market, produce a farther fall of prices, and involve all parties in one common ruin. In order to justify the principle of giving relief to the able-bodied poor, we

must assume, either that there can be discovered by such means new modes of profitable employment; or, that more labour may, by such means, be forced into existing branches of industry, and that it will increase and stimulate production, without lowering the profits of capital. Now, we are disposed to reject both suppositions. In the present state of things, we are inclined to think, that, in the employment of capital, no statutable regulation can equal in efficiency the natural course of events. Capital will and must be always invested where it will be most productive; and any forcible interference, diverting it from its profitable application, cannot but be prejudicial to the progress of accumulation and wealth, and destructive to the best interests of the labouring classes. Let us enquire how far this theory is borne out by experience. Let us enquire, whether, in those districts in which the able-bodied poor receive parochial relief, the general state of society, of agricultural and manufacturing industry, and the condition of the labouring classes,—are better or worse than in other places where a contrary system prevails. We shall find, on the authority of the Poor Law Commissioners, that 'the constant 'war the pauper has to wage with all who employ or pay him, is 'destructive to his honesty and temper: that as his subsistence 'does not depend on his exertions, he loses all that sweetens la-'bour, its association with reward; and gets through his work, 'such as it is, with the reluctance of a slave. His pay, earned 'by importunity or fraud, is not husbanded with the carefulness 'which would be given to the rewards of industry, but is wasted 'in the intemperance to which his ample leisure excites him.'—(*Report*, p. 49.) Mr Chadwick states, that in every district where the able-bodied poor are relieved, he found 'the condition 'of the independent labourer superior to that of the pauper; 'though the independent labourers were commonly maintained 'upon less money.'—In the *Report* of 1819, it is asserted, that 'those who have not gained a settlement, are beyond all compa-'rison more industrious and independent than those under similar 'circumstances in respect to wages, who have, unfortunately for 'themselves and their parish, the means of obtaining that relief 'which they consider their right.' Compare the poor of Sussex with the labourers of Cumberland. Look through the answers given to the Circulars sent round by the Commissioners, and it will be demonstrated, that in the exact proportion that relief has been granted to the able-bodied poor, in that very proportion have the rate of wages, and the moral and physical condition of the poor, deteriorated.—(*Report* 1834, pp. 216, 243.) But a still stronger illustration is presented from the city of Glasgow, in the evidence of Dr Chalmers. He states, (*Report* 1830, Q. 3478, 3479,

3480,) that although, within a short interval of time, the amount expended in relief for the poor in the Barony of Glasgow, had augmented from L.600 to L.3000, there was no visible improvement in their condition. He adds what is still more important. In 1817, during a period of extraordinary distress, it appears, that in the unassessed district of Gorbals, where the expenditure on the poor amounted to L.350 only, the demand for extraordinary relief was much less than in the Barony of Glasgow, where an assessment to the extent of L.3000 had been made. Nor are these examples confined to the British empire only. We learn from the work of Dr Johnston (*On Charities in France*, p. 477,) that 'in the 'province of French Flanders, it had long been the habit to 'maintain the poor in their own parishes. The tax levied, in-'dependently of hospital establishments, was as high as four livres 'an acre. Yet, in looking over the tables of the proportion of 'poor in the different departments, only two departments exhibit-'ed so high a proportion as the Department du Nord, and not 'one higher. This circumstance corroborates all that has been 'said respecting the bad effects of the tax in England, and what 'has been stated by Dr Chalmers, of the increase of paupers in 'those parts of Scotland where a similar tax is levied.' It is upon a review of these facts, and on a comparison between such cases, and those of an opposite description, that Duchetel states, with a very justifiable pride,—'Que l'on n'oppose donc pas aux maximes 'de la science l'example des campagnes de la France; elles 'fournissent un éclatant temoignage de ses doctrines. La sage 'conduite de nôtre population agricole ne saurait prouver 'l'utilité d'un système de charité légale—car une des principales 'causes de cette sagesse est dans l'absence même du système qui 'ruine et corrompt l'Angleterre.'

There is not one of these more general arguments that do not apply, with increased force, to the peculiar circumstances of Ireland. If elsewhere it must be dangerous to lessen the proportions existing between capital and population, in Ireland such a course would be fatal;—if elsewhere the reduction of wages would injure the labouring classes, in Ireland it would destroy them. If the working classes in England are thrown into discontent on finding themselves exposed to the artificial competition of pauper manufacturers, maintained at the parish charge, in Ireland such a practice would drive the artisans into insurrection.

There are, however, persons, and persons of the highest authority, whose names and whose opinions we sincerely respect, who, admitting the truth of our preceding observations, in whole or in part, contend that the introduction of the Poor Laws into Ireland is not only justifiable but necessary on other grounds, and as a

remedy against greater calamities. Their reasonings may be classed under the following heads :

1. A legal provision for the Irish poor should be enacted, for the purpose of checking the immigration and settlement of Irish labourers into England and Scotland.

2. A legal provision for the Irish poor should be enacted, in order to reduce the extravagant rents now payable in Ireland.

3. A legal provision for the Irish poor should be enacted, to compel the Irish proprietor to guard against the subletting of his estates, and thus to check the vicious increase of population.

4. A legal provision for the Irish poor should be enacted, to avert those scenes of misery and destitution consequent upon the ejectment of Irish tenants, and the consolidation of farms.

5. A legal provision for the Irish poor should be enacted, in order to take the peasantry out of the hands of the agitators, and to restore peace to the country.

These several propositions require a distinct consideration.

1. *Immigration of Irish poor into England.*—If our limits admitted of such an extended enquiry, perhaps we might pause to enquire, whether the labour of the Irish immigrant was in all cases a source of evil in Britain? Let us take the case of a parish in Lincolnshire, in which, by reason of the reliance placed on the supply of Irish labour at harvest, the population is kept within narrow limits ; the building of new cottages is discouraged, and with the help of the O'Briens and the O'Flahertys the harvest is saved; and when the work is done, this surplus labour is discarded with the same ease that a thrashing-mill is thrown out of gear, or a flail is laid aside. In such cases, Irish labour tends rather to diminish than to increase the poor-rate. Even in cases where the Irish poor become settlers, it may be doubted, from the evidence taken before the Commissioners, whether the tendency of such settlement be not to supply the means of effecting operations that would not otherwise be accomplished, rather than to produce any interference with the demand for English labour. But we waive these points, and we assume, for the sake of argument, that every Irish labourer introduced into England is a natural enemy; and we proceed to enquire, whether such an invasion is likely to be checked by a parochial system of relief extended by law throughout Ireland.

In reasoning accurately, we are here compelled to ask one farther question—Is the relief, assumed by the hypothesis to be given, a relief to the aged, the impotent, and the infant poor? or is it relief to be extended to all, including the able-bodied?

Let us deal with the first supposition. Who, we would ask, are the persons forming the bulk of the Irish immigrants? Undoubt-

edly they are the young, the active, and the industrious. Now, is it not clear, that if to such parties you secure a maintenance for their parents, their children, and their unprotected relations, you hold out an additional inducement to adventure, and an increased stimulus to seek the reward of higher wages elsewhere? Confident that their families, or at least that the very young, the old, and helpless of those families, must be maintained at the public charge, the labourers will migrate freely wherever a higher rate of wages affords an inducement to their migration. Therefore, if a mitigated system of Poor Laws were introduced into Ireland, the effect would necessarily be to increase the facilities and temptations which at present exist, and would thus add to the immigration of Irish labourers into Britain. But let us repeat the question, who are those immigrants? Not the helpless, but the adventurous and the industrious. A provision for the first class cannot therefore prevent, although it may stimulate, the migration of the second. Then let it be assumed, that the provision made for the Irish poor shall extend to the class who seek for employment in England. What is the inducement which impels them to quit their native country? It is simply the difference of wages received in Britain and in Ireland. It is the same inducement which attracts the Gallegos to Lisbon, and the Mountaineers to the Campagna;—it is the general principle which regulates the demand and the supply of labour, like that of all other commodities. Whenever labour is abundant and cheap, it will seek a market where it is deficient, and where wages are consequently high. No alteration of circumstances will alter this state of things, unless the rate of wages should also vary. Therefore, the real question to be investigated is, whether the introduction of Poor Laws into Ireland would raise wages in Ireland or lower them in Britain? If our preliminary argument has been correct, it is obvious that a Poor Law in Ireland would tend to lower the rate of wages: the inducement to immigrate being the difference of wages between the two countries, if wages be lowered in Ireland, the inducement to pass into England is increased; and therefore the introduction of Poor Laws into Ireland, leading to a fall of wages, will increase and not diminish the immigration of the Irish labourers into Britain.

It may be said that this reasoning is purely theoretical. If it be correct, it is not the less worthy of acceptation on that account. But the question has been put by the Committee of 1830 to witnesses of all classes, and it is important to consider what has been their evidence. Mr Musgrave states (*Report*, 1830, 2041) that, under 'a compulsory system of relief, the immigration would be 'increased, because many labourers who are now induced to remain 'at home in order to support their relatives, would be inclined

'to come over to Great Britain, where there is so great a differ-
'ence of wages; as long as the difference of wages exists, there
'will always be a great inducement to labourers to come over.'
'I have no doubt,' observes Mr Blake (*Ibid*, 3830), 'that a
'system of compulsory relief would increase the number of Irish
'labourers who come over to England: if the Irish found that their
'poorer relations, who depended on them for support, were sure
'of being provided for without their aid, they would feel less
'difficulty in seeking, as the phrase is, their fortune in Eng-
'land.' 'A provision for families,' observes Mr Ensor (5153),
'would be a husband to that family whilst the labourer was
'abroad; and, therefore, he would be soon liberated to pass
'abroad.'——'If a system of assessment for the poor had the ef-
'fect of lowering wages, as I conceive it would, the motive to
'emigration would be still stronger than at present, by making
'the difference of the rate of labour between the two countries
'still more to the disadvantage of Ireland.' (5487.) Such is the judgment of General Bourke, one of the most intelligent and unprejudiced witnesses who has been examined on the question. 'A provision for the poor,' Mr Delacour states (3096), 'would
'not prevent the emigration of Irish labourers to Great Britain;
'nor could any other mode of relief do so. It has appeared to
'me quite visionary to indulge in the expectation that any system
'of Poor Laws would prevent the emigration to England.' If it be suggested that many of the witnesses, whose evidence has been referred to, are prejudiced parties as connected with Ireland, we shall answer the objection by referring to the following answer given by Mr M'Culloch. The question put (6011) is, 'How
'do you think the introduction of Poor Laws into Ireland would
'act on the immigration of the Irish poor into England?' And the answer given by Mr M'Culloch is, 'I should think it would
'rather increase the importation of them into England.'

We have thus endeavoured to prove, on general principles, as well as from evidence, that the immigration of Irish poor into England, so far from being checked, would be promoted by the enactment of a system of Irish Poor Laws; but we cannot close this branch of our argument without protesting against the principle which is involved in its very enunciation. Far be it from us to suggest that we, as Britons, should submit to any inequality of law existing between us and our Irish friends, which is injurious to our just interests and rights. But we contend that the principle of equalization is to be applied, not by extending a bad system to Ireland, but by correcting that system in Britain. Mr O'Connell never obtained so formidable an auxiliary to support the question of repeal, as in the arguments of those who would

persuade us that Poor Laws ought to be introduced into Ireland, not that they are good in themselves, but because they already exist in Britain. Reciprocity treaties have been of late the object of severe attack; but a reciprocity treaty which is to diffuse among the contracting powers a community of evil, and not an extension of benefit, is an anomaly in the history of nations which hitherto few have ventured to avow, and none can dare to justify.

2. *Effect on Irish Rents.*—It has been suggested that the necessary effect of a compulsory assessment for the poor in Ireland, would be a reduction of rents in that country. It seems to be assumed on all hands, that Irish rents are higher than is consistent with the public prosperity, and that they greatly exceed the amount received by English landlords.

It would be foreign to the immediate object of this enquiry, to point out the great distinction between the two cases here brought into comparison; more particularly as it can scarcely be controverted that the proprietors of Irish estates obtain a larger proportion of the produce of the soil as rent, although they may not receive in money an amount of acreable rent larger than would be paid in the sister kingdom. But, to make the argument applicable, the cause of these high rents must be traced to the absence of a poor's rate; unless, indeed it can be distinctly made out, that a poor's rate would have the effect of reducing the population of the country, or of stimulating manufactures, so as to diminish the competition for farms; the existence of which competition is the real cause of high rents in Ireland. For the present, we shall not stop to examine the truth of either hypothesis; but we shall venture to submit a few considerations, which may not only show that rents would not necessarily be lowered, but that they might, in peculiar circumstances, be raised under the effects of local assessment for the poor; and that the mismanagement of estates, and the consequent oppression of the tenantry, might be increased, rather than checked. Where an entire parish is the property of one intelligent individual, in Ireland as in England, the dangers of abuse would be reduced to their lowest term. But such instances will be comparatively rare; and, in the greater number of cases, the several townships into which parishes are divided, will be found to be the property of different persons, and may be managed on very opposite principles. The assessment can only be levied by a rate proportioned to the value of the rateable property; the expenditure of such rate will be, it is presumable, in proportion to the existing distress. Now, let us suppose two adjacent townships within the same district, the one of which is in the hands of a wealthy and intelligent proprietor, and the other is sub-let and sub-

divided by the tenants of a College, a Bishop, or some ecclesiastical corporation. On the first, capital has been judiciously expended; the rents received are moderate; the houses are built, and the repairs are executed by the landlord; the use of mineral manures is encouraged, and all practical improvements are made. As a necessary consequence, the tenants will be found industrious and thriving, and the value of the land cannot fail to have greatly increased. On the second township the case is very different: by subinfeudation the land has been split into small tenancies; joint occupation has been allowed; an excessive and distressed population has arisen; no stock or farming capital has accumulated or can exist; the cabins are in a state of dilapidation; and the tenantry are in misery and destitution. Is it not clear, that under such a state of things, the improved township will be taxed in the ratio of its improvement; and the proceeds of such taxation will be expended on the neighbouring estate in proportion to the neglect or inhumanity of the landlord, and the consequent wretchedness of the tenantry? Nor will the evil rest here: the mischief must increase rapidly. If misery is augmented in proportion to the pressure of rents, and if relief is extended in proportion to that misery, an actual encouragement is given to the exactions of landlords, and rents must eventually be paid out of the poor-rate. This consequence has already been found to arise in England and Wales. 'The rents,' observes Mr Bishop, in his Report on St Clements, Oxford, 'are in fact levied to a very considerable degree upon those who pay rates. By the abstraction of so much property from rateable wealth, the remainder has to pay a greater burden. The rents are carried to as great a height as possible, upon the supposition that tenants so circumstanced will not be rated: the owner is therefore pocketing both rent and rate; and the value of his property is increased in the proportion that his neighbour's property is deteriorated by the weight of the rates from which his own is discharged.' 'The payment of rents out of rates,' Mr Walcott informs us, in his Report on North Wales, 'is nearly universal: in Llanidloes, out of L.2000 spent on the poor, nearly L.800, and in Bodidern, out of L.360, L.113 are thus exhausted. Paupers have thus become a very desirable class of tenants, preferable to independent labourers, whose rent, at the same time, this system enhances.'—Mr Stuart states, that in Suffolk, 'the payment of rent is a frequent way of giving relief; and when the landlord once adopts rigorous means to enforce his demand, the parish takes good care that the payment shall afterwards be regularly made. It is evident that when the landlord has such an easy remedy for enforcing his claim, he can command any rent he

'chooses to ask.' In Surry and Sussex, we learn from Mr Maclean, that 'the practice of paying rent out of rates is nearly uni-'versal.' It is quite true that some portion of this mischief is traceable to the legal or customary exemption of small tenants from the payment of rates; but it is by no means confined to such cases; and it cannot reasonably be doubted but the same consequences would result from the Cottier system of Ireland; and would only be checked when the value of all other rateable property was reduced to one common level, or when it was wholly absorbed in the amount of contribution. This train of reasoning was forced upon the attention of Dr Doyle, the most powerful advocate of Poor Laws; and he was compelled to admit, as its necessary consequence, that it would lead to the punishment of the innocent for the guilty. But this, he observed, was no conclusive objection; the Almighty himself having ordained the same in his dispensations, when he declared that the children shall suffer for the offences of their fathers. We stop not to examine or to expose this strange misapplication of a text of scripture; we need scarcely waste time in demonstrating the absurdity and gross injustice which it involves; it is sufficient for our purpose to suggest, that when so powerful and so dexterous a controversialist is forced to such an admission, and is driven to such a defence, he must feel that the more legitimate weapons of reason and of argument have been wrested from his hand.

If each individual proprietor was to feel in his own purse the consequence of the selfish mismanagement of his property, some check might be derived from personal interest. But where he has every reasonable certainty of shifting the charge upon his neighbour, and deriving profit for himself, the position of the parties will be reversed. Our argument may thus be summed up as follows: The taxation will be rated proportionally to the value of property; that value will augment in the ratio of the wisdom and benevolence of the system adopted by landlords towards their tenantry; and of the industry of that tenantry. The relief will be, on the other hand, increased in proportion to the increase of distress; and that distress will be dependent upon the mismanagement of landed estates: therefore, until distress be equally diffused, and be made universal, a penalty, amounting ultimately to a forfeiture, will be imposed on the deserving, and a premium will be granted to the exaction and cruelty of hard-hearted landlords.

To those who have witnessed the periodical scarcities or famines to which Ireland has been subject, the truth of these arguments will be at once apparent. Among the principal causes of the failure of the potato crop, is to be found the miserable state of

culture on estates which are subset and neglected. Where a system of good agriculture has been introduced,—where early cultivation takes place, where the farms are of sufficient size, and the use of lime and other mineral manures is encouraged, and above all, where all substantial repairs and improvements are carried on by the landlord, or by him in conjunction with his tenant,—the failure of the crop is rendered less probable. And yet if a scarcity does take place, it is on such parties that the greater part, if not the whole, of the burden must fall; and that, too, for the relief of distress, produced by the negligence or the misconduct of others, over whom no effectual control can be by them exercised. Another result, and one of a very formidable nature, is anticipated by some of the most intelligent witnesses. The only protection against scarcity which can be relied upon, where the population is supported upon the lowest description of food, potatoes, is the growth of that produce in excess, and for purposes other than the sustenance of man. If it were not for such a practice, wherever a failure of the crop took place, the peasantry would be left without resource; but if, in a particular district, 1000 barrels of potatoes are required for food, and 1500 are grown, a failure of one-third of the crop may take place, and yet enough will be left to support the population. This is precisely the case at the present moment in Ireland. Mr Ensor states, that when a short crop is anticipated, 'more care is shown in the use of food, and 'every artifice is used to stem the difficulty when it becomes press-'ing.'—(*Report*, 5081.) But potatoes are used and grown, not only for the human kind, but for the use of that valuable inmate in the Irish cabin, the hog. It is the quadruped who suffers first in time of scarcity. The plague, as in the days of Homer, is felt first among the beasts. 'Whenever there exists an apprehension of 'scarcity,' observes Mr Ensor, 'there ensues a general slaughter 'of pigs.'—(5082.) General Bourke is asked, If expectations were held out by law to the peasantry, that they could obtain relief from the parish, do you consider that these economical means of averting scarcity would still be continued? The answer is, 'There would be much less inducement to them; and I should 'doubt whether they would be continued to the same degree; 'perhaps the idle and extravagant would abandon them altoge-'ther.' (5549.)

We have thus endeavoured to show that, even in the extreme case of scarcity of food, the result of an assessment would be a penalty levied on industrious tenants and liberal landlords, for the benefit of persons of the respective classes of a very opposite description. We have also shown that the prudential and econo-

mical arrangements which are now adopted to extend the supply of food would be abandoned; and that prudence and forethought would be left without a motive and without a reward.

It is important, however, that on the subject of rents we should not be misunderstood. It is only in peculiar localities, and for a season, that a poor's rate could produce an increase of rent. The ultimate consequences would be directly contrary. When, by the excess of taxation imposed on all improvements, and by the discouragement of all such investments of capital, an equalization of misery had been produced, rents must fall, and must fall progressively till totally annihilated. The case of Chorluby would then become one of frequent occurrence: rents would be choked; and, ultimately, the cultivation of such lands would be abandoned.

3 and 4. *Effects of the Introduction of Poor Laws on the mode of managing landed estates.* We have thrown the third and fourth arguments together, because, if both propositions are maintainable, they neutralize each other; and, to use a Parliamentary expression, they may be allowed to pair off together. The same measure cannot, by possibility, promote the consolidation of farms, and prevent that consolidation: it cannot be recommended as a protection against the subletting and subdivision of land, and as a mode of perpetuating that subdivision. It becomes necessary, before we advance further in this branch of our enquiry, to ascertain which of these two systems is that which is most conducive to the public interest; and subsequently to enquire how far the practical application of whichever of these two principles is preferred, would be promoted or retarded by the enactment of a system of Poor Laws. The evidence on this subject is, in our minds, conclusive; and we feel it the more important to refer to it on the present occasion, in consequence of the degree of favour with which the 'allotment system' has of late been received in England:—'The system of subletting has operated as an absolute bar to any encourgement which might have been given to their tenantry by the proprietors of estates. It led to the promise, if not to the payment, of much higher rents, by the occupiers.' Such is the statement in the *Report* of 1830. (P. 6.) Let us examine how this is borne out by the evidence. 'The middleman only looks to an immediate mercantile profit,' observes an English land-agent; 'the landlord has very different feelings; he looks forward and considers the reversionary interest he has in keeping his tenant in a state of prosperity.' (1774.) The evidence of Dr Doyle is, on this subject, of peculiar interest and importance. He informs us, that 'when a farmer took twenty or thirty acres of land, and was permitted to subdivide

'it among his children, he did so when they grew up, and hence 'the subdivision immediately resulted.' Those children again 'subdivided it among their children, until the farm of forty acres 'was subdivided into pieces, not exceeding one acre each. (4011.) 'The habitations were most wretched; the land itself was sub-'divided by ditches into very small compartments, and those 'were very badly tilled. (4357.) The quality of produce was 'deteriorated, and the quantity, I should think, considerably les-'sened; the land being tilled year by year, must become a *caput* '*mortuum*. (4358.) The occasional failure of the potato crop, and 'the vicissitudes to which it is subject, were peculiarly fatal under 'this system of cultivation. (4359.) The evil was so great in 'Ireland that it could not have gone much further, for, at the 'point at which it was arrested, it was producing vast suffering 'and misery among the people. Had it gone on much further, 'that misery would have of necessity increased. (4364.) The 'ease with which a family is provided, and the simplicity of their 'ordinary food, induced early marriages among the poor, and 'these new families are scantily provided for.' (4003.) This evidence, as we imagine, is sufficient to justify that conclusion to which, on general principles, we should have arrived; and to prove that this continued and increasing subdivision of landed property is one of the greatest evils to which any society can be exposed.

We are in this stage of the enquiry encountered by a class of theorists, who tell us that the Poor Laws are justified by the very authorities on which we have relied: it is said, that the Poor Laws alone can avert these evils, and can alone compel Irish landlords to guard against the subdivision of their estates. We state that this is a theoretical argument, because we are less disposed to controvert the reasoning than to deny the recital of facts. If the case was as is supposed, we could hardly resist the conclusion to which it would lead. But the statement assumes several points, which are distinctly negatived by the great majority of the witnesses examined. It assumes that it is now the practice in Ireland for landlords to encourage a subdivision of land; that landlords find it to be their pecuniary interest to do so; that it is necessary to restrain them from persevering in a system so injurious; and that the Poor Laws furnish the best and most appropriate remedy for imposing upon them this restraint. Without establishing these four distinct propositions, the whole argument falls to the ground. Now, it not only appears that these propositions cannot be established, but that each and all of them stand refuted by evidence of the

most conclusive nature. ‘ The new system of managing land is ‘ that of *consolidating farms*, and bringing the landlord and tenant ‘ more immediately into contact. The benefits of this system are ‘ so strongly felt, that all the witnesses concur that they are ‘ universally recognised by landlords and agents, and are carried ‘ into practice as far as circumstances will admit.’ (*Report*, 1830, p. 8.) This course is pursued, because, so far is it from being the pecuniary interest of the proprietors of estates to subdivide property, ‘ experience has shown them that personal interest im- ‘ peratively prescribes a contrary mode of proceeding.’ (*Ibid.*) ‘ By farming my land myself,’ states a working farmer, ‘ I should ‘ be certain of making it more profitable to myself than I could ‘ by letting it to cottier tenants. Some of them pay in money ‘ or labour, but, taking them in general, they will not pay a far- ‘ thing; and you will have at last to forgive them all to get rid ‘ of them. I have found that to be the case by general expe- ‘ rience.’ (416, 419.) ‘ Upon the average of the whole king- ‘ doms,’ observes Mr Mahony, ‘ I am sure that the large farmers, ‘ who are good farmers, pay more actual money to their land- ‘ lords than the small ones who promise to pay more.’ (1140.) ‘ My opinion is,’ says Mr Delacour, ‘ that rentals would be bet- ‘ ter secured by letting land in larger holdings, and to a better ‘ description of tenants.’ (3104.) ‘ The subdivision of land at ‘ last becomes so small,’ Mr Bicheno informs us, ‘ that it will not ‘ support a family; then no rent can accrue to the landlord, the ‘ occupiers absorbing the whole.’ (4250.) The opinion of Dr Doyle is strongly given to the same effect: ‘ The feeling in the ‘ minds of all persons is, that a pauper population would go on ‘ increasing, and the value of property diminishing, till the pro- ‘ duce would be insufficient to maintain the resident inhabi- ‘ tants.’ (4354.) We have thus shown, upon the direct evidence of witnesses of all descriptions, English and Irish, favourable and adverse to the principle of Poor Laws, that it is a total mis- apprehension to conceive that it is either the practice or the interest of landlords to encourage or to permit the subdivision of their farms; and that, on the contrary, their interest and their practice are directly opposed to such a course. We are, there- fore, under the necessity of enquiring whether it is expedient to add to their motives for adhering to this principle; or whether the enactment of a legal support would be a fitting mode of doing so. In fact, the evil, and the real danger come from an opposite quarter. ‘ The risk to be apprehended is not, that the proprie- ‘ tors of land should be insensible to these considerations, but ‘ that they should, in some cases, proceed with too much rapi-

'dity.' (*Ibid.*) This danger, we fear, would be greatly increased by the alarm inevitably excited by a system of assessment; and this opinion is supported by the evidence of almost all the most intelligent witnesses.

5. *Effect of Poor Laws on the peace of the country.* Waiving all former arguments, we are told, that in order to silence the cry for the repeal of the Union, and to deprive the agitators of their present misused and mischievous power, no course remains but to create a charge upon the rental of Ireland for the maintenance of the poor. Our readers will not suspect us of being repealers; and we are ready to condemn the quackery of the agitators as vehemently as any individuals in the community. But we are prepared, not only to 'hint a doubt,' whether this anti-agitation specific would be effectual, but to express our decided conviction that it would lead to consequences of the most opposite tendency. Let us suppose a system of Poor Laws introduced into Ireland: By whom are those laws to be administered? Could elective vestries be chosen and intrusted with these delicate functions? Who are to be the constituents, and who the functionaries? Is every parish throughout Ireland to be called upon annually to go through the ferment of a canvass, in order to select trustees who are to be allowed to tax their own and their neighbours' property? Has any system of agitation been ever proposed, that would lead to results as formidable as this? But rejecting a course which, in the present state of Ireland, would be impracticable, even if vestries could be constituted without these dangers,—let it be remembered, that in many parts of Ireland, were the rate to be thrown on the owner of land, that owner would be of a different religious persuasion from the pauper claimants for relief. What would become of an Irish parish with Orange overseers, a High-Protestant select vestry, and a Roman Catholic population? Would not all the asperities of religious animosity be rekindled with a violence hitherto unexampled? What cause of contest that has ever arisen in Ireland, could equal that deadly feud in which the pauper would fight for life, and the landowner would struggle for property? Even in England, has not the intimidation of those who administer these laws, and the desperate conspiracies and undisguised frauds of those who extort relief, produced a state of things at which the boldest must tremble? If the farmers' stacks burn in Sussex, will the homesteads be safe in Cunnemara? Is violence, is bloodshed, is resistance to the law, so congenial to English natures, and so foreign to the habits of the Irish, that, under the same system, all may be danger at the one side of

the Channel, whilst all is safety on the other? Is 'Swing' to be the object of distrust and of punishment, whilst 'Captain Rock' is considered harmless and innocent? Is it proposed that the Roman Catholic clergy are to be excluded from the management of the funds to be raised under a Poor Law system? Would such exclusion be just or practicable? On the other hand, if admitted, are they to be allowed that which, in the greater part of Ireland, they would soon possess,—an unlimited mastery over the whole property of the country? Could such a system lead to peace and unanimity; or would it not, on the contrary, arrest the progress of improvement, paralyse industry, and prevent the accumulation of capital?

If our limits allowed an examination of the various plans suggested for the administration of the Poor Laws in Ireland, an exposure of the mass of impracticable incongruities and mischievous absurdities which have been suggested on this subject, would considerably add to the force of our general reasoning. But we prefer a discussion upon economical principles, to the gratuitous and needless refutation of the doctrines of Mr Sadler and his disciples.

We must, however, allude to one argument often urged, and the only argument which is very popular in Ireland. The Poor Law system is applauded by many, not as the means of relieving distress, but as a penalty on absenteeism, and as a mode of imposing a contribution upon absentee estates. We shall not here raise a general question which has been often argued; but we must refer, on this branch of the subject, to the very characteristic evidence of Dr Chalmers; requesting our Irish readers to weigh it attentively. 'I feel strongly apprehensive,' observes our eloquent moralist, 'that indignation should prompt the levy of a tax 'on absentees for the expense of general pauperism. I feel no 'tenderness for them; but if such shall be the application of a 'tax on absenteeism, I should dread a very sore mischief to the 'population at large. I have noticed so often in the separate 'parishes of Scotland, that it was the desire to punish absentees, 'which has been the moving power that led to the establishment 'of a compulsory assessment, that I should be apprehensive for 'Ireland, of the same consequences on the country at large. Any 'objection I have against a compulsory system of assessment, is 'not to save the pockets of the wealthy, but the character and 'the principles of the poor.'

Are no steps, then, to be taken to improve the condition of the Irish poor? we shall be asked; and is the result of this prolonged argument to leave the peasantry without hope, and to free their

landlords from all duty? God forbid that our observations should have any such tendency—most assuredly we have no such intention. On the contrary, it is because we estimate highly the good which may be effected by private exertion, that we are indisposed to check its efficacy;—it is because we appreciate justly the responsibility which Providence and humanity affix to the different stations of life, that we are unwilling that such responsibility should be lessened;—it is because we believe that industry can earn its own reward, that we deprecate any bad laws which may repress its energy. But, independently of the operation of such causes, (on which, however, our main reliance is placed,) we think that much good may be attained through the interposition of the Legislature. We began by stating, that should it appear that the provision for the sick, the blind, the lame, and the impotent poor, is inadequate, the most generous, indeed we would say, the most lavish relief should be provided for these suffering classes. For the young, the system of education now so triumphantly successful, should be generally extended. No town, no village, should be left without a well-ordered school; and, where it is possible, instruction in industry should be combined with instruction in letters. Local taxes, levied on the owners of land, may safely be raised for these wise and useful purposes. Such contributions may safely be made compulsory. Farther, we are of opinion that, in order to meet the necessities of some districts, an enlarged system of emigration should be organized by the State; but supported at the expense of the landlords whose property will be relieved, and at the expense of those whose interests will be promoted. We also think, from the evidence laid before Parliament, by the Commissioners of Public Works, that the system already so advantageously introduced under the act of 1 and 2 William IV., may be carried much farther. Works of great and acknowledged utility, not only furnishing employment for a season, but developing and extending the future demand for labour, may be carried on at the expense of the districts benefited. In these works, relief and charity should not be the object, but the incident. The colder calculations of return, and profits of capital, must here direct the proceedings of the Government and the enactments of the Legislature. If to measures of this description be added an earnest and effectual determination not only to improve the Law and punish Crime, but to remedy abuses, and remove all just causes of discontent, we feel the utmost confidence that Ireland will yet be happy and prosperous. There is no short cut, no royal road, to secure the well-being of nations. It has not been the enactment

of the 43 Elizabeth, which has made Britain what she is. The control of religious principle, an obedience to moral duty, the enjoyment of constitutional freedom, the operations of commercial industry, the firm administration of impartial laws,—these are the real causes of national prosperity. 'All the rest,' as Mr Burke observes, 'is mere fraud.' We believe that many of these principles are now in active operation in Ireland. 'Such,' says Mr Roe, '*Report*, 1830, p. 6,) are the true and efficient causes, from 'the agency of which, the future progress of Ireland may be 'anticipated. I believe that, on the whole, she is advancing 'rapidly in a course of improvement; the foundations of her 'prosperity are now laid; and time will complete and perfect the 'structure.'

No. CXX. will be published in July.

THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW.

JULY, 1834.

No. CXX.

ART I.—1. *Letter to Sir Humphry Davy, Bart. P.R.S., on the application of Machinery to Calculate and Print Mathematical Tables.* By CHARLES BABBAGE, Esq. F.R.S. 4to. Printed by order of the House of Commons.

2. *On the Application of Machinery to the Calculation of Astronomical and Mathematical Tables.* By CHARLES BABBAGE, Esq. Memoirs Astron. Soc. Vol. I. Part 2. London: 1822.

3. *Address to the Astronomical Society, by Henry Thomas Colebrooke, Esq. F.R.S. President, on presenting the first gold medal of the Society to Charles Babbage, Esq. for the invention of the Calculating Engine.* Memoirs Astron. Soc. Vol. I. Part 2. London: 1822.

4. *On the determination of the General Term of a new Class of Infinite Series.* By CHARLES BABBAGE, Esq. Transactions Camb. Phil. Soc. Cambridge: 1824.

5. *On Errors common to many Tables of Logarithms.* By CHARLES BABBAGE, Esq. Memoirs Astron. Soc. London: 1827.

6. *On a Method of Expressing by Signs the Action of Machinery.* By CHARLES BABBAGE, Esq. Phil. Trans. London: 1826.

7. *Report by the Committee appointed by the Council of the Royal Society to consider the subject referred to in a Communication received by them from the Treasury, respecting Mr Babbage's Calculating Engine, and to report thereupon.* London: 1829.

THERE is no position in society more enviable than that of the few who unite a moderate independence with high intellectual qualities. Liberated from the necessity of seeking their support by a profession, they are unfettered by its restraints, and are enabled to direct the powers of their minds, and to concentrate

their intellectual energies on those objects exclusively to which they feel that their powers may be applied with the greatest advantage to the community, and with the most lasting reputation to themselves. On the other hand, their middle station and limited income rescue them from those allurements to frivolity and dissipation, to which rank and wealth ever expose their possessors. Placed in such favourable circumstances, Mr Babbage selected science as the field of his ambition; and his mathematical researches have conferred on him a high reputation, wherever the exact sciences are studied and appreciated. The suffrages of the mathematical world have been ratified in his own country, where he has been elected to the Lucasian Professorship in his own University—a chair, which, though of inconsiderable emolument, is one on which Newton has conferred everlasting celebrity. But it has been the fortune of this mathematician to surround himself with fame of another and more popular kind, and which rarely falls to the lot of those who devote their lives to the cultivation of the abstract sciences. This distinction he owes to the announcement, some years since, of his celebrated project of a Calculating Engine. A proposition to reduce arithmetic to the dominion of mechanism,—to substitute an automaton for a compositor,—to throw the powers of thought into wheel-work could not fail to awaken the attention of the world. To bring the practicability of such a project within the compass of popular belief was not easy: to do so by bringing it within the compass of popular comprehension was not possible. It transcended the imagination of the public in general to conceive its possibility; and the sentiments of wonder with which it was received, were only prevented from merging into those of incredulity, by the faith reposed in the high attainments of its projector. This extraordinary undertaking was, however, viewed in a very different light by the small section of the community, who, being sufficiently versed in mathematics, were acquainted with the principle upon which it was founded. By reference to that principle, they perceived at a glance the practicability of the project; and being enabled by the nature of their attainments and pursuits to appreciate the immeasurable importance of its results, they regarded the invention with a proportionately profound interest. The production of numerical tables, unlimited in quantity and variety, restricted to no particular species, and limited by no particular law;—extending not merely to the boundaries of existing knowledge, but spreading their powers over the undefined regions of future discovery—were results, the magnitude and the value of which the community in general could neither comprehend nor appreciate. In such a case, the judgment of the world could only rest upon the autho-

rity of the philosophical part of it; and the fiat of the scientific community swayed for once political councils. The British Government, advised by the Royal Society, and a committee formed of the most eminent mechanicians and practical engineers, determined on constructing the projected mechanism at the expense of the nation, to be held as national property.

Notwithstanding the interest with which this invention has been regarded in every part of the world, it has never yet been embodied in a written, much less in a published form. We trust, therefore, that some credit will be conceded to us for having been the first to make the public acquainted with the object, principle, and structure of a piece of machinery, which, though at present unknown (except as to a few of its probable results), must, when completed, produce important effects, not only on the progress of science, but on that of civilisation.

The calculating machinery thus undertaken for the public gratuitously (so far as Mr Babbage is concerned), has now attained a very advanced stage towards completion; and a portion of it has been put together, and performs various calculations;—affording a practical demonstration that the anticipations of those, under whose advice Government has acted, have been well founded.

There are nevertheless many persons who, admitting the great ingenuity of the contrivance, have, notwithstanding, been accustomed to regard it more in the light of a philosophical curiosity, than an instrument for purposes practically useful. This mistake (than which it is not possible to imagine a greater) has arisen mainly from the ignorance which prevails of the extensive utility of those numerical tables which it is the purpose of the engine in question to produce. There are also some persons who, not considering the time requisite to bring any invention of this magnitude to perfection in all its details, incline to consider the delays which have taken place in its progress as presumptions against its practicability. These persons should, however, before they arrive at such a conclusion, reflect upon the time which was necessary to bring to perfection engines infinitely inferior in complexity and mechanical difficulty. Let them remember that —not to mention the *invention* of that machine—the *improvements* alone introduced into the steam-engine by the celebrated Watt, occupied a period of not less than twenty years of the life of that distinguished person, and involved an expenditure of capital amounting to L.50,000.* The calculating machinery is

* Watt commenced his investigations respecting the steam-engine in

a contrivance new even in its details. Its inventor did not take it up already imperfectly formed, after having received the contributions of human ingenuity exercised upon it for a century or more. It has not, like almost all other great mechanical inventions, been gradually advanced to its present state through a series of failures, through difficulties encountered and overcome by a succession of projectors. It is not an object on which the light of various minds has thus been shed. It is, on the contrary, the production of solitary and individual thought,—begun, advanced through each successive stage of improvement, and brought to perfection by one mind. Yet this creation of genius, from its first rude conception to its present state, has cost little more than half the time, and not one-third of the expense, consumed in bringing the steam-engine (previously far advanced in the course of improvement) to that state of comparative perfection in which it was left by Watt. Short as the period of time has been which the inventor has devoted to this enterprise, it has, nevertheless, been demonstrated, to the satisfaction of many scientific men of the first eminence, that the design in all its details, reduced, as it is, to a system of mechanical drawings, is complete; and requires only to be constructed in conformity with those plans, to realize all that its inventor has promised.

With a view to remove and correct erroneous impressions, and at the same time to convert the vague sense of wonder at what seems incomprehensible, with which this project is contemplated by the public in general, into a more rational and edifying sentiment, it is our purpose in the present article,

First, To show the immense importance of any method by which numerical tables, absolutely accurate in every individual copy, may be produced with facility and cheapness. This we shall establish by conveying to the reader some notion of the number and variety of tables published in every country of the world to which civilisation has extended, a large portion of which have been produced at the public expense; by showing also, that they are nevertheless rendered inefficient, to a greater or less extent, by the prevalence of errors in them; that these errors pervade not merely tables produced by individual labour and enterprise, but that they vitiate even those on which national resources have been prodigally expended, and to which the highest mathematical ability, which the most enlightened nations of the world

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1763, between which time, and the year 1782 inclusive, he took out several patents for improvements in details. Bolton and Watt had expended the above sum on their improvements before they began to receive any return.

could command, has been unsparingly and systematically directed.

Secondly, To attempt to convey to the reader a general notion of the mathematical principle on which the calculating machinery is founded, and of the manner in which this principle is brought into practical operation, both in the process of calculating and printing. It would be incompatible with the nature of this review, and indeed impossible without the aid of numerous plans, sections, and elevations, to convey clear and precise notions of the details of the means by which the process of reasoning is performed by inanimate matter, and the arbitrary and capricious evolutions of the fingers of typographical compositors are reduced to a system of wheel-work. We are, nevertheless, not without hopes of conveying, even to readers unskilled in [illegible]matics, some satisfactory notions of a general nature on this subject.

Thirdly, To explain the actual state of the machinery at the present time; what progress has been made towards its completion; and what are the probable causes of those delays in its progress, which must be a subject of regret to all friends of science. We shall indicate what appears to us the best and most practicable course to prevent the unnecessary recurrence of such obstructions for the future, and to bring this noble project to a speedy and successful issue.

Viewing the infinite extent and variety of the tables which have been calculated and printed, from the earliest periods of human civilisation to the present time, we feel embarrassed with the difficulties of the task which we have imposed on ourselves;—that of attempting to convey to readers unaccustomed to such speculations, any thing approaching to an adequate idea of them. These tables are connected with the various sciences, with almost every department of the useful arts, with commerce in all its relations; but above all, with Astronomy and Navigation. So important have they been considered, that in many instances large sums have been appropriated by the most enlightened nations in the production of them; and yet so numerous and insurmountable have been the difficulties attending the attainment of this end, that after all, even navigators, putting aside every other department of art and science, have, until very recently, been scantily and imperfectly supplied with the tables indispensably necessary to determine their position at sea.

The first class of tables which naturally present themselves, are those of Multiplication. A great variety of extensive multiplication tables have been published from an early period in different countries; and especially tables of *Powers*, in which a number is multi-

plied by itself successively. In Dodson's *Calculator* we find a table of multiplication extending as far as 10 times 1000.* In 1775, a still more extensive table was published to 10 times 10,000. The Board of Longitude subsequently employed the late Dr Hutton to calculate and print various numerical tables, and among others, a multiplication table extending as far as 100 times 1000; tables of the squares of numbers, as far as 25,400; tables of cubes, and of the first ten powers of numbers, as far as 100.† In 1814, Professor Barlow, of Woolwich, published, in an octavo volume, the squares, cubes, square roots, cube roots, and reciprocals of all numbers from 1 to 10,000; a table of the first ten powers of all numbers from 1 to 100, and of the fourth and fifth powers of all numbers from 100 to 1000.

Tables of Multiplication to a still greater extent have been published in France. In 1785, was published an octavo volume of tables of the squares, cubes, square roots, and cube roots of all numbers from 1 to 10,000; and similar tables were again published in 1801. In 1817, multiplication tables were published in Paris by Voisin; and similar tables, in two quarto volumes, in 1824, by the French Board of Longitude, extending as far as a thousand times a thousand. A table of squares was published in 1810, in Hanover; in 1812, at Leipzig; in 1825, at Berlin; and in 1827, at Ghent. A table of cubes was published in 1827, at Eisenach; in the same year a similar table at Ghent; and one of the squares of all numbers as far as 10,000, was published in that year, in quarto, at Bonn. The Prussian Government has caused a multiplication table to be calculated and printed, extending as far as 1000 times 1000. Such are a few of the tables of this class which have been published in different countries.

This class of tables may be considered as purely arithmetical, since the results which they express involve no other relations than the arithmetical dependence of abstract numbers upon each other. When numbers, however, are taken in a concrete sense, and are applied to express peculiar modes of quantity,—such as angular, linear, superficial, and solid magnitudes,—a new set of numerical relations arise, and a large number of computations are required.

To express angular magnitude, and the various relations of linear magnitude with which it is connected, involves the consideration of a vast variety of Geometrical and Trigonometrical tables; such as tables of the natural sines, co-sines, tangents, se-

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* Dodson's *Calculator*. 4to. London: 1747.

† Hutton's *Tables of Products and Powers*. Folio. London: 1781.

cants, co-tangents, &c. &c.; tables of arcs and angles in terms of the radius; tables for the immediate solution of various cases of triangles, &c. Volumes without number of such tables have been from time to time computed and published. It is not sufficient, however, for the purposes of computation to tabulate these immediate trigonometrical functions. Their squares* and higher powers, their square roots, and other roots, occur so frequently, that it has been found expedient to compute tables for them, as well as for the same functions of abstract numbers.

The measurement of linear, superficial, and solid magnitudes, in the various forms and modifications in which they are required in the arts, demands another extensive catalogue of numerical tables. The surveyor, the architect, the builder, the carpenter, the miner, the gauger, the naval architect, the engineer, civil and military, all require the aid of peculiar numerical tables, and such have been published in all countries.

The increased expedition and accuracy which was introduced into the art of computation by the invention of Logarithms, greatly enlarged the number of tables previously necessary. To apply the logarithmic method, it was not merely necessary to place in the hands of the computist extensive tables of the logarithms of the natural numbers, but likewise to supply him with tables in which he might find already calculated the logarithms of those arithmetical, trigonometrical, and geometrical functions of numbers, which he has most frequent occasion to use. It would be a circuitous process, when the logarithm of a sine or co-sine of an angle is required, to refer, first to the table of sines, or co-sines, and thence to the table of the logarithms of natural numbers. It was therefore found expedient to compute distinct tables of the logarithms of the sines, co-sines, tangents, &c., as well as of various other functions frequently required, such as sums, differences, &c.

Great as is the extent of the tables we have just enumerated, they bear a very insignificant proportion to those which remain to be mentioned. The above are, for the most part, general in their nature, not belonging particularly to any science or art. There is a much greater variety of tables, whose importance is no way inferior, which are, however, of a more special nature:

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* The squares of the sines of angles are extensively used in the calculations connected with the theory of the tides. Not aware that tables of these squares existed, Bouvard, who calculated the tides for Laplace, underwent the labour of calculating the square of each individual sine in every case in which it occurred.

Such are, for example, tables of interest, discount, and exchange, tables of annuities, and other tables necessary in life insurances; tables of rates of various kinds necessary in general commerce. But the science in which, above all others, the most extensive and accurate tables are indispensable, is Astronomy; with the improvement and perfection of which is inseparably connected that of the kindred art of Navigation. We scarcely dare hope to convey to the general reader any thing approaching to an adequate notion of the multiplicity and complexity of the tables necessary for the purposes of the astronomer and navigator. We feel, nevertheless, that the truly national importance which must attach to any perfect and easy means of producing those tables cannot be at all estimated, unless we state some of the previous calculations necessary in order to enable the mariner to determine, with the requisite certainty and precision, the place of his ship.

In a word, then, all the purely arithmetical, trigonometrical, and logarithmic tables already mentioned, are necessary, either immediately or remotely, for this purpose. But in addition to these, a great number of tables, exclusively astronomical, are likewise indispensable. The predictions of the astronomer, with respect to the positions and motions of the bodies of the firmament, are the means, and the only means, which enable the mariner to prosecute his art. By these he is enabled to discover the distance of his ship from the Line, and the extent of his departure from the meridian of Greenwich, or from any other meridian to which the astronomical predictions refer. The more numerous, minute, and accurate these predictions can be made, the greater will be the facilities which can be furnished to the mariner. But the computation of those tables, in which the future position of celestial objects are registered, depend themselves upon an infinite variety of other tables which never reach the hands of the mariner. It cannot be said that there is any table whatever, necessary for the astronomer, which is unnecessary for the navigator.

The purposes of the marine of a country whose interests are so inseparably connected as ours are with the improvement of the art of navigation, would be very inadequately fulfilled, if our navigators were merely supplied with the means of determining by *Nautical Astronomy* the position of a ship at sea. It has been well observed by the Committee of the Astronomical Society, to whom the recent improvement of the Nautical Almanac was confided, that it is not by those means merely by which the seaman is enabled to determine the position of his vessel at sea, that the full intent and purpose of what is usually called *Nautical Astronomy* are answered. This object is merely a part of that comprehensive and important subject; and might be at-

tained by a very cheap publication, and without the aid of expensive instruments. A not less important and much more difficult part of nautical science has for its object to determine the precise position of various interesting and important points on the surface of the earth,—such as remarkable headlands, ports, and islands; together with the general trending of the coast between well-known harbours. It is not necessary to point out here how important such knowledge is to the mariner. This knowledge, which may be called *Nautical Geography*, cannot be obtained by the methods of observation used on board ship, but requires much more delicate and accurate instruments, firmly placed upon the solid ground, besides all the astronomical aid which can be afforded by the best tables, arranged in the most convenient form for immediate use. This was Dr Maskelyne's view of the subject, and his opinion has been confirmed by the repeated wants and demands of those distinguished navigators who have been employed in several recent scientific expeditions.*

Among the tables *directly* necessary for navigation, are those which predict the position of the centre of the sun from hour to hour. These tables include the sun's right ascension and declination, daily, at noon, with the hourly change in these quantities. They also include the equation of time, together with its hourly variation.

Tables of the moon's place for every hour, are likewise necessary, together with the change of declination for every ten minutes. The lunar method of determining the longitude depends upon tables containing the predicted distances of the moon from the sun, the principal planets, and from certain conspicuous fixed stars; which distances being observed by the mariner, he is enabled thence to discover the *time* at the meridian from which the longitude is measured; and, by comparing that time with the time known or discoverable in his actual situation, he infers his longitude. But not only does the prediction of the position of the moon, with respect to these celestial objects, require a vast number of numerical tables, but likewise the observations necessary to be made by the mariner, in order to determine the lunar distances, also require several tables. To predict the exact position of any fixed star, requires not less than ten numerical tables peculiar to that star; and if the mariner be furnished (as is actually the case) with tables of the predicted distances of the moon from one hundred such stars, such predictions must require not less than

* Report of the Committee of the Astronomical Society prefixed to the Nautical Almanac for 1834.

a thousand numerical tables. Regarding the range of the moon through the firmament, however, it will readily be conceived that a hundred stars form but a scanty supply; especially when it is considered that an accurate method of determining the longitude, consists in observing the extinction of a star by the dark edge of the moon. Within the limits of the lunar orbit there are not less than one thousand stars, which are so situated as to be in the moon's path, and therefore to exhibit, at some period or other, those desirable occultations. These stars are also of such magnitudes, that their occultations may be distinctly observed from the deck, even when subject to all the unsteadiness produced by an agitated sea. To predict the occultations of such stars, would require not less than ten thousand tables. The stars from which lunar distances might be taken are still more numerous; and we may safely pronounce, that, great as has been the improvement effected recently in our Nautical Almanac, it does not yet furnish more than a small fraction of that aid to navigation (in the large sense of that term), which, with greater facility, expedition, and economy in the calculation and printing of tables, it might be made to supply.

Tables necessary to determine the places of the planets are not less necessary than those for the sun, moon, and stars. Some notion of the number and complexity of these tables may be formed, when we state that the positions of the two principal planets, (and these the most necessary for the navigator,) Jupiter and Saturn, require each not less than one hundred and sixteen tables. Yet it is not only necessary to predict the position of these bodies, but it is likewise expedient to tabulate the motions of the four satellites of Jupiter, to predict the exact times at which they enter his shadow, and at which their shadows cross his disc, as well as the times at which they are interposed between him and the Earth, and he between them and the Earth.

Among the extensive classes of tables here enumerated, there are several which are in their nature permanent and unalterable, and would never require to be recomputed, if they could once be computed with perfect accuracy on accurate data; but the data on which such computations are conducted, can only be regarded as approximations to truth, within limits the extent of which must necessarily vary with our knowledge of astronomical science. It has accordingly happened, that one set of tables after another has been superseded with each advance of astronomical science. Some striking examples of this may not be uninstructive. In 1765, the Board of Longitude paid to the celebrated Euler the sum of L.300, for furnishing general formulæ for the computation of lunar tables. Professor Mayer was employed to calculate the

tables upon these formulæ, and the sum of L.3000 was voted for them by the British Parliament, to his widow, after his decease. These tables had been used for ten years, from 1766 to 1776, in computing the Nautical Almanac, when they were superseded by new and improved tables, composed by Mr Charles Mason, under the direction of Dr Maskelyne, from calculations made by order of the Board of Longitude, on the observations of Dr Bradley. A farther improvement was made by Mason in 1780 ; but a much more extensive improvement took place in the lunar calculations by the publication of the tables of the Moon, by M. Bürg, deduced from Laplace's theory, in 1806. Perfect, however, as Bürg's tables were considered, at the time of their publication, they were, within the short period of six years, superseded by a more accurate set of tables published by Burckhardt in 1812 ; and these also have since been followed by the tables of Damoiseau. Professor Schumacher has calculated by the latter tables his ephemeris of the Planetary Lunar Distances, and astronomers will hence be enabled to put to the strict test of observation the merits of the tables of Burckhardt and Damoiseau.*

The solar tables have undergone, from time to time, similar changes. The solar tables of Mayer were used in the computation of the Nautical Almanac, from its commencement in 1767, to 1804 inclusive. Within the six years immediately succeeding 1804, not less than three successive sets of solar tables appeared, each improving on the other ; the first by Baron de Zach, the second by Delambre, under the direction of the French Board of Longitude, and the third by Carlini. The last, however, differ only in arrangement from those of Delambre.

Similar observations will be applicable to the tables of the principal planets. Bouvard published, in 1808, tables of Jupiter and Saturn ; but from the improved state of astronomy, he found it necessary to recompute these tables in 1821.

Although it is now about thirty years since the discovery of the four new planets, Ceres, Pallas, Juno, and Vesta, it was not till recently that tables of their motions were published. They have lately appeared in Encke's Ephemeris.

We have thus attempted to convey some notion (though necessarily a very inadequate one) of the immense extent of numerical tables which it has been found necessary to calculate and print for the purposes of the arts and sciences. We have before us a catalogue of the tables contained in the library of one

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* A comparison of the results for 1834, will be found in the Nautical Almanac for 1835.

private individual, consisting of not less than one hundred and forty volumes. Among these there are no duplicate copies; and we observe that many of the most celebrated voluminous tabular works are not contained among them. They are confined exclusively to arithmetical and trigonometrical tables; and, consequently, the myriad of astronomical and nautical tables are totally excluded from them. Nevertheless, they contain an extent of printed surface covered with figures amounting to above sixteen thousand square feet. We have taken at random forty of these tables, and have found that the number of errors *acknowledged* in the respective errata, amounts to above *three thousand seven hundred.*

To be convinced of the necessity which has existed for accurate numerical tables, it will only be necessary to consider at what an immense expenditure of labour and of money even the imperfect ones which we possess have been produced.

To enable the reader to estimate the difficulties which attend the attainment even of a limited degree of accuracy, we shall now explain some of the expedients which have been from time to time resorted to for the attainment of numerical correctness in calculating and printing them.

Among the scientific enterprises which the ambition of the French nation aspired to during the Republic, was the construction of a magnificent system of numerical tables. Their most distinguished mathematicians were called upon to contribute to the attainment of this important object; and the superintendence of the undertaking was confided to the celebrated Prony, who co-operated with the government in the adoption of such means as might be expected to ensure the production of a system of logarithmic and trigonometric tables, constructed with such accuracy that they should form a monument of calculation the most vast and imposing that had ever been executed, or even conceived. To accomplish this gigantic task, the principle of the division of labour, found to be so powerful in manufactures, was resorted to with singular success. The persons employed in the work were divided into three sections: the first consisted of half a dozen of the most eminent analysts. Their duty was to investigate the most convenient mathematical formulæ, which should enable the computers to proceed with the greatest expedition and accuracy by the method of Differences, of which we shall speak more fully hereafter. These formulæ, when decided upon by this first section, were handed over to the second section, which consisted of eight or ten properly qualified mathematicians. It was the duty of this second section to convert into numbers certain general or algebraical expressions which occurred

in the formulæ, so as to prepare them for the hands of the computers. Thus prepared, these formulæ were handed over to the third section, who formed a body of nearly one hundred computers. The duty of this numerous section was to compute the numbers finally intended for the tables. Every possible precaution was of course taken to ensure the numerical accuracy of the results. Each number was calculated by two or more distinct and independent computers, and its truth and accuracy determined by the coincidence of the results thus obtained.

The body of tables thus calculated occupied in manuscript *seventeen* folio volumes.*

As an example of the precautions which have been considered necessary to guard against errors in the calculation of numerical tables, we shall further state those which were adopted by Mr Babbage, previously to the publication of his tables of logarithms. In order to render the terminal figure of tables in which one or more decimal places are omitted as accurate as it can be, it has been the practice to compute one or more of the succeeding figures; and if the first omitted figure be greater than 4, then the terminal figure is always increased by 1, since the value of the tabulated number is by such means brought nearer to the truth.† The tables of Callet, which were among the most accurate published logarithms, and which extended to seven places of decimals, were first carefully compared with the tables of Vega, which extended to ten places, in order to discover whether Callet had made the above correction of the final figure in every case where it was necessary. This previous precaution being taken, and the corrections which appeared to be necessary being made in a copy of Callet's tables, the proofs of Mr Babbage's tables

* These tables were never published. The printing of them was commenced by Didot, and a small portion was actually stereotyped, but never published. Soon after the commencement of the undertaking, the sudden fall of the assignats rendered it impossible for Didot to fulfil his contract with the government. The work was accordingly abandoned, and has never since been resumed. We have before us a copy of 100 pages folio of the portion which was printed at the time the work was stopped, given to a friend on a late occasion by Didot himself. It was remarked in this, as in other similar cases, that the computers who committed fewest errors were those who understood nothing beyond the process of addition.

† Thus suppose the number expressed at full length were 3·1415927. If the table extend to no more than four places of decimals, we should tabulate the number 3·1416 and not 3·1415. The former would be evidently nearer to the true number 3.1415927.

were submitted to the following test: They were first compared, number by number, with the corrected copy of Callet's logarithms; secondly, with Hutton's logarithms; and thirdly, with Vega's logarithms. The corrections thus suggested being marked in the proofs, corrected revises were received back. These revises were then again compared, number by number, first with Vega's logarithms; secondly, with the logarithms of Callet; and thirdly, as far as the first 20,000 numbers, with the corresponding ones in Briggs's logarithms. They were now returned to the printer, and were stereotyped; proofs were taken from the stereotyped plates, which were put through the following ordeal: They were first compared once more with the logarithms of Vega as far as 47,500; they were then compared with the whole of the logarithms of Gardner; and next with the whole of Taylor's logarithms; and as a last test, they were transferred to the hands of a different set of readers, and were once more compared with Taylor. That these precautions were by no means superfluous may be collected from the following circumstances mentioned by Mr Babbage: In the sheets read immediately previous to stereotyping, thirty-two errors were detected; after stereotyping, eight more were found, and corrected in the plates.

By such elaborate and expensive precautions many of the errors of computation and printing may certainly be removed; but it is too much to expect that in general such measures can be adopted; and we accordingly find by far the greater number of tables disfigured by errors, the extent of which is rather to be conjectured than determined. When the nature of a numerical table is considered,—page after page densely covered with figures, and with nothing else,—the chances against the detection of any single error will be easily comprehended; and it may therefore be fairly presumed, that for one error which may happen to be detected, there must be a great number which escape detection. Notwithstanding this difficulty, it is truly surprising how great a number of numerical errors have been detected by individuals no otherwise concerned in the tables than in their use. Mr Baily states that he has himself detected in the solar and lunar tables, from which our Nautical Almanac was for a long period computed, more than five hundred errors. In the multiplication table already mentioned, computed by Dr Hutton for the Board of Longitude, a single page was examined and recomputed: it was found to contain about forty errors.

In order to make the calculations upon the numbers found in the Ephemeral Tables published in the Nautical Almanac, it is necessary that the mariner should be supplied with certain permanent tables. A volume of these, to the number of about thirty,

was accordingly computed, and published at national expense, by order of the Board of Longitude, entitled 'Tables requisite to 'be used with the Nautical Ephemeris for finding the latitude and 'longitude at sea.' In the first edition of these requisite tables, there were detected, by one individual, above a thousand errors.

The tables published by the Board of Longitude for the correction of the observed distances of the moon from certain fixed stars, are followed by a table of acknowledged errata, extending to seven folio pages, and containing more than eleven hundred errors. Even this table of errata itself is not correct: a considerable number of errors have been detected in it, so that errata upon errata have become necessary.

One of the tests most frequently resorted to for the detection of errors in numerical tables, has been the comparison of tables of the same kind, published by different authors. It has been generally considered that those numbers in which they are found to agree must be correct; inasmuch as the chances are supposed to be very considerable against two or more independent computers falling into precisely the same errors. How far this coincidence may be safely assumed as a test of accuracy we shall presently see.

A few years ago, it was found desirable to compute some very accurate logarithmic tables for the use of the great national survey of Ireland, which was then, and still is in progress; and on that occasion a careful comparison of various logarithmic tables was made. Six remarkable errors were detected, which were found to be common to several apparently independent sets of tables. This singular coincidence led to an unusually extensive examination of the logarithmic tables published both in England and in other countries; by which it appeared that thirteen sets of tables, published in London between the years 1633 and 1822, all agreed in these six errors. Upon extending the enquiry to foreign tables, it appeared that two sets of tables published at Paris, one at Gouda, one at Avignon, one at Berlin, and one at Florence, were infected by exactly the same six errors. The only tables which were found free from them were those of Vega, and the more recent impressions of Callet. It happened that the Royal Society possessed a set of tables of logarithms printed in the Chinese character, and on Chinese paper, consisting of two volumes: these volumes contained no indication or acknowledgment of being copied from any other work. They were examined; and the result was the detection in them of the same six errors.*

* Memoirs Ast. Soc. vol. iii., p. 65.

It is quite apparent that this remarkable coincidence of error must have arisen from the various tables being copied successively one from another. The earliest work in which they appeared was Vlacq's Logarithms, (folio, Gouda, 1628); and from it, doubtless, those which immediately succeeded it in point of time were copied; from which the same errors were subsequently transcribed into all the other, including the Chinese logarithms.

The most certain and effectual check upon errors which arise in the process of computation, is to cause the same computations to be made by separate and independent computers; and this check is rendered still more decisive if they make their computations by different methods. It is, nevertheless, a remarkable fact, that several computers, working separately and independently, do frequently commit precisely the same error; so that falsehood in this case assumes that character of consistency, which is regarded as the exclusive attribute of truth. Instances of this are familiar to most persons who have had the management of the computation of tables. We have reason to know, that M. Prony experienced it on many occasions in the management of the great French tables, when he found three, and even a greater number of computers, working separately and independently, to return him the same numerical result, and *that result wrong*. Mr Stratford, the conductor of the Nautical Almanac, to whose talents and zeal that work owes the execution of its recent improvements, has more than once observed a similar occurrence. But one of the most signal examples of this kind, of which we are aware, is related by Mr Baily. The catalogue of stars published by the Astronomical Society was computed by two separate and independent persons, and was afterwards compared and examined with great care and attention by Mr Stratford. On examining this catalogue, and recalculating a portion of it, Mr Baily discovered an error in the case of the star, κ. Cephei. Its right ascension was calculated *wrongly*, and yet *consistently*, by two computers working separately. Their numerical results agreed precisely in every figure; and Mr Stratford, on examining the catalogue, failed to detect the error. Mr Baily having reason, from some discordancy which he observed, to suspect an error, recomputed the place of the star with a view to discover it; and he himself, in the first instance, obtained precisely *the same erroneous numerical result*. It was only on going over the operation a second time that he *accidentally* discovered that all had inadvertently committed the same error.*

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* Memoirs Ast. Soc. vol. iv., p. 290.

It appears, therefore, that the coincidence of different tables, even when it is certain that they could not have been copied one from another, but must have been computed independently, is not a decisive test of their correctness, neither is it possible to ensure accuracy by the device of separate and independent computation.

Besides the errors incidental to the process of computation, there are further liabilities in the process of *transcribing* the final results of each calculation into the fair copy of the table designed for the printer. The next source of error lies with the compositor, in transferring this copy into type. But the liabilities to error do not stop even here; for it frequently happens, that after the press has been fully corrected, errors will be produced in the process of printing. A remarkable instance of this occurs in one of the six errors detected in so many different tables already mentioned. In one of these cases, the last five figures of two successive numbers of a logarithmic table were the following:—

35875
10436.

Now, both of these are erroneous; the figure 8 in the first line should be 4, and the figure 4 in the second should be 8. It is evident that the types, as first composed, were correct; but in the course of printing, the two types 4 and 8 being loose, adhered to the inking-balls, and were drawn out: the pressmen in replacing them transposed them, putting the 8 *above* and the 4 *below*, instead of *vice versâ*. It would be a curious enquiry, were it possible to obtain all the copies of the original edition of Vlacq's Logarithms, published at Gouda in 1628, from which this error appears to have been copied in all the subsequent tables, to ascertain whether it extends through the entire edition. It would probably, nay almost certainly, be discovered that some of the copies of that edition are correct in this number, while others are incorrect; the former having been worked off before the transposition of the types.

It is a circumstance worthy of notice, that this error in Vlacq's tables has produced a corresponding error in a variety of other tables deduced from them, *in which nevertheless the erroneous figures in Vlacq are omitted.* In no less than sixteen sets of tables published at various times since the publication of Vlacq, in which the logarithms extend only to seven places of figures, the error just mentioned in the *eighth place* in Vlacq causes a corresponding error in the *seventh* place. When the last three figures are omitted in the first of the above numbers, the seventh figure should be 5, inasmuch as the first of the omitted figures is under 5: the erroneous insertion, however, of the figure 8 in Vlacq has caused the figure 6 to be substituted for 5 in the va-

rious tables just alluded to. For the same reason, the erroneous occurrence of 4 in the second number has caused the adoption of a 0 instead of a 1 in the seventh place in the other tables. The only tables in which this error does not occur are those of Vega, the more recent editions of Callet, and the still later Logarithms of Mr Babbage.

The *Opus Palatinum*, a work published in 1596, containing an extensive collection of trigonometrical tables, affords a remarkable instance of a tabular error; which, as it is not generally known, it may not be uninteresting to mention here. After that work had been for several years in circulation in every part of Europe, it was discovered that the commencement of the table of co-tangents and co-secants was vitiated by an error of considerable magnitude. In the first co-tangent the last nine places of figures were incorrect; but from the manner in which the numbers of the table were computed, the error was gradually, though slowly, diminished, until at length it became extinguished in the eighty-sixth page. After the detection of this extensive error, Pitiscus undertook the recomputation of the eighty-six erroneous pages. His corrected calculation was printed, and the erroneous part of the remaining copies of the *Opus Palatinum* was cancelled. But as the corrected table of Pitiscus was not published until 1607,—thirteen years after the original work,—the erroneous part of the volume was cancelled in comparatively few copies, and consequently correct copies of the work are now exceedingly rare. Thus, in the collection of tables published by M. Schulze,* the whole of the erroneous part of the *Opus Palatinum* has beeen adopted; he having used the copy of that work which exists in the library of the Academy of Berlin, and which is one of those copies in which the incorrect part was not cancelled. The corrected copies of this work may be very easily distinguished at present from the erroneous ones: it happened that the former were printed with a very bad and worn-out type, and upon paper of a quality inferior to that of the original work. On comparing the first eighty-six pages of the volume with the succeeding ones, they are, therefore, immediately distinguishable in the corrected copies. Besides this test, there is another, which it may not be uninteresting to point out:—At the bottom of page 7 in the corrected copies, there is an error in the position of the words *basis* and *hypothenusa*, their places being interchanged. In the original uncorrected work this error does not exist.

At the time when the calculation and publication of Taylor's Logarithms were undertaken, it so happened that a similar work

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* *Recueil des Tables Logarithmiques et Trigonometriques.* Par J. C. Schulze. 2 vols. Berlin: 1778.

was in progress in France; and it was not until the calculation of the French work was completed, that its author was informed of the publication of the English work. This circumstance caused the French calculator to relinquish the publication of his tables. The manuscript subsequently passed into the library of Delambre, and, after his death, was purchased at the sale of his books, by Mr Babbage, in whose possession it now is. Some years ago it was thought advisable to compare these manuscript tables with Taylor's Logarithms, with a view to ascertain the errors in each, but especially in Taylor. The two works were peculiarly well suited for the attainment of this end; as the circumstances under which they were produced, rendered it quite certain that they were computed independently of each other. The comparison was conducted under the direction of the late Dr Young, and the result was the detection of the following nineteen errors in Taylor's Logarithms. To enable those who used Taylor's Logarithms to make the necessary corrections in them, the corrections of the detected errors appeared as follows in the Nautical Almanac for 1832.

ERRATA, *detected in* TAYLOR'S *Logarithms. London:* 4*to*, 1792.

1	*E*	Co-tangent of	1.35.55	*for*	43671	*read* 42671
2	*M*	Co-tangent of	4. 4.49	—	66976	— 66979
3		Sine of	4.23.38	—	43107	— 43007
4		Sine of	4.23.39	—	43381	— 43281
5	*S*	Sine of	6.45.52	—	10001	— 11001
6	*Kk*	Co-sine of	14.18. 3	—	3398	— 3298
7	*Ss*	Tangent of	18. 1.56	—	5064	— 6064
8	*Aaa*	Co-tangent of	21.11.14	—	6062	— 5962
9	*Ggg*	Tangent of	23.48.19	—	6087	— 5987
10		Co-tangent of	23.48.19	—	3913	— 4013
11	*Iii*	Sine of	25. 5. 4	—	3173	— 3183
12		Sine of	25. 5. 5	—	3218	— 3228
13		Sine of	25. 5. 6	—	3263	— 3273
14		Sine of	25. 5. 7	—	3308	— 3318
15		Sine of	25. 5. 8	—	3353	— 3363
16		Sine of	25. 5. 9	—	3398	— 3408
17	*Qqq*	Tangent of	28.19.39	—	6302	— 6402
18	4 *H*	Tangent of	35.55.51	—	1681	— 1581
19	4 *K*	Co-sine of	37.29. 2	—	5503	— 5603

An error being detected in this list of ERRATA, we find, in the Nautical Almanac for the year 1833, the following ERRATUM of the ERRATA of Taylor's Logarithms:—

'In the list of ERRATA detected in Taylor's Logarithms, for cos. 4° 18′ 3″, *read* cos. 14° 18′ 2″.'

Here, however, confusion is worse confounded; for a new error, not before existing, and of much greater magnitude, is introduced! It will be necessary, in the Nautical Almanac for 1836, (that for 1835 is already published,) to introduce the following

Erratum of the Erratum of the Errata of Taylor's *Logarithms.* For cos. 4° 18′ 3″, *read* cos. 14° 18′ 3″.

If proof were wanted to establish incontrovertibly the utter impracticability of precluding numerical errors in works of this nature, we should find it in this succession of error upon error, produced, in spite of the universally acknowledged accuracy and assiduity of the persons at present employed in the construction and management of the Nautical Almanac. It is only by the *mechanical fabrication of tables* that such errors can be rendered impossible.

On examining this list with attention, we have been particularly struck with the circumstances in which these errors appear to have originated. It is a remarkable fact, that of the above nineteen errors, eighteen have arisen from mistakes in *carrying.* Errors 5, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, have arisen from a carriage being neglected; and errors 1, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, and 18, from a carriage being made where none should take place. In four cases, namely, errors 8, 9, 10, and 16, this has caused *two* figures to be wrong. The only error of the nineteen which appears to have been a press error is the second; which has evidently arisen from the type 9 being accidentally inverted, and thus becoming a 6. This may have originated with the compositor, but more probably it took place in the press-work; the type 9 being accidentally drawn out of the form by the inking-ball, as mentioned in a former case, and on being restored to its place, inverted by the pressman.

There are two cases among the above errata, in which an error, committed in the calculation of one number, has evidently been the cause of other errors. In the third erratum, a wrong carriage was made, in computing the sine of 4° 23′ 38″. The next number of the table was vitiated by this error; for we find the next erratum to be in the sine of 4° 23′ 39″, in which the figure similarly placed is 1 in excess. A still more extensive effect of this kind appears in errata 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16. A carriage was neglected in computing the sine of 25° 5′ 4″, and this produced a corresponding error in the five following numbers of the table, which are those corrected in the five following errata.

This frequency of errors arising in the process of carrying, would afford a curious subject of metaphysical speculation respecting the operation of the faculty of memory. In the arithmetical process, the memory is employed in a twofold way;—in ascertaining each successive figure of the calculated result by the

recollection of a table committed to memory at an early period of life; and by another act of memory, in which the number *carried* from column to column is retained. It is a curious fact, that this latter circumstance, occurring only the moment before, and being in its nature little complex, is so much more liable to be forgotten or mistaken than the results of rather complicated tables. It appears, that among the above errata, the errors 5, 7, 10, 11, 17, 19, have been produced by the computer forgetting a carriage; while the errors 1, 3, 6, 8, 9, 18, have been produced by his making a carriage improperly. Thus, so far as the above list of errata affords grounds for judging, it would seem, (contrary to what might be expected,) that the error by which improper carriages are made is as frequent as that by which necessary carriages are overlooked.

We trust that we have succeeded in proving, first, the great national and universal utility of numerical tables, by showing the vast number of them, which have been calculated and published; secondly, that more effectual means are necessary to obtain such tables suitable to the present state of the arts, sciences and commerce, by showing that the existing supply of tables, vast as it certainly is, is still scanty, and utterly inadequate to the demands of the community;—that it is rendered inefficient, not only in quantity, but in quality, by its want of numerical correctness; and that such numerical correctness is altogether unattainable until some more perfect method be discovered, not only of calculating the numerical results, but of tabulating these, —of reducing such tables to type, and of printing that type so as to intercept the possibility of error during the press-work. Such are the ends which are proposed to be attained by the calculating machinery invented by Mr Babbage.

The benefits to be derived from this invention cannot be more strongly expressed than they have been by Mr Colebrooke, President of the Astronomical Society, on the occasion of presenting the gold medal voted by that body to Mr Babbage:—'In no department of science, or of the arts, does this discovery promise to 'be so eminently useful as in that of astronomy, and its kindred 'sciences, with the various arts dependent on them. In none 'are computations more operose than those which astronomy in 'particular requires;—in none are preparatory facilities more 'needful;—in none is error more detrimental. The practical 'astronomer is interrupted in his pursuit, and diverted from his 'task of observation by the irksome labours of computation, or 'his diligence in observing becomes ineffectual for want of yet 'greater industry of calculation. Let the aid which tables pre-'viously computed afford, be furnished to the utmost extent 'which mechanism has made attainable through Mr Babbage's

'invention, and the most irksome portion of the astronomer's 'task is alleviated, and a fresh impulse is given to astronomical 'research.'

The first step in the progress of this singular invention was the discovery of some common principle which pervaded numerical tables of every description; so that by the adoption of such a principle as the basis of the machinery, a corresponding degree of generality would be conferred upon its calculations. Among the properties of numerical functions, several of a general nature exist; and it was a matter of no ordinary difficulty, and requiring no common skill, to select one which might, in all respects, be preferable to the others. Whether or not that which was selected by Mr Babbage affords the greatest practical advantages, would be extremely difficult to decide—perhaps impossible, unless some other projector could be found possessed of sufficient genius, and sustained by sufficient energy of mind and character, to attempt the invention of calculating machinery on other principles. The principle selected by Mr Babbage as the basis of that part of the machinery which calculates, is the Method of Differences; and he has in fact literally thrown this mathematical principle into wheel-work. In order to form a notion of the nature of the machinery, it will be necessary, first to convey to the reader some idea of the mathematical principle just alluded to.

A numerical table, of whatever kind, is a series of numbers which possess some common character, and which proceed increasing or decreasing according to some general law. Supposing such a series continually to increase, let us imagine each number in it to be subtracted from that which follows it, and the remainders thus successively obtained to be ranged beside the first, so as to form another table: these numbers are called the *first differences.* If we suppose these likewise to increase continually, we may obtain a third table from them by a like process, subtracting each number from the succeeding one: this series is called the *second differences.* By adopting a like method of proceeding, another series may be obtained, called the *third differences;* and so on. By continuing this process, we shall at length obtain a series of differences, of some order, more or less high, according to the nature of the original table, in which we shall find the same number constantly repeated, to whatever extent the original table may have been continued; so that if the next series of differences had been obtained in the same manner as the preceding ones, every term of it would be 0. In some cases this would continue to whatever extent the original table might be carried; but in all cases a series of differences would be obtained, which would continue constant for a very long succession of terms.

As the successive serieses of differences are derived from the original table, and from each other, by *subtraction,* the same succes-

sion of series may be reproduced in the other direction by *addition*. But let us suppose that the first number of the original table, and of each of the series of differences, including the last, be given: all the numbers of each of the series may thence be obtained by the mere process of addition. The second term of the original table will be obtained by adding to the first the first term of the first difference series; in like manner, the second term of the first difference series will be obtained by adding to the first term, the first term of the third difference series, and so on. The second terms of all the serieses being thus obtained, the third terms may be obtained by a like process of addition; and so the series may be continued. These observations will perhaps be rendered more clearly intelligible when illustrated by a numerical example. The following is the commencement of a series of the fourth powers of the natural numbers:—

No.	Table.
1 . . .	1
2 . . .	16
3 . . .	81
4 . . .	256
5 . . .	625
6 . . .	1296
7 . . .	2401
8 . . .	4096
9 . . .	6561
10 . . .	10,000
11 . . .	14,641
12 . . .	20,736
13 . . .	28,561

By subtracting each number from the succeeding one in this series, we obtain the following series of first differences:

15
65
175
369
671
1105
1695
2465
3439
4641
6095
7825

In like manner, subtracting each term of this series from the succeeding one, we obtain the following series of second differences:—

50
110
194
302
434
590
770
974
1202
1454
1730

Proceeding with this series in the same way, we obtain the following series of third differences:—

60
84
108
132
156
180
204
228
252
276

Proceeding in the same way with these, we obtain the following for the series of fourth differences:—

24
24
24
24
24
24
24
24
24
24

It appears, therefore, that in this case the series of fourth differences consists of a constant repetition of the number 24. Now, a slight consideration of the succession of arithmetical operations by which we have obtained this result, will show, that by reversing the process, we could obtain the table of fourth powers by the mere process of addition. Beginning with the first numbers in each successive series of differences, and designating the table and the successive differences by the letters T, D^1 D^2 D^3 D^4, we have then the following to begin with:—

T	D^1	D^2	D^3	D^4
1	15	50	60	24

Adding each number to the number on its left, and repeating 24, we get the following as the second terms of the several series :—

T	D^1	D^2	D^3	D^4
16	65	110	84	24

And, in the same manner, the third and succeeding terms as follows :—

No.	T	D^1	D^2	D^3	D^4
1	1	15	50	60	24
2	16	65	110	84	24
3	81	175	194	108	24
4	256	369	302	132	24
5	625	671	434	156	24
6	1296	1105	590	180	24
7	2401	1695	770	204	24
8	4096	2465	974	228	24
9	6561	3439	1202	252	24
10	10000	4641	1454	276	
11	14641	6095	1730		
12	20736	7825			
13	28561				

There are numerous tables in which, as already stated, to whatever order of differences we may proceed, we should not obtain a series of rigorously constant differences; but we should always obtain a certain number of differences which to a given number of decimal places would remain constant for a long succession of terms. It is plain that such a table might be calculated by addition in the same manner as those which have a difference rigorously and continuously constant; and if at every point where the last difference requires an increase, that increase be given to it, the same principle of addition may again be applied for a like succession of terms, and so on.

By this principle it appears, that all tables in which each series of differences continually increases, may be produced by the operation of addition alone; provided the first terms of the table, and of each series of differences, be given in the first instance. But it sometimes happens, that while the table continually increases, one or more serieses of differences may continually diminish. In this case, the series of differences are found by subtracting each term of the series, not from that which follows, but from that which precedes it; and consequently, in the re-production of the several serieses, when their first terms are given, it will be necessary in some cases to obtain them by *addition*, and in others by *subtraction*. It is possible, however, still to perform all the operations by addition alone: this is effected in performing the

operation of subtraction, by substituting for the subtrahend its *arithmetical complement*, and adding that, omitting the unit of the highest order in the result. This process, and its principle, will be readily comprehended by an example. Let it be required to subtract 357 from 768.

The common process would be as follows:—

From . .	768
Subtract . .	357
Remainder .	411

The *arithmetical complement* of 357, or the number by which it falls short of 1000, is 643. Now, if this number be added to 768, and the first figure on the left be struck out of the sum, the process will be as follows:—

To . . .	768
Add . .	643
Sum . .	1411
Remainder sought	411

The principle on which this process is founded is easily explained. In the latter process we have first added 643, and then subtracted 1000. On the whole, therefore, we have subtracted 357, since the number actually subtracted exceeds the number previously added by that amount.

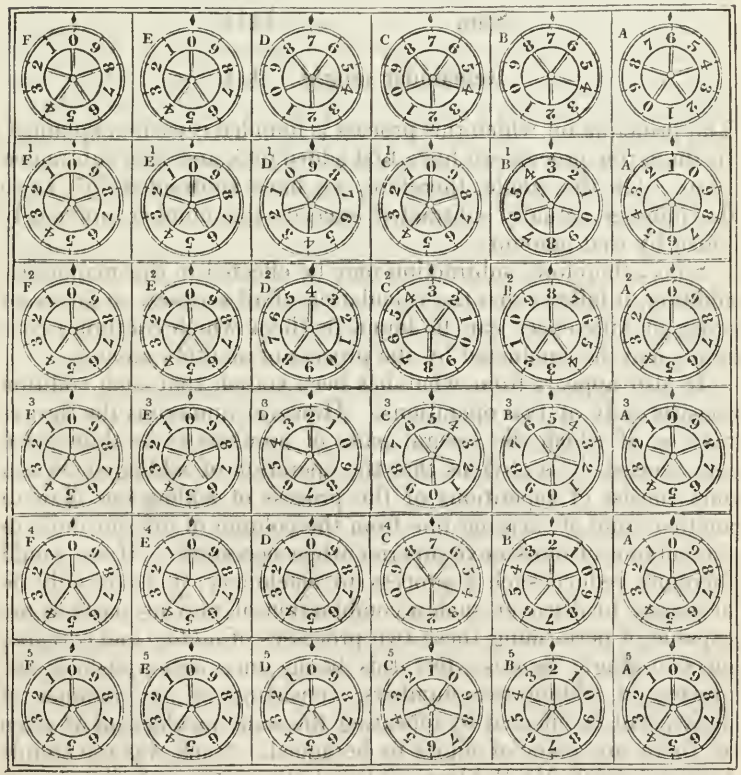
Since, therefore, subtraction may be effected in this manner by addition, it follows that the calculation of all serieses, so far as an order of differences can be found in them which continues constant, may be conducted by the process of addition alone.

It also appears from what has been stated, that each addition consists only of two operations. However numerous the figures may be of which the several pairs of numbers to be thus added may consist, it is obvious that the operation of adding them can only consist of repetitions of the process of adding one digit to another; and of carrying one from the column of inferior units to the column of units next superior when necessary. If we would therefore reduce such a process to machinery, it would only be necessary to discover such a combination of moving parts as are capable of performing these two processes of *adding* and *carrying* on two single figures; for, this being once accomplished, the process of adding two numbers, consisting of any number of digits, will be effected by repeating the same mechanism as often as there are pairs of digits to be added. Such was the simple form to which Mr Babbage reduced the problem of discovering

the calculating machinery; and we shall now proceed to convey some notion of the manner in which he solved it.

For the sake of illustration, we shall suppose that the table to be calculated shall consist of numbers not exceeding six places of figures; and we shall also suppose that the difference of the fifth order is the constant difference. Imagine, then, six rows of wheels, each wheel carrying upon it a dial-plate like that of a common clock, but consisting of *ten* instead of *twelve* divisions; the several divisions being marked 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 0. Let these dials be supposed to revolve whenever the wheels to which they are attached are put in motion, and to turn in such a direction that the series of increasing numbers shall pass under the index which appears over each dial:—thus, after 0 passes the index, 1 follows, then 2, 3, and so on, as the dial revolves. In Fig. 1 are represented six horizontal rows of such dials.

Fig. 1.



The method of differences, as already explained, requires, that in proceeding with the calculation, this apparatus should perform continually the addition of the number expressed upon each row of dials, to the number expressed upon the row immediately above it. Now, we shall first explain how this process of addition may be conceived to be performed by the motion of the dials; and in doing so, we shall consider separately the processes of addition and carriage, considering the addition first, and then the carriage.

Let us first suppose the line D^1 to be added to the line T. To accomplish this, let us imagine that while the dials on the line D^1 are quiescent, the dials on the line T are put in motion, in such a manner, that as many divisions on each dial shall pass under its index, as there are units in the number at the index immediately below it. It is evident that this condition supposes that if 0 be at any index on the line D^1, the dial immediately above it in the line T shall not move. Now the motion here supposed, would bring under the indices on the line T such a number as would be produced by adding the number D^1 to T, neglecting all the carriages; for a carriage should have taken place in every case in which the figure 9 of any dial in the line T had passed under the index during the adding motion. To accomplish this carriage, it would be necessary that the dial immediately on the left of any dial in which 9 passes under the index, should be advanced one division, independently of those divisions which it may have been advanced by the addition of the number immediately below it. This effect may be conceived to take place in either of two ways. It may be either produced at the moment when the division between 9 and 0 of any dial passes under the index; in which case the process of carrying would go on simultaneously with the process of adding; or the process of carrying may be postponed in every instance until the process of addition, without carrying, has been completed; and then by another distinct and independent motion of the machinery, a carriage may be made by advancing one division all those dials on the right of which a dial had, during the previous addition, passed from 9 to 0 under the index. The latter is the method adopted in the calculating machinery, in order to enable its inventor to construct the carrying machinery independent of the adding mechanism.

Having explained the motion of the dials by which the addition, excluding the carriages of the number on the row D^1, may be made to the number on the row T, the same explanation may be applied to the number on the row D^2 to the number on the row D^1; also, of the number D^3 to the number on the row D^2, and so on. Now it is possible to suppose the additions of all the rows, except the first, to be made to all the rows except the last, simultane-

ously; and after these additions have been made, to conceive all the requisite carriages to be also made by advancing the proper dials one division forward. This would suppose all the dials in the scheme to receive their adding motion together; and, this being accomplished, the requisite dials to receive their carrying motions together. The production of so great a number of simultaneous motions throughout any machinery, would be attended with great mechanical difficulties, if indeed it be practicable. In the calculating machinery it is not attempted. The additions are performed in two successive periods of time, and the carriages in two other periods of time, in the following manner. We shall suppose one complete revolution of the axis which moves the machinery, to make one complete set of additions and carriages; it will then make them in the following order:—

The first quarter of a turn of the axis will add the second, fourth, and sixth rows to the first, third, and fifth, omitting the carriages; this it will do by causing the dials on the first, third, and fifth rows, to turn through as many divisions as are expressed by the numbers at the indices below them, as already explained.

The second quarter of a turn will cause the carriages consequent on the previous addition, to be made by moving forward the proper dials one division.

(During these two quarters of a turn, the dials of the first, third, and fifth row alone have been moved; those of the second, fourth, and sixth, have been quiescent.)

The third quarter of a turn will produce the addition of the third and fifth rows to the second and fourth, omitting the carriages; which it will do by causing the dials of the second and fourth rows to turn through as many divisions as are expressed by the numbers at the indices immediately below them.

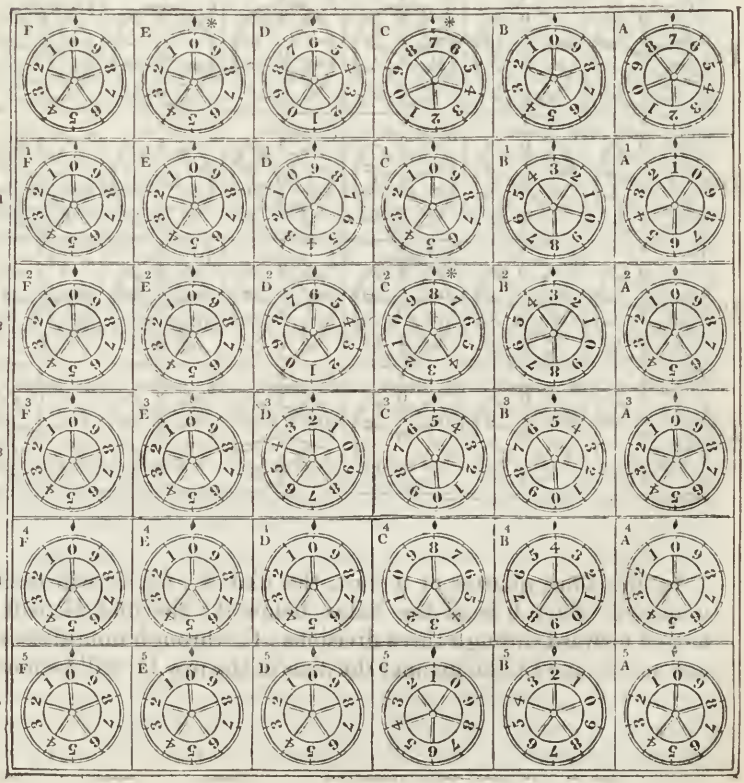
The fourth and last quarter of a turn will cause the carriages consequent on the previous addition, to be made by moving the proper dials forward one division.

This evidently completes one calculation, since all the rows except the first have been respectively added to all the rows except the last.

To illustrate this: let us suppose the table to be computed to be that of the fifth powers of the natural numbers, and the computation to have already proceeded so far as the fifth power of 6, which is 7776. This number appears, accordingly, in the highest row, being the place appropriated to the number of the table to be calculated. The several differences as far as the fifth, which is in this case constant, are exhibited on the successive rows of dials in such a manner, as to be adapted to the process of addition by alternate rows, in the manner already explained. The process of addition will commence by the motion of the dials in the first, third, and fifth rows, in the following manner: The dial A, fig. 1,

must turn through one division, which will bring the number 7 to the index; the dial B must turn through three divisions, which will bring 0 to the index; this will render a carriage necessary, but that carriage will not take place during the present motion of the dial. The dial C will remain unmoved, since 0 is at the index below it; the dial D must turn through nine divisions; and as, in doing so, the division between 9 and 0 must pass under the index, a carriage must subsequently take place upon the dial to the left; the remaining dials of the row T, fig. 1, will remain unmoved. In the row D^2 the dial A^2 will remain unmoved, since 0 is at the index below it; the dial B^2 will be moved through five divisions, and will render a subsequent carriage on the dial to the left necessary; the dial C^2 will be moved through five divisions; the dial D^2 will be moved through three divisions, and the remaining dials of this row will remain unmoved. The dials of the row D^4 will be moved according to the same rules; and the whole scheme will undergo a change exhibited in Fig. 2; a mark (*) being introduced on those dials to which a car-

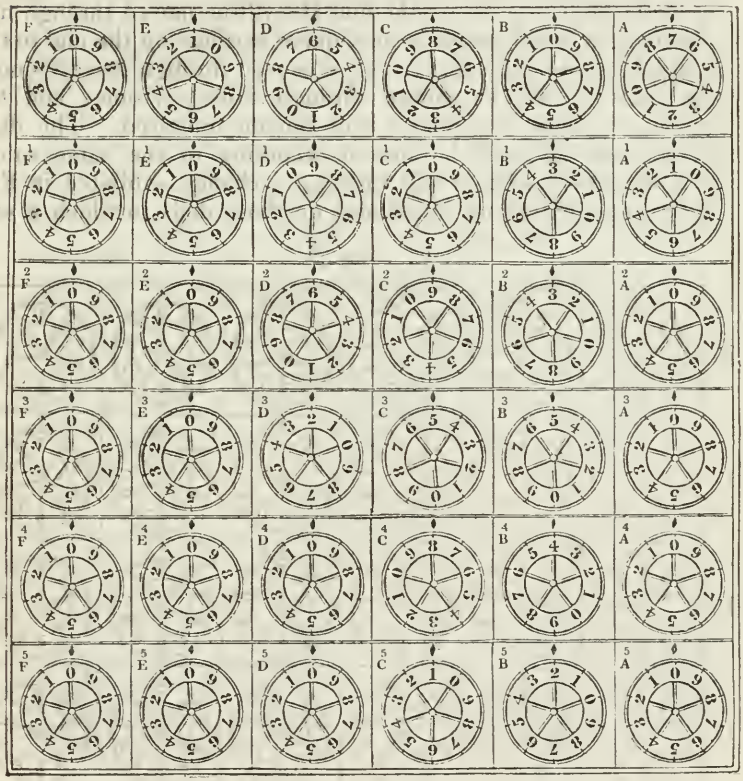
Fig. 2.



riage is rendered necessary by the addition which has just taken place.

The second quarter of a turn of the moving axis, will move forward through one division all the dials which in Fig. 2 are marked (*), and the scheme will be converted into the scheme expressed in Fig. 3.

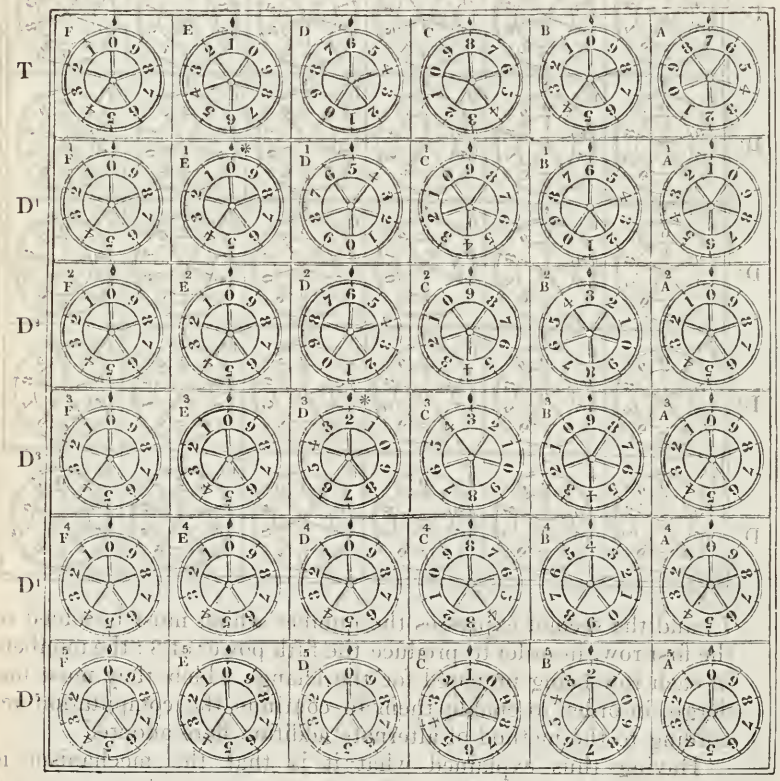
Fig. 3.



In the third quarter of a turn, the dial A^1, fig. 3, will remain unmoved, since 0 is at the index below it; the dial B^1 will be moved forward through three divisions; C^1 through nine divisions, and so on; and in like manner the dials of the row D^3 will be moved

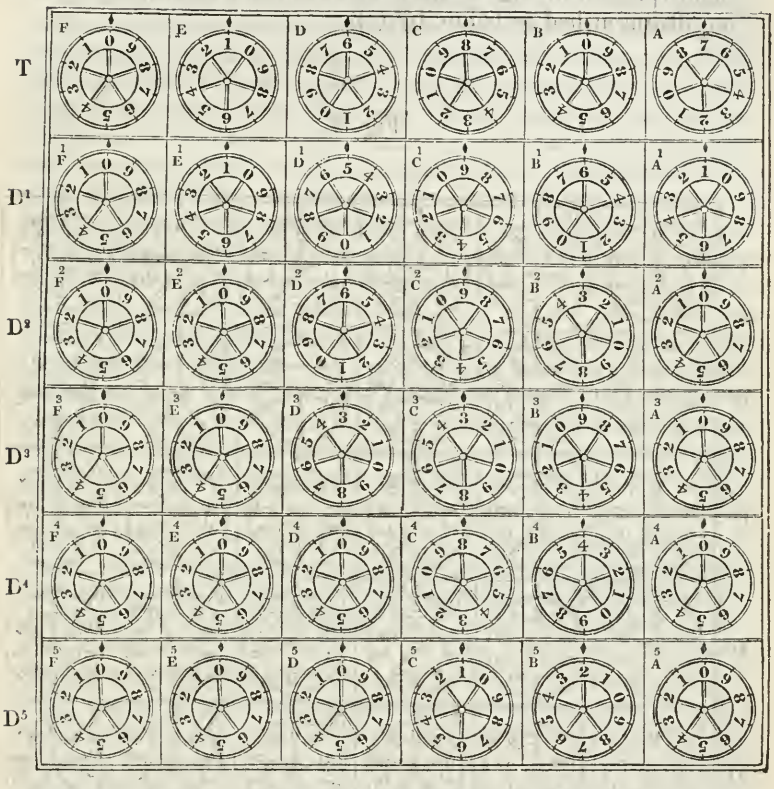
forward through the number of divisions expressed at the indices in the row D^4. This change will convert the arrangement into that expressed in Fig. 4, the dials to which a carriage is due, being distinguished as before by (*).

Fig. 4.



The fourth quarter of a turn of the axis will move forward one division all the dials marked (*); and the arrangement will finally assume the form exhibited in Fig. 5, in which the calculation is completed. The first row T in this expresses the fifth power of

Fig. 5.



7 ; and the second expresses the number which must be added to the first row, in order to produce the fifth power of 8 ; the numbers in each row being prepared for the change which they must undergo, in order to enable them to continue the computation according to the method of alternate addition here adopted.

Having thus explained what it is that the mechanism is required to do, we shall now attempt to convey at least a general notion of some of the mechanical contrivances by which the desired ends are attained. To simplify the explanation, let us first take one particular instance—the dials B and B^1, fig. 1, for example. Behind the dial B^1 is a bolt, which, at the commencement of the process, is shot between the teeth of a wheel which drives the dial B : during the first quarter of a turn this bolt is made to revolve, and if it continued to be engaged in the teeth

of the said wheel, it would cause the dial B to make a complete revolution; but it is necessary that the dial B should only move through three divisions, and, therefore, when three divisions of this dial have passed under its index, the aforesaid bolt must be withdrawn: this is accomplished by a small wedge, which is placed in a fixed position on the wheel behind the dial B^1, and that position is such that this wedge will press upon the bolt in such a manner, that at the moment when three divisions of the dial B have passed under the index, it shall withdraw the bolt from the teeth of the wheel which it drives. The bolt will continue to revolve during the remainder of the first quarter of a turn of the axis, but it will no longer drive the dial B, which will remain quiescent. Had the figure at the index of the dial B^1 been any other, the wedge which withdraws the bolt would have assumed a different position, and would have withdrawn the bolt at a different time, but at a time always corresponding with the number under the index of the dial B^1: thus, if 5 had been under the index of the dial B^1, then the bolt would have been withdrawn from between the teeth of the wheel which it drives, when five divisions of the dial B had passed under the index, and so on. Behind each dial in the row D^1 there is a similar bolt and a similar withdrawing wedge, and the action upon the dial above is transmitted and suspended in precisely the same manner. Like observations will be applicable to all the dials in the scheme here referred to, in reference to their adding actions upon those above them.

There is, however, a particular case which here merits notice: it is the case in which 0 is under the index of the dial from which the addition is to be transmitted upwards. As in that case nothing is to be added, a mechanical provision should be made to prevent the bolt from engaging in the teeth of the wheel which acts upon the dial above: the wedge which causes the bolt to be withdrawn, is thrown into such a position as to render it impossible that the bolt should be shot, or that it should enter between the teeth of the wheel, which in other cases it drives. But inasmuch as the usual means of shooting the bolt would still act, a strain would necessarily take place in the parts of the mechanism, owing to the bolt not yielding to the usual impulse. A small shoulder is therefore provided, which puts aside, in this case, the piece by which the bolt is usually struck, and allows the striking implement to pass without encountering the head of the bolt or any other obstruction. This mechanism is brought into play in the scheme, fig. 1, in the cases of all those dials in which 0 is under the index.

Such is a general description of the nature of the mechanism

by which the adding process, apart from the carriages, is effected. During the first quarter of a turn, the bolts which drive the dials in the first, third, and fifth rows, are caused to revolve, and to act upon these dials, so long as they are permitted by the position of the several wedges on the second, fourth, and sixth rows of dials, by which these bolts are respectively withdrawn; and, during the third quarter of a turn, the bolts which drive the dials of the second and fourth rows are made to revolve and act upon these dials so long as the wedges on the dials of the third and fifth rows, which withdraw them, permit. It will hence be perceived, that, during the first and third quarters of a turn, the process of addition is continually passing upwards through the machinery; alternately from the even to the odd rows, and from the odd to the even rows, counting downwards.

We shall now attempt to convey some notion of the mechanism by which the process of carrying is effected during the second and fourth quarters of a turn of the axis. As before, we shall first explain it in reference to a particular instance. During the first quarter of a turn the wheel B^2, Fig. 1, is caused by the adding bolt to move through five divisions; and the fifth of these divisions, which passes under the index, is that between 9 and 0. On the axis of the wheel C^2, immediately to the left of B^2, is fixed a wheel, called in mechanics a ratchet wheel, which is driven by a claw which constantly rests in its teeth. This claw is in such a position as to permit the wheel C^2 to move in obedience to the action of the adding bolt, but to resist its motion in the contrary direction. It is drawn back by a spiral spring, but its recoil is prevented by a hook which sustains it; which hook, however, is capable of being withdrawn, and when withdrawn, the aforesaid spiral spring would draw back the claw, and make it fall through one tooth of the ratchet wheel. Now, at the moment that the division between 9 and 0 on the dial B^2 passes under the index, a thumb placed on the axis of this dial touches a trigger which raises out of the notch the hook which sustains the claw just mentioned, and allows it to fall back by the recoil of the spring, and to drop into the next tooth of the ratchet wheel. This process, however, produces no immediate effect upon the position of the wheel C^2, and is merely preparatory to an action intended to take place during the second quarter of a turn of the moving axis. It is in effect a memorandum taken by the machine of a carriage to be made in the next quarter of a turn.

During the second quarter of a turn, a finger placed on the axis of the dial B^2 is made to revolve, and it encounters the heel of the above-mentioned claw. As it moves forward it drives the claw before it; and this claw, resting in the teeth of the

ratchet wheel fixed upon the axis of the dial C^2, drives forward that wheel, and with it the dial. But the length and position of the finger which drives the claw limits its action, so as to move the claw forward through such a space only as will cause the dial C^2 to advance through a single division; at which point it is again caught and retained by the hook. This will be added to the number under its index, and the requisite carriage from B^2 to C^2 will be accomplished.

In connexion with every dial is placed a similar ratchet wheel with a similar claw, drawn by a similar spring, sustained by a similar hook, and acted upon by a similar thumb and trigger; and therefore the necessary carriages, throughout the whole machinery, take place in the same manner and by similar means.

During the second quarter of a turn, such of the carrying claws as have been allowed to recoil in the first, third, and fifth rows, are drawn up by the fingers on the axes of the adjacent dials; and, during the fourth quarter of a turn, such of the carrying claws on the second and fourth rows as have been allowed to recoil during the third quarter of a turn, are in like manner drawn up by the carrying fingers on the axes of the adjacent dials. It appears that the carriages proceed alternately from right to left along the horizontal rows during the second and fourth quarters of a turn; in the one, they pass along the first, third, and fifth rows, and in the other, along the second and fourth.

There are two systems of waves of mechanical action continually flowing from the bottom to the top; and two streams of similar action constantly passing from the right to the left. The crests of the first system of adding waves fall upon the last difference, and upon every alternate one proceeding upwards; while the crests of the other system touch upon the intermediate differences. The first stream of carrying action passes from right to left along the highest row and every alternate row, while the second stream passes along the intermediate rows.

Such is a very rapid and general outline of this machinery. Its wonders, however, are still greater in its details than even in its broader features. Although we despair of doing it justice by any description which can be attempted here, yet we should not fulfil the duty we owe to our readers, if we did not call their attention at least to a few of the instances of consummate skill which are scattered, with a prodigality characteristic of the highest order of inventive genius, throughout this astonishing mechanism.

In the general description which we have given of the mechanism for *carrying*, it will be observed, that the preparation for every carriage is stated to be made during the previous addition,

by the disengagement of the carrying claw before mentioned, and by its consequent recoil, urged by the spiral spring with which it is connected; but it may, and does, frequently happen, that though the process of addition may not have rendered a carriage necessary, one carriage may itself produce the necessity for another. This is a contingency not provided against in the mechanism as we have described it: the case would occur in the scheme represented in Fig. 1, if the figure under the index of C^2_2 were 4 instead of 3. The addition of the number 5 at the index of C^3 would, in this case, in the first quarter of a turn, bring 9 to the index of C^2_2: this would obviously render no carriage necessary, and of course no preparation would be made for one by the mechanism—that is to say, the carrying claw of the wheel D^2 would not be detached. Meanwhile a carriage upon C^2_2 has been rendered necessary by the addition made in the first quarter of a turn to B^2_2. This carriage takes place in the ordinary way, and would cause the dial C^2_2, in the second quarter of a turn, to advance from 9 to 0: this would make the necessary preparation for a carriage from C^2 to D^2. But unless some special arrangement was made for the purpose, that carriage would not take place during the second quarter of a turn. This peculiar contingency is provided against by an arrangement of singular mechanical beauty, and which, at the same time, answers another purpose—that of equalizing the resistance opposed to the moving power by the carrying mechanism. The fingers placed on the axes of the several dials in the row D^2, do not act at the same instant on the carrying claws adjacent to them; but they are so placed, that their action may be distributed throughout the second quarter of a turn in regular succession. Thus the finger on the axis of the dial A^2_2 first encounters the claw upon B^2_2, and drives it through one tooth immediately forwards; the finger on the axis of B^2_2 encounters the claw upon C^2_2, and drives it through one tooth; the action of the finger on C^2_2 on the claw on D^2 next succeeds, and so on. Thus, while the finger on B^2_2 acts on C^2_2, and causes the division from 9 to 0 to pass under the index, the thumb on C^2_2 at the same instant acts on the trigger, and detaches the carrying claw on D^2_2, which is forthwith encountered by the carrying finger on C^2_2, and driven forward one tooth. The dial D^2_2 accordingly moves forward one division, and 5 is brought under the index. This arrangement is beautifully effected by placing the several fingers, which act upon the carrying claws, *spirally* on their axes, so that they come into action in regular succession.

We have stated that, at the commencement of each revolution of the moving axis, the bolts which drive the dials of the first, third, and fifth rows, are shot. The process of shooting these

bolts must therefore have taken place during the last quarter of the preceding revolution; but it is during that quarter of a turn that the carriages are effected in the second and fourth rows. Since the bolts which drive the dials of the first, third, and fifth rows, have no mechanical connexion with the dials in the second and fourth rows, there is nothing in the process of shooting those bolts incompatible with that of moving the dials of the second and fourth rows: hence these two processes may both take place during the same quarter of a turn. But in order to equalize the resistance to the moving power, the same expedient is here adopted as that already described in the process of carrying. The arms which shoot the bolts of each row of dials are arranged *spirally*, so as to act successively throughout the quarter of a turn. There is, however, a contingency which, under certain circumstances, would here produce a difficulty which must be provided against. It is possible, and in fact does sometimes happen, that the process of carrying causes a dial to move under the index from 0 to 1. In that case, the bolt, preparatory to the next addition, ought not to be shot until after the carriage takes place; for if the arm which shoots it passes its point of action before the carriage takes place, the bolt will be moved out of its sphere of action, and will not be shot, which, as we have already explained, must always happen when 0 is at the index: therefore no addition would in this case take place during the next quarter of a turn of the axis; whereas, since 1 is brought to the index by the carriage, which immediately succeeds the passage of the arm which ought to bolt, 1 should be added during the next quarter of a turn. It is plain, accordingly, that the mechanism should be so arranged, that the action of the arms, which shoot the bolts successively, should immediately follow the action of those fingers which raise the carrying claws successively; and therefore either a separate quarter of a turn should be appropriated to each of those movements, or if they be executed in the same quarter of a turn, the mechanism must be so constructed, that the arms which shoot the bolts successively, shall severally follow immediately after those which raise the carrying claws successively. The latter object is attained by a mechanical arrangement of singular felicity, and partaking of that elegance which characterises all the details of this mechanism. Both sets of arms are spirally arranged on their respective axes, so as to be carried through their period in the same quarter of a turn; but the one spiral is shifted a few degrees, in angular position, behind the other, so that each pair of corresponding arms succeed each other in the most regular order,—equalizing the resistance, economizing time, harmonizing the mechanism, and giving to the whole mechanical action the utmost practical perfection.

The system of mechanical contrivances by which the results, here attempted to be described, are attained, form only one order of expedients adopted in this machinery;—although such is the perfection of their action, that in any ordinary case they would be regarded as having attained the ends in view with an almost superfluous degree of precision. Considering, however, the immense importance of the purposes which the mechanism was destined to fulfil, its inventor determined that a higher order of expedients should be superinduced upon those already described; the purpose of which should be to obliterate all small errors or inequalities which might, even by remote possibility, arise, either from defects in the original formation of the mechanism, from inequality of wear, from casual strain or derangement,—or, in short, from any other cause whatever. Thus the movements of the first and principal parts of the mechanism were regarded by him merely as a first, though extremely nice approximation, upon which a system of small corrections was to be subsequently made by suitable and independent mechanism. This supplementary system of mechanism is so contrived, that if one or more of the moving parts of the mechanism of the first order be slightly out of their places, they will be forced to their exact position by the action of the mechanical expedients of the second order to which we now allude. If a more considerable derangement were produced by any accidental disturbance, the consequence would be that the supplementary mechanism would cause the whole system to become locked, so that not a wheel would be capable of moving; the impelling power would necessarily lose all its energy, and the machine would stop. The consequence of this exquisite arrangement is, that the machine will either calculate rightly, or not at all.

The supernumerary contrivances which we now allude to, being in a great degree unconnected with each other, and scattered through the machinery to a certain extent, independent of the mechanical arrangement of the principal parts, we find it difficult to convey any distinct notion of their nature or form.

In some instances they consist of a roller resting between certain curved surfaces, which has but one position of stable equilibrium, and that position the same, however the roller or the curved surfaces may wear. A slight error in the motion of the principal parts would make this roller for the moment rest on one of the curves; but, being constantly urged by a spring, it would press on the curved surface in such a manner as to force the moving piece on which that curved surface is formed, into such a position that the roller may rest between the two surfaces; that position being the one which the mechanism should have.

A greater derangement would bring the roller to the crest of the curve, on which it would rest in instable equilibrium; and the machine would either become locked, or the roller would throw it as before into its true position.

In other instances a similar object is attained by a solid cone being pressed into a conical seat; the position of the axis of the cone and that of its seat being necessarily invariable, however the cone may wear; and the action of the cone upon the seat being such, that it cannot rest in any position except that in which the axis of the cone coincides with the axis of its seat.

Having thus attempted to convey a notion, however inadequate, of the calculating section of the machinery, we shall proceed to offer some explanation of the means whereby it is enabled to print its calculations in such a manner as to preclude the possibility of error in any individual printed copy.

On the axle of each of the wheels which express the calculated number of the table T, there is fixed a solid piece of metal, formed into a curve, not unlike the wheel in a common clock, which is called the *snail*. This curved surface acts against the arm of a lever, so as to raise that arm to a higher or lower point according to the position of the dial with which the snail is connected. Without entering into a more minute description, it will be easily understood that the snail may be so formed that the arm of the lever shall be raised to ten different elevations, corresponding to the ten figures of the dial which may be brought under the index. The opposite arm of the lever here described puts in motion a solid arch, or sector, which carries ten punches; each punch bearing on its face a raised character of a figure, and the ten punches bearing the ten characters, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 0. It will be apparent from what has been just stated, that this *type sector* (as it is called) will receive ten different attitudes, corresponding to the ten figures which may successively be brought under the index of the dial-plate. At a point over which the type sector is thus moved, and immediately under a point through which it plays, is placed a frame, in which is fixed a plate of copper. Immediately over a certain point through which the type sector moves, is likewise placed a *bent lever*, which, being straightened, is forcibly pressed upon the punch which has been brought under it. If the type sector be moved, so as to bring under the bent lever one of the steel punches above mentioned, and be held in that position for a certain time, the bent lever, being straightened, acts upon the steel punch, and drives it against the face of the copper beneath, and thus causes a sunken impression of the character upon the punch to be left upon the copper. If the copper be now shifted slightly in its position, and the type sector be also shifted

so as to bring another punch under the bent lever, another character may be engraved on the copper by straightening the bent lever, and pressing it on the punch as before. It will be evident, that if the copper was shifted from right to left through a space equal to two figures of a number, and, at the same time, the type sector so shifted as to bring the punches corresponding to the figures of the number successively under the bent lever, an engraved impression of the number might thus be obtained upon the copper by the continued action of the bent lever. If, when one line of figures is thus obtained, a provision be made to shift the copper in a direction at right angles to its former motion, through a space equal to the distance between two lines of figures, and at the same time to shift it through a space in the other direction equal to the length of an entire line, it will be evident that another line of figures might be printed below the first in the same manner.

The motion of the type sector, here described, is accomplished by the action of the snail upon the lever already mentioned. In the case where the number calculated is that expressed in fig. 1, the process would be as follows:—The snail of the wheel F^1, acting upon the lever, would throw the type sector into such an attitude, that the punch bearing the character 0 would come under the bent lever. The next turn of the moving axis would cause the bent lever to press on the tail of the punch, and the character 0 would be impressed upon the copper. The bent lever being again drawn up, the punch would recoil from the copper by the action of a spring; the next turn of the moving axis would shift the copper through the interval between two figures, so as to bring the point destined to be impressed with the next figure under the bent lever. At the same time, the snail of the wheel E would cause the type sector to be thrown into the same attitude as before, and the punch 0 would be brought under the bent lever; the next turn would impress the figure 0 beside the former one, as before described. The snail upon the wheel D would now come into action, and throw the type sector into that position in which the punch bearing the character 7 would come under the bent lever, and at the same time the copper would be shifted through the interval between two figures; the straightening of the lever would next follow, and the character 7 would be engraved. In the same manner, the wheels C, B, and A would successively act by means of their snails; and the copper being shifted, and the lever allowed to act, the number 007776 would be finally engraved upon the copper: this being accomplished, the calculating machinery would next be called into action, and another calculation would be made, producing

the next number of the Table exhibited in Fig. 5. During this process the machinery would be engaged in shifting the copper both in the direction of its length and its breadth, with a view to commence the printing of another line; and this change of position would be accomplished at the moment when the next calculation would be completed: the printing of the next number would go on like the former, and the operation of the machine would proceed in the same manner, calculating and printing alternately. It is not, however, at all necessary—though we have here supposed it, for the sake of simplifying the explanation—that the calculating part of the mechanism should have its action suspended while the printing part is in operation, or *vice versa;* it is not intended, in fact, to be so suspended in the actual machinery. The same turn of the axis by which one number is printed, executes a part of the movements necessary for the succeeding calculation; so that the whole mechanism will be simultaneously and continuously in action.

Of the mechanism by which the position of the copper is shifted from figure to figure, from line to line, we shall not attempt any description. We feel that it would be quite vain. Complicated and difficult to describe as every other part of this machinery is, the mechanism for moving the copper is such as it would be quite impossible to render at all intelligible, without numerous illustrative drawings.

The engraved plate of copper obtained in the manner above described, is designed to be used as a mould from which a stereotyped plate may be cast; or, if deemed advisable, it may be used as the immediate means of printing. In the one case we should produce a table, printed from type, in the same manner as common letter-press printing; in the other an engraved table. If it be thought most advisable to print from the stereotyped plates, then as many stereotyped plates as may be required may be taken from the copper mould; so that when once a table has been calculated and engraved by the machinery, the whole world may be supplied with stereotyped plates to print it, and may continue to be so supplied for an unlimited period of time. There is no practical limit to the number of stereotyped plates which may be taken from the engraved copper; and there is scarcely any limit to the number of printed copies which may be taken from any single stereotyped plate. Not only, therefore, is the numerical table by these means engraved and stereotyped with infallible accuracy, but such stereotyped plates are producible in unbounded quantity. Each plate, when produced, becomes itself the means of producing printed copies of the table, in accuracy perfect, and in number without limit.

Unlike all other machinery, the calculating mechanism produces, not the object of consumption, but the machinery by which that object may be made. To say that it computes and prints with infallible accuracy, is to understate its merits:—it computes and fabricates *the means* of printing with absolute correctness and in unlimited abundance.

For the sake of clearness, and to render ourselves more easily intelligible to the general reader, we have in the preceding explanation thrown the mechanism into an arrangement somewhat different from that which is really adopted. The dials expressing the numbers of the tables of the successive differences are not placed, as we have supposed them, in horizontal rows, and read from right to left, in the ordinary way; they are, on the contrary, placed vertically, one below the other, and read from top to bottom. The number of the table occupies the first vertical column on the right, the units being expressed on the lowest dial, and the tens on the next above that, and so on. The first difference occupies the next vertical column on the left; and the numbers of the succeeding differences occupy vertical columns, proceeding regularly to the left; the constant difference being on the last vertical column. It is intended in the machine now in progress to introduce six orders of differences, so that there will be seven columns of dials; it is also intended that the calculations shall extend to eighteen places of figures: thus each column will have eighteen dials. We have referred to the dials as if they were inscribed upon the faces of wheels, whose axes are horizontal and planes vertical. In the actual machinery the axes are vertical and the planes horizontal, so that the edges of the *figure wheels*, as they are called, are presented to the eye. The figures are inscribed, not upon the dial-plate, but around the surface of a small cylinder or barrel, placed upon the axis of the figure wheel, which revolves with it; so that as the figure wheel revolves, the figures on the barrel are successively brought to the front, and pass under an index engraved upon a plate of metal immediately above the barrel. This arrangement has the obvious practical advantage, that, instead of each figure wheel having a separate axis, all the figure wheels of the same vertical column revolve on the same axis; and the same observation will apply to all the wheels with which the figure wheels are in mechanical connexion. This arrangement has the further mechanical advantage over that which has been assumed for the purposes of explanation, that the friction of the wheel-work on the axes is less in amount, and more uniformly distributed, than it could be if the axes were placed in the horizontal position.

A notion may therefore be formed of the front elevation of the

calculating part of the mechanism, by conceiving seven steel axes erected, one beside another, on each of which shall be placed eighteen wheels,* five inches in diameter, having cylinders or barrels upon them an inch and a half in height, and inscribed, as already stated, with the ten arithmetical characters. The entire elevation of the machinery would occupy a space measuring ten feet broad, ten feet high, and five feet deep. The process of calculation would be observed by the alternate motion of the figure wheels on the several axes. During the first quarter of a turn, the wheels on the first, third, and fifth axes would turn, receiving their addition from the second, fourth, and sixth; during the second quarter of a turn, such of the wheels on the first, third, and fifth axes, to which carriages are due, would be moved forward one additional figure; the second, fourth, and sixth columns of wheels being all this time quiescent. During the third quarter of a turn, the second, fourth, and sixth columns would be observed to move, receiving their additions from the third, fifth, and seventh axes; and during the fourth quarter of a turn, such of these wheels to which carriages are due, would be observed to move forward one additional figure; the wheels of the first, third, and fifth columns being quiescent during this time.

It will be observed that the wheels of the seventh column are always quiescent in this process; and it may be asked, of what use they are, and whether some mechanism of a fixed nature would not serve the same purpose? It must, however, be remembered, that for different tables there will be different constant differences; and that when the calculation of a table is about to commence, the wheels on the seventh axis must be moved by the hand, so as to express the constant difference, whatever it may be. In tables, also, which have not a difference rigorously constant, it will be necessary, after a certain number of calculations, to change the constant difference by the hand; and in this case the wheels of the seventh axis must be moved when occasion requires. Such adjustment, however, will only be necessary at very distant intervals, and after a considerable extent of printing and calculation has taken place; and when it is necessary, a provision is made in the machinery by which notice will be given by the sounding of a bell, so that the machine may not run beyond the extent of its powers of calculation.

Immediately behind the seven axes on which the figure wheels

* The wheels, and every other part of the mechanism except the axes, springs, and such parts as are necessarily of steel, are formed of an alloy of copper with a small portion of tin.

revolve, are seven other axes; on which are placed, first, the wheels already described as driven by the figure wheels, and which bear upon them the wedge which withdraws the bolt immediately over these latter wheels, and on the same axis is placed the adding bolt. From the bottom of this bolt there projects downwards the pin, which acts upon the unbolting wedge by which the bolt is withdrawn: from the upper surface of the bolt proceeds a tooth, which, when the bolt is shot, enters between the teeth of the adding wheel, which turns on the same axis, and is placed immediately above the bolt: its teeth, on which the bolt acts, are like the teeth of a crown wheel, and are presented downwards. The bolt is fixed upon this axis, and turns with it; but the adding wheel above the bolt, and the unbolting wheel below it, both turn upon the axis, and independently of it. When the axis is made to revolve by the moving power, the bolt revolves with it; and so long as the tooth of the bolt remains inserted between those of the adding wheel, the latter is likewise moved; but when the lower pin of the bolt encounters the unbolting wedge on the lower wheel, the tooth of the bolt is withdrawn, and the motion of the adding wheel is stopped. This adding wheel is furnished with spur teeth, besides the crown teeth just mentioned; and these spur teeth are engaged with those of that unbolting wheel which is in connexion with the adjacent figure wheel to which the addition is to be made. By such an arrangement it is evident that the revolution of the bolt will necessarily add to the adjacent figure wheel the requisite number.

It will be perceived, that upon the same axis are placed an unbolting wheel, a bolt, and an adding wheel, one above the other, for every figure wheel; and as there are eighteen figure wheels there will be eighteen tiers; each tier formed of an unbolting wheel, a bolt, and an adding wheel, placed one above the other; the wheels on this axis all revolving independent of the axis, but the bolts being all fixed upon it. The same observations, of course, will apply to each of the seven axes.

At the commencement of every revolution of the adding axes, it is evident that the several bolts placed upon them must be shot in order to perform the various additions. This is accomplished by a third set of seven axes, placed at some distance behind the range of the wheels, which turn upon the adding axes: these are called *bolting axes.* On these bolting axes are fixed, so as to revolve with them, a bolting finger opposite to each bolt: as the bolting axis is made to revolve by the moving power, the bolting finger is turned, and as it passes near the bolt, it encounters the shoulder of a hammer or lever, which strikes the heel of the bolt, and presses it forward so as to shoot its tooth between the crown

teeth of the adding wheel. The only exception to this action is the case in which 0 happens to be at the index of the figure wheel; in that case, the lever or hammer, which the bolting finger would encounter, is, as before stated, lifted out of the way of the bolting finger, so that it revolves without encountering it. It is on the bolting axes that the fingers are spirally arranged so as to equalize their action, as already explained.

The same axes in the front of the machinery on which the figure wheels turn, are made to serve the purpose of *carrying*. Each of these bear a series of fingers which turn with them, and which encounter a carrying claw, already described, so as to make the carriage: these carrying fingers are also spirally arranged on their axes, as already described.

Although the absolute accuracy which appears to be ensured by the mechanical arrangements here described is such as to render further precautions nearly superfluous, still it may be right to state, that, supposing it were possible for an error to be produced in calculation, this error could be easily and speedily detected in the printed tables: it would only be necessary to calculate a number of the table taken at intervals, through which the mechanical action of the machine has not been suspended, and during which it has received no adjustment by the hand: if the computed number be found to agree with those printed, it may be taken for granted that all the intermediate numbers are correct; because, from the nature of the mechanism, and the principle of computation, an error occurring in any single number of the table would be unavoidably entailed, in an increasing ratio, upon all the succeeding numbers.

We have hitherto spoken merely of the practicability of executing by the machinery, when completed, that which its inventor originally contemplated—namely, the calculating and printing of all numerical tables, derived by the method of differences from a constant difference. It has, however, happened that the actual powers of the machinery greatly transcend those contemplated in its original design:—they not only have exceeded the most sanguine anticipations of its inventor, but they appear to have an extent to which it is utterly impossible, even for the most acute mathematical thinker, to fix a probable limit. Certain subsidiary mechanical inventions have, in the progress of the enterprise, been, by the very nature of the machinery, suggested to the mind of the inventor, which confer upon it capabilities which he had never foreseen. It would be impossible even to enumerate, within the limits of this article, much less to describe in detail, those extraordinary mechanical arrangements, the effects of which have not failed to strike with astonishment every one who has been

favoured with an opportunity of witnessing them, and who has been enabled, by sufficient mathematical attainments, in any degree to estimate their probable consequences.

As we have described the mechanism, the axes containing the several differences are successively and regularly added one to another; but there are certain mechanical adjustments, and these of a very simple nature, which being thrown into action, will cause a difference of any order to be added any number of times to a difference of any other order; and that either proceeding backwards or forwards, from a difference of an inferior to one of a superior order, and *vice versa*.*

Among other peculiar mechanical provisions in the machinery is one by which, when the table for any order of difference amounts to a certain number, a certain arithmetical change would be made in the constant difference. In this way a series may be tabulated by the machine, in which the constant difference is subject to periodical change; or the very nature of the table itself may be subject to periodical change, and yet to one which has a regular law.

Some of these subsidiary powers are peculiarly applicable to calculations required in astronomy, and are therefore of eminent and immediate practical utility: others there are by which tables are produced, following the most extraordinary, and apparently capricious, but still regular laws. Thus a table will be computed, which, to any required extent, shall coincide with a given table, and which shall deviate from that table for a single term, or for any required number of terms, and then resume its course, or which shall permanently alter the law of its construction. Thus the engine has calculated a table which agreed precisely with a table of square numbers, until it attained the hundred and first term, which was not the square of 101, nor were any of the subsequent numbers squares. Again, it has computed a table which coincided with the series of natural numbers, as far as 100,000,001, but which subsequently followed another law. This result was obtained, not by working the engine through the whole of the first table, for that would have required an enormous length of time; but by showing, from the arrangement of the mechanism, that it must continue to exhibit the succession of natural numbers, until it would reach 100,000,000. To save time, the engine

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* The machine was constructed with the intention of tabulating the equation $\Delta^7 u = 0$, but, by the means above alluded to, it is capable of tabulating such equations as the following: $\Delta^7 u = a \Delta u$, $\Delta^7 u \quad a \Delta^3 u$, $\Delta^7 u$ = units figure of Δu.

was set by the hand to the number 99999995, and was then put in regular operation. It produced successively the following numbers.*

99,999,996
99,999,997
99,999,998
99,999,999
100,000,000
100,010,002
100,030,003
100,060,004
100,100,005
100,150,006
&c. &c.

Equations have been already tabulated by the portion of the machinery which has been put together, which are so far beyond the reach of the present power of mathematics, that no distant term of the table can be predicted, nor any function discovered capable of expressing its general law. Yet the very fact of the table being produced by mechanism of an invariable form, and including a distinct principle of mechanical action, renders it quite manifest that *some* general law must exist in every table which it produces. But we must dismiss these speculations: we feel it impossible to stretch the powers of our own mind, so as to grasp the probable capabilities of this splendid production of combined mechanical and mathematical genius; much less can we hope to enable others to appreciate them, without being furnished with such means of comprehending them as those with which we have been favoured. Years must in fact elapse, and many enquirers direct their energies to the cultivation of the vast field of research thus opened, before we can fully estimate the extent of this triumph of matter over mind. 'Nor is it,' says Mr Colebrooke, 'among the least curious results of this ingeni-
'ous device, that it affords a new opening for discovery, since it
'is applicable, as has been shown by its inventor, to surmount
'novel difficulties of analysis. Not confined to constant differ-
'ences, it is available in every case of differences that follow a
'definite law, reducible therefore to an equation. An engine
'adjusted to the purpose being set to work, will produce any

* Such results as this suggest a train of reflection on the nature and operation of general laws, which would lead to very curious and interesting speculations. The natural philosopher and astronomer will be hardly less struck with them than the metaphysician and theologian.

'distant term, or succession of terms, required—thus presenting 'the numerical solution of a problem, even though the analytical 'solution be yet undetermined.' That the future path of some important branches of mathematical enquiry must now in some measure be directed by the dictates of mechanism, is sufficiently evident; for who would toil on in any course of analytical enquiry, in which he must ultimately depend on the expensive and fallible aid of human arithmetic, with an instrument in his hands, in which all the dull monotony of numerical computation is turned over to the untiring action and unerring certainty of mechanical agency?

It is worth notice, that each of the axes in front of the machinery on which the figure wheels revolve, is connected with a bell, the tongue of which is governed by a system of levers, moved by the several figure wheels; an adjustment is provided by which the levers shall be dismissed, so as to allow the hammer to strike against the bell, whenever any proposed number shall be exhibited on the axis. This contrivance enables the machine to give notice to its attendants at any time that an adjustment may be required.

Among a great variety of curious accidental properties (so to speak) which the machine is found to possess, is one by which it is capable of solving numerical equations which have rational roots. Such an equation being reduced (as it always may be) by suitable transformations to that state in which the roots shall be whole numbers, the values 0, 1, 2, 3, &c., are substituted for the unknown quantity, and the corresponding values of the equation ascertained. From these a sufficient number of differences being derived, they are set upon the machine. The machine being then put in motion, the table axis will exhibit the successive values of the formula, corresponding to the substitutions of the successive whole numbers for the unknown quantity: at length the number exhibited on the table axis will be 0, which will evidently correspond to a root of the equation. By previous adjustment, the bell of the table axis will in this case ring and give notice of the exhibition of the value of the root in another part of the machinery.

If the equation have imaginary roots, the formula being necessarily a maximum or minimum on the occurrence of such roots, the first difference will become nothing; and the dials of that axis will under such circumstances present 0 to the respective indices. By previous adjustment, the bell of this axis would here give notice of a pair of imaginary roots.

Mr Colebrooke speculates on the probable extension of these powers of the machine: 'It may not therefore be deemed too 'sanguine an anticipation when I express the hope that an instru-

'ment which, in its simpler form, attains to the extraction of 'roots of numbers, and approximates to the roots of equations, 'may, in a more advanced state of improvement, rise to the ap- 'proximate solution of algebraic equations of elevated degrees. I 'refer to solutions of such equations proposed by La Grange, and 'more recently by other annalists, which involve operations too 'tedious and intricate for use, and which must remain without 'efficacy, unless some mode be devised of abridging the labour, or 'facilitating the means of its performance. In any case this engine 'tends to lighten the excessive and accumulating burden of arith- 'metical application of mathematical formulæ, and to relieve the 'progress of science from what is justly termed by the author of 'this invention, the overwhelming encumbrance of numerical 'detail.'

Although there are not more than eighteen figure wheels on each axis, and therefore it might be supposed that the machinery was capable of calculating only to the extent of eighteen decimal places; yet there are contrivances connected with it, by which, in two successive calculations, it will be possible to calculate even to the extent of thirty decimal places. Its powers, therefore, in this respect, greatly exceed any which can be required in practical science. It is also remarkable, that the machinery is capable of producing the calculated results *true to the last figure*. We have already explained, that when the figure which would follow the last is greater than 4, then it would be necessary to increase the last figure by 1; since the excess of the calculated number above the true value would in such case be less than its defect from it would be, had the regularly computed final figure been adopted: this is a precaution necessary in all numerical tables, and it is one which would hardly have been expected to be provided for in the calculating machinery.

As might be expected in a mechanical undertaking of such complexity and novelty, many practical difficulties have since its commencement been encountered and surmounted. It might have been foreseen, that many expedients would be adopted and carried into effect, which farther experiments would render it necessary to reject; and thus a large source of additional expense could scarcely fail to be produced. To a certain extent this has taken place; but owing to the admirable system of mechanical drawings, which in every instance Mr Babbage has caused to be made, and owing to his own profound acquaintance with the practical working of the most complicated mechanism, he has been able to predict in every case what the result of any contrivance would be, as perfectly from the drawing, as if it had been reduced to the form of a working model. The drawings, consequently, form a

most extensive and essential part of the enterprise. They are executed with extraordinary ability and precision, and may be considered as perhaps the best specimens of mechanical drawings which have ever been executed. It has been on these, and on these only, that the work of invention has been bestowed. In these, all those progressive modifications suggested by consideration and study have been made; and it was not until the inventor was fully satisfied with the result of any contrivance, that he had it reduced to a working form. The whole of the loss which has been incurred by the necessarily progressive course of invention, has been the expense of rejected drawings. Nothing can perhaps more forcibly illustrate the extent of labour and thought which has been incurred in the production of this machinery, than the contemplation of the working drawings which have been executed previously to its construction: these drawings cover above a thousand square feet of surface, and many of them are of the most elaborate and complicated description.

One of the practical difficulties which presented themselves at a very early stage in the progress of this undertaking, was the impossibility of bearing in mind all the variety of motions propagated simultaneously through so many complicated trains of mechanism. Nothing but the utmost imaginable harmony and order among such a number of movements, could prevent obstructions arising from incompatible motions encountering each other. It was very soon found impossible, by a mere act of memory, to guard against such an occurrence; and Mr Babbage found, that, without some effective expedient by which he could at a glance see what every moving piece in the machinery was doing at each instant of time, such inconsistencies and obstructions as are here alluded to must continually have occurred. This difficulty was removed by another invention of even a more general nature than the calculating machinery itself, and pregnant with results probably of higher importance. This invention consisted in the contrivance of a scheme of *mechanical notation* which is generally applicable to all machinery whatsoever; and which is exhibited on a table or plan consisting of two distinct sections. In the first is traced, by a peculiar system of signs, the origin of every motion which takes place throughout the machinery; so that the mechanist or inventor is able, by moving his finger along a certain line, to follow out the motion of every piece from effect to cause, until he arrives at the prime mover. The same sign which thus indicates the *source* of motion indicates likewise the *species* of motion, whether it be continuous or reciprocating, circular or progressive, &c. The same system of signs further indicates the nature of the mechanical connexion between the mover and the

thing moved, whether it be permanent and invariable (as between the two arms of a lever), or whether the mover and the moved are separate and independent pieces, as is the case when a pinion drives a wheel; also whether the motion of one piece necessarily implies the motion of another; or when such motion in the one is interrupted, and in the other continuous, &c.

The second section of the table divides the time of a complete period of the machinery into any required number of parts; and it exhibits in a map, as it were, that which every part of the machine is doing at each moment of time. In this way, incompatibility in the motions of different parts is rendered perceptible at a glance. By such means the contriver of machinery is not merely prevented from introducing into one part of the mechanism any movement inconsistent with the simultaneous action of the other parts; but when he finds that the introduction of any particular movement is necessary for his purpose, he can easily and rapidly examine the whole range of the machinery during one of its periods, and can find by inspection whether there is any, and what portion of time, at which no motion exists incompatible with the desired one, and thus discover a *niche*, as it were, in which to place the required movement. A further and collateral advantage consists in placing it in the power of the contriver to exercise the utmost possible economy of *time* in the application of his moving power. For example, without some instrument of mechanical enquiry equally powerful with that now described, it would be scarcely possible, at least in the first instance, so to arrange the various movements that they should be all executed in the least possible number of revolutions of the moving axis. Additional revolutions would almost inevitably be made for the purpose of producing movements and changes which it would be possible to introduce in some of the phases of previous revolutions; and there is no one acquainted with the history of mechanical invention who must not be aware, that in the progressive contrivance of almost every machine the earliest arrangements are invariably defective in this respect; and that it is only by a succession of improvements, suggested by long experience, that that arrangement is at length arrived at, which accomplishes all the necessary motions in the shortest possible time. By the application of the mechanical notation, however, absolute perfection may be arrived at in this respect; even before a single part of the machinery is constructed, and before it has any other existence than that which it obtains upon paper.

Examples of this class of advantages derivable from the notation will occur to the mind of every one acquainted with the history of mechanical invention. In the common suction-pump, for

example, the effective agency of the power is suspended during the descent of the piston. A very simple contrivance, however, will transfer to the descent the work to be accomplished in the next ascent; so that the duty of four strokes of the piston may thus be executed in the time of two. In the earlier applications of the steam-engine, that machine was applied almost exclusively to the process of pumping; and the power acted only during the descent of the piston, being suspended during its ascent. When, however, the notion of applying the engine to the general purposes of manufacture occurred to the mind of Watt, he saw that it would be necessary to cause it to produce a continued rotatory motion; and, therefore, that the intervals of intermission must be filled up by the action of the power. He first proposed to accomplish this by a second cylinder working alternately with the first; but it soon became apparent that the blank which existed during the upstroke in the action of the power, might be filled up by introducing the steam at both ends of the cylinder alternately. Had Watt placed before him a scheme of mechanical notation such as we allude to, this expedient would have been so obtruded upon him that he must have adopted it from the first.

One of the circumstances from which the mechanical notation derives a great portion of its power as an instrument of investigation and discovery, is that it enables the inventor to dismiss from his thoughts, and to disencumber his imagination of the arrangement and connexion of the mechanism; which, when it is very complex (and it is in that case that the notation is most useful), can only be kept before the mind by an embarrassing and painful effort. In this respect the powers of the notation may not inaptly be illustrated by the facilities derived in complex and difficult arithmetical questions from the use of the language and notation of algebra. When once the peculiar conditions of the question are translated into algebraical signs, and 'reduced to 'an equation,' the computist dismisses from his thoughts all the circumstances of the question, and is relieved from the consideration of the complicated relations of the quantities of various kinds which may have entered it. He deals with the algebraical symbols, which are the representatives of those quantities and relations, according to certain technical rules of a general nature, the truth of which he has previously established; and, by a process almost mechanical, he arrives at the required result. What algebra is to arithmetic, the notation we now allude to is to mechanism. The various parts of the machinery under consideration being once expressed upon paper by proper symbols, the enquirer dismisses altogether from his thoughts the mechanism itself, and attends only to the symbols; the management of which is so

extremely simple and obvious, that the most unpractised person, having once acquired an acquaintance with the signs, cannot fail to comprehend their use.

A remarkable instance of the power and utility of this notation occurred in a certain stage of the invention of the calculating machinery. A question arose as to the best method of producing and arranging a certain series of motions necessary to print and calculate a number. The inventor, assisted by a practical engineer of considerable experience and skill, had so arranged these motions, that the whole might be performed by twelve revolutions of the principal moving axis. It seemed, however, desirable, if possible, to execute these motions by a less number of revolutions. To accomplish this, the engineer sat down to study the complicated details of a part of the machinery which had been put together; the inventor at the same time applied himself to the consideration of the arrangement and connexion of the symbols in his scheme of notation. After a short time, by some transposition of symbols, he caused the received motions to be completed by eight turns of the axis. This he accomplished by transferring the symbols which occupied the last four divisions of his scheme, into such blank spaces as he could discover in the first eight divisions; due care being taken that no symbols should express actions at once simultaneous and incompatible. Pushing his enquiry, however, still further, he proceeded to ascertain whether his scheme of symbols did not admit of a still more compact arrangement, and whether eight revolutions were not more than enough to accomplish what was required. Here the powers of the practical engineer completely broke down. By no effort could he bring before his mind such a view of the complicated mechanism as would enable him to decide upon any improved arrangement. The inventor, however, without any extraordinary mental exertion, and merely by sliding a bit of ruled pasteboard up and down his plan, in search of a vacancy where the different motions might be placed, at length contrived to *pack* all the motions, which had previously occupied eight turns of the handle, into five turns. The symbolic instrument with which he conducted the investigation, now informed him of the impossibility of reducing the action of the machine to a more condensed form. This appeared by the fulness of every space along the lines of compatible action. It was, however, still possible, by going back to the actual machinery, to ascertain whether movements, which, under existing arrangements, were incompatible, might not be brought into harmony. This he accordingly did, and succeeded in diminishing the number of incompatible conditions, and thereby rendered it possible to make ac-

tions simultaneous which were before necessarily successive. The notation was now again called into requisition, and a new disposition of the parts was made. At this point of the investigation, this extraordinary instrument of mechanical analysis put forth one of its most singular exertions of power. It presented to the eye of the engineer two currents of mechanical action, which, from their nature, could not be simultaneous; and each of which occupied a complete revolution of the axis, except about a twentieth; the one occupying the last nineteen-twentieths of a complete revolution of the axis, and the other occupying the first nineteen-twentieths of a complete revolution. One of these streams of action was, the successive picking up by the carrying fingers of the successive carrying claws; and the other was, the successive shooting of nineteen bolts by the nineteen bolting fingers. The notation rendered it obvious, that as the bolting action commenced a small space below the commencement of the carrying, and ended an equal space below the termination of the carrying, the two streams of action could be made to flow after one another in one and the same revolution of the axis. He thus succeeded in reducing the period of completing the action to four turns of the axis; when the notation again informed him that he had again attained a limit of condensed action, which could not be exceeded without a further change in the mechanism. To the mechanism he again recurred, and soon found that it was possible to introduce a change which would cause the action to be completed in three revolutions of the axis. An odd number of revolutions, however, being attended with certain practical inconveniences, it was considered more advantageous to execute the motions in four turns; and here again the notation put forth its powers, by informing the inventor, *through the eye*, almost independent of his mind, what would be the most elegant, symmetrical, and harmonious disposition of the required motions in four turns. This application of an almost metaphysical system of abstract signs, by which the motion of the hand performs the office of the mind, and of profound practical skill in mechanics alternately, to the construction of a most complicated engine, forcibly reminds us of a parallel in another science, where the chemist with difficulty succeeds in dissolving a refractory mineral, by the alternate action of the most powerful acids, and the most caustic alkalies, repeated in long-continued succession.

This important discovery was explained by Mr Babbage, in a short paper read before the Royal Society, and published in the Philosophical Transactions in 1826.* It is to us more a

* Phil. Trans. 1826, Part III. p. 250, on a method of expressing by signs the action of machinery.

matter of regret than surprise, that the subject did not receive from scientific men in this country that attention to which its importance in every practical point of view so fully entitled it. To appreciate it would indeed have been scarcely possible, from the very brief memoir which its inventor presented, unaccompanied by any observations or arguments of a nature to force it upon the attention of minds unprepared for it by the nature of their studies or occupations. In this country, science has been generally separated from practical mechanics by a wide chasm. It will be easily admitted, that an assembly of eminent naturalists and physicians, with a sprinkling of astronomers, and one or two abstract mathematicians, were not precisely the persons best qualified to appreciate such an instrument of mechanical investigation as we have here described. We shall not therefore be understood as intending the slightest disrespect for these distinguished persons, when we express our regret, that a discovery of such paramount practical value, in a country preeminently conspicuous for the results of its machinery, should fall still-born and inconsequential through their hands, and be buried unhonoured and undiscriminated in their miscellaneous transactions. We trust that a more auspicious period is at hand; that the chasm which has separated practical from scientific men will speedily close; and that that combination of knowledge will be effected, which can only be obtained when we see the men of science more frequently extending their observant eye over the wonders of our factories, and our great practical manufacturers, with a reciprocal ambition, presenting themselves as active and useful members of our scientific associations. When this has taken place, an order of scientific men will spring up, which will render impossible an oversight so little creditable to the country as that which has been committed respecting the mechanical notation.* This notation has recently undergone very considerable extension and improvement. An additional section has been introduced into it; designed to express the process of circulation in machines, through which fluids, whether liquid or gaseous, are moved. Mr Babbage, with the assistance of a friend who happened to be conversant with the structure and operation of the steam-engine, has illustrated it with singular felicity and success in its application to that machine. An eminent French surgeon, on seeing the scheme of notation thus ap-

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* This discovery has been more justly appreciated by scientific men abroad. It was, almost immediately after its publication, adopted as the topic of lectures, in an institution on the Continent for the instruction of Civil Engineers.

plied, immediately suggested the advantages which must attend it as an instrument for expressing the structure, operation, and circulation of the animal system; and we entertain no doubt of its adequacy for that purpose. Not only the mechanical connexion of the solid members of the bodies of men and animals, but likewise the structure and operation of the softer parts, including the muscles, integuments, membranes, &c.; the nature, motion, and circulation of the various fluids, their reciprocal effects, the changes through which they pass, the deposits which they leave in various parts of the system; the functions of respiration, digestion, and assimilation,—all would find appropriate symbols and representatives in the notation, even as it now stands, without those additions of which, however, it is easily susceptible. Indeed, when we reflect for what a very different purpose this scheme of symbols was contrived, we cannot refrain from expressing our wonder that it should seem, in all respects, as if it had been designed expressly for the purposes of anatomy and physiology.

Another of the uses which the slightest attention to the details of this notation irresistibly forces upon our notice, is to exhibit, in the form of a connected plan or map, the organization of an extensive factory, or any great public institution, in which a vast number of individuals are employed, and their duties regulated (as they generally are or ought to be) by a consistent and well-digested system. The mechanical notation is admirably adapted, not only to express such an organized connexion of human agents, but even to suggest the improvements of which such organization is susceptible—to betray its weak and defective points, and to disclose, at a glance, the origin of any fault which may, from time to time, be observed in the working of the system. Our limits, however, preclude us from pursuing this interesting topic to the extent which its importance would justify. We shall be satisfied if the hints here thrown out should direct to the subject the attention of those who, being most interested in such an enquiry, are likely to prosecute it with greatest success.

One of the consequences which has arisen in the prosecution of the invention of the calculating machinery, has been the discovery of a multitude of mechanical contrivances, which have been elicited by the exigencies of the undertaking, and which are as novel in their nature as the purposes were novel which they were designed to attain. In some cases several different contrivances were devised for the attainment of the same end; and that among them which was best suited for the purpose was finally selected: the rejected expedients—those overflowings or waste of the invention —were not, however, always found useless. Like the *waste* in various manufactures, they were soon converted to purposes of

utility. These rejected contrivances have found their way, in many cases, into the mills of our manufacturers; and we now find them busily effecting purposes, far different from any which their inventor dreamed of, in the spinning-frames of Manchester.*

Another department of mechanical art, which has been enriched by this invention, has been that of *tools*. The great variety of new forms which it was necessary to produce, created the necessity of contriving and constructing a vast number of novel and most valuable tools, by which, with the aid of the lathe, and that alone, the required forms could be given to the different parts of the machinery with all the requisite accuracy.

The idea of calculation by mechanism is not new. Arithmetical instruments, such as the calculating boards of the ancients, on which they made their computations by the aid of counters—the *Abacus*, an instrument for computing by the aid of balls sliding upon parallel rods—the method of calculation invented by Baron Napier, called by him *Rhabdology*, and since called *Napier's bones*—the Swan Pan of the Chinese—and other similar contrivances, among which more particularly may be mentioned the Sliding Rule, of so much use in practical calculations to modern engineers, will occur to every reader: these may more properly be called *arithmetical instruments*, partaking more or less of a mechanical character. But the earliest piece of mechanism to which the name of a 'calculating machine' can fairly be given, appears to have been a machine invented by the celebrated Pascal. This philosopher and mathematician, at a very early age, being engaged with his father, who held an official situation in Upper Normandy, the duties of which required frequent numerical calculations, contrived a piece of mechanism to facilitate the performance of them. This mechanism consisted of a series of wheels, carrying cylindrical barrels, on which were engraved the ten arithmetical characters, in a manner not very dissimilar to that already described. The wheel which expressed each order of units was so connected with the wheel which expressed the superior order, that when the former passed from 9 to 0, the latter was necessarily advanced one figure; and thus the process of carrying was executed by mechanism: when one number was to be added to another by this machine, the addition

* An eminent and wealthy retired manufacturer at Manchester assured us, that on the occasion of a visit to London, when he was favoured with a view of the calculating machinery, he found in it mechanical contrivances, which he subsequently introduced with the greatest advantage into his own spinning-machinery.

of each figure to the other was performed by the hand; when it was required to add more than two numbers, the additions were performed in the same manner successively; the second was added to the first, the third to their sum, and so on.

Subtraction was reduced to addition by the method of arithmetical complements; multiplication was performed by a succession of additions; and division by a succession of subtractions. In all cases, however, the operations were executed from wheel to wheel by the hand.*

This mechanism, which was invented about the year 1650, does not appear ever to have been brought into any practical use; and seems to have speedily found its appropriate place in a museum of curiosities. It was capable of performing only particular arithmetical operations, and these subject to all the chances of error in manipulation; attended also with little more expedition (if so much), as would be attained by the pen of an expert computer.

This attempt of Pascal was followed by various others, with very little improvement, and with no additional success. Polenus, a learned and ingenious Italian, invented a machine by which multiplication was performed, but which does not appear to have afforded any material facilities, nor any more security against error than the common process of the pen. A similar attempt was made by Sir Samuel Moreland, who is described as having transferred to wheel-work the figures of *Napier's bones*, and as having made some additions to the machine of Pascal.†

Grillet, a French mechanician, made a like attempt with as little success. Another contrivance for mechanical calculation was made by Saunderson. Mechanical contrivances for performing particular arithmetical processes were also made about a century ago by Delepréne and Boitissendeau; but they were merely modifications of Pascal's, without varying or extending its objects. But one of the most remarkable attempts of this kind which has been made since that of Pascal, was a machine invented by Leibnitz, of which we are not aware that any detailed or intelligible description was ever published. Leibnitz described its mode of operation, and its results, in the Berlin Miscellany,‡ but he appears to have declined any description of

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* See a description of this machine by Diderot, in the *Encyc. Method.*; also in the works of Pascal, tom. iv., p. 7; Paris, 1819.

† Equidem Morelandus in Anglia, tubæ stentoriæ author, Rhabdologiam ex baculis in cylindrulos transtulit, et additiones auxiliares peragit in adjuncta machina additionum Pascaliana.

‡ Tom. i., p. 317.

its details. In a letter addressed by him to Bernoulli, in answer to a request of the latter that he would afford a description of the machinery, he says, 'Descriptionem ejus dare accuratam res 'non facilis foret. De effectu ex eo judicaveris quod ad multi-'plicandum numerum sex figurarum, *e. g.* rotam quamdam 'tantum sexies gyrari necesse est, nulla alia opera mentis, 'nullis additionibus intervenientibus; quo facto, integrum ab-'solutumque productum oculis objicietur.' * He goes on to say that the process of division is performed independently of a succession of subtractions, such as that used by Pascal.

It appears that this machine was one of an extremely complicated nature, which would be attended with considerable expense of construction, and only fit to be used in cases where numerous and expensive calculations were necessary.† Leibnitz observes to his correspondent, who required whether it might not be brought into common use, 'Non est facta pro his qui olera aut 'pisculos vendunt, sed pro observatoriis aut cameris computorum, 'aut aliis, qui sumptus facile ferunt et multo calculo egent.' Nevertheless, it does not appear that this contrivance, of which the inventor states that he caused two models to be made, was ever applied to any useful purpose; nor indeed do the mechanical details of the invention appear ever to have been published.

Even had the mechanism of these machines performed all which their inventors expected from them, they would have been still altogether inapplicable for the purposes to which it is proposed that the calculating machinery of Mr Babbage shall be applied. They were all constructed with a view to perform *particular arithmetical operations*, and in all of them the accuracy of the result depended more or less upon manipulation. The principle of the calculating machinery of Mr Babbage is perfectly general in its nature, not depending on any particular arithmetical operation, and is equally applicable to numerical tables of every kind. This distinguishing characteristic was well expressed by Mr Colebrooke in his address to the Astronomical Society on this invention. 'The principle which essentially distinguishes 'Mr Babbage's invention from all these is, that it proposes to 'calculate a series of numbers following any law, by the aid of 'differences, and that by setting a few figures at the outset, a

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* *Com. Epist.* tom. i., p. 289.

† Sed machinam esse sumptuosam et multarum rotarum instar horologii: Huygenius aliquoties admonuit ut absolvi curarem; quod non sine magno sumptu tædioque factum est, dum varie mihi cum opificibus fuit conflictandum.—*Com. Epist.*

'long series of numbers is readily produced by a mechanical 'operation. The method of differences in a very wide sense is 'the mathematical principle of the contrivance. A machine to 'add a number of arbitrary figures together is no economy of 'time or trouble, since each individual figure must be placed in 'the machine; but it is otherwise when those figures follow some 'law. The insertion of a few at first determines the magnitude 'of the next, and those of the succeeding. It is this constant 'repetition of similar operations which renders the computation 'of tables a fit subject for the application of machinery. Mr 'Babbage's invention puts an engine in the place of the com-'puter; the question is set to the instrument, or the instrument 'is set to the question, and by simply giving it motion the 'solution is wrought, and a string of answers is exhibited.' But perhaps the greatest of its advantages is, that it prints what it calculates; and this completely precludes the possibility of error in those numerical results which pass into the hands of the public. 'The usefulness of the instrument,' says Mr Colebrooke, 'is thus more than doubled; for it not only saves time 'and trouble in transcribing results into a tabular form, and 'setting types for the printing of the table, but it likewise 'accomplishes the yet more important object of ensuring accu-'racy, obviating numerous sources of error through the careless 'hands of transcribers and compositors.'

Some solicitude will doubtless be felt respecting the present state of the calculating machinery, and the probable period of its completion. In the beginning of the year 1829, Government directed the Royal Society to institute such enquiries as would enable them to report upon the state to which it had then arrived; and also whether the progress made in its construction confirmed them in the opinion which they had formerly expressed,—that it would ultimately prove adequate to the important object which it was intended to attain. The Royal Society, in accordance with these directions, appointed a Committee to make the necessary enquiry, and report. This Committee consisted of Mr Davies Gilbert, then President, the Secretaries, Sir John Herschel, Mr Francis Baily, Mr Brunel, engineer, Mr Donkin, engineer, Mr G. Rennie, engineer, Mr Barton, comptroller of the Mint, and Mr Warburton, M.P. The voluminous drawings, the various tools, and the portion of the machinery then executed, underwent a close and elaborate examination by this Committee, who reported upon it to the Society.

They stated in their report, that they declined the consideration of the principle on which the practicability of the machinery

depends, and of the public utility of the object which it proposes to attain; because they considered the former fully admitted, and the latter obvious to all who consider the immense advantage of accurate numerical tables in all matters of calculation, especially in those which relate to astronomy and navigation, and the great variety and extent of those which it is professedly the object of the machinery to calculate and print with perfect accuracy;—that absolute accuracy being one of the prominent pretensions of the undertaking, they had directed their attention especially to this point, by careful examination of the drawings and of the work already executed, and by repeated conferences with Mr Babbage on the subject;—that the result of their enquiry was, that such precautions appeared to have been taken in every part of the contrivance, and so fully aware was the inventor of every circumstance which might by possibility produce error, that they had no hesitation in stating their belief that these precautions were effectual, and that whatever the machine would do, it would do truly.

They further stated, that the progress which Mr Babbage had then made, considering the very great difficulties to be overcome in an undertaking of so novel a kind, fully equalled any expectations that could reasonably have been formed; and that although several years had elapsed since the commencement of the undertaking, yet when the necessity of constructing plans, sections, elevations, and working drawings of every part; of constructing, and in many cases inventing, tools and machinery of great expense and complexity, necessary to form with the requisite precision parts of the apparatus differing from any which had previously been introduced in ordinary mechanical works; of making many trials to ascertain the value of each proposed contrivance; of altering, improving, and simplifying the drawings; —that, considering all these matters, the Committee, instead of feeling surprise at the time which the work has occupied, felt more disposed to wonder at the possibility of accomplishing so much.

The Committee expressed their confident opinion of the adequacy of the machinery to work under all the friction and strain to which it can be exposed; of its durability, strength, solidity, and equilibrium; of the prevention of, or compensation for, wear by friction; of the accuracy of the various adjustments; and of the judgment and discretion displayed by the inventor, in his determination to admit into the mechanism nothing but the very best and most finished workmanship; as a contrary course would have been false economy, and might have led to the loss of the whole capital expended on it.

Finally, considering all that had come before them, and

relying on the talent and skill displayed by Mr Babbage as a mechanist in the progress of this arduous undertaking, not less for what remained, than on the matured and digested plan and admirable execution of what is completed, the Committee did not hesitate to express their opinion, that in the then state of the engine, they regarded it as likely to fulfil the expectations entertained of it by its inventor.

This report was printed in the commencement of the year 1829. From that time until the beginning of the year 1833, the progress of the work has been slow and interrupted. Meanwhile many unfounded rumours have obtained circulation as to the course adopted by Government in this undertaking; and as to the position in which Mr Babbage stands with respect to it. We shall here state, upon authority on which the most perfect reliance may be placed, what have been the actual circumstances of the arrangement which has been made, and of the steps which have been already taken.

Being advised that the objects of the projected machinery were of paramount national importance to a maritime country, and that, from its nature, it could never be undertaken with advantage by any individual as a pecuniary speculation, Government determined to engage Mr Babbage to construct the calculating engine for the nation. It was then thought that the work could be completed in two or three years; and it was accordingly undertaken on this understanding about the year 1821, and since then has been in progress. The execution of the workmanship was confided to an engineer by whom all the subordinate workmen were employed, and who supplied for the work the requisite tools and other machinery; the latter being his own property, and not that of Government. This engineer furnished, at intervals, his accounts, which were duly audited by proper persons appointed for that purpose. It was thought advisable—with a view, perhaps, to invest Mr Babbage with a more strict authority over the subordinate agents—that the payments of these accounts of the engineer should pass through his hands. The amount was accordingly from time to time issued to him by the Treasury, and paid over to the engineer. This circumstance has given rise to reports, that he has received considerable sums of money as a remuneration for his skill and labour in inventing and constructing this machinery. Such reports are altogether destitute of truth. He has received, neither directly nor indirectly, any remuneration whatever;—on the contrary, owing to various official delays in the issues of money from the Treasury for the payment of the engineer, he has frequently been obliged to advance these payments himself, that the work might proceed

without interruption. Had he not been enabled to do this from his private resources, it would have been impossible that the machinery could have arrived at its present advanced state.

It will be a matter of regret to every friend of science to learn, that, notwithstanding such assistance, the progress of the work has been suspended, and the workmen dismissed for more than a year and a half; nor does there at the present moment appear to be any immediate prospect of its being resumed. What the causes may be of a suspension so extraordinary, of a project of such great national and universal interest,—in which the country has already invested a sum of such serious amount as L.15,000, —is a question which will at once suggest itself to every mind; and is one to which, notwithstanding frequent enquiries in quarters from which correct information might be expected, we have not been able to obtain any satisfactory answer. It is not true, we are assured, that the Government object to make the necessary payments, or even advances, to carry on the work. It is not true, we also are assured, that any practical difficulty has arisen in the construction of the mechanism;—on the contrary, the drawings of all the parts of it are completed, and may be inspected by any person appointed on the part of Government to examine them.* Mr Babbage is known as a man of unwearied activity, and aspiring ambition. Why, then, it may be asked, is it that he, seeing his present reputation and future fame depending in so great a degree upon the successful issue of this undertaking, has nevertheless allowed it to stand still for so long a period, without distinctly pointing out to Government the course which they should adopt to remove the causes of delay? Had he done this (which we consider to be equally due to the nation and to himself), he would have thrown upon Government and its agents the whole responsibility for the delay and consequent loss; but we believe he has not done so. On the contrary, it is said that he has of late almost withdrawn from all interference on the subject, either with the Government or the engineer. Does not Mr Babbage

* Government has erected a fire-proof building, in which it is intended that the calculating machinery shall be placed when completed. In this building are now deposited the large collection of drawings, containing the designs, not only of the part of the machinery which has been already constructed, but what is of much greater importance, of those parts which have not yet been even modelled. It is gratifying to know that Government has shown a proper solicitude for the preservation of those precious but perishable documents, the loss or destruction of which would, in the event of the death of the inventor, render the completion of the machinery impracticable.

perceive the inference which the world will draw from this course of conduct? Does he not see that they will impute it to a distrust of his own power, or even to a consciousness of his own inability to complete what he has begun? We feel assured that such is not the case; and we are anxious, equally for the sake of science, and for Mr Babbage's own reputation, that the mystery—for such it must be regarded—should be cleared up; and that all obstructions to the progress of the undertaking should immediately be removed. Does this supineness and apparent indifference, so incompatible with the known character of Mr Babbage, arise from any feeling of dissatisfaction at the existing arrangements between himself and the Government? If such be the actual cause of the delay, (and we believe that, in some degree, it is so,) we cannot refrain from expressing our surprise that he does not adopt the candid and straightforward course of declaring the grounds of his discontent, and explaining the arrangement which he desires to be adopted. We do not hesitate to say, that every reasonable accommodation and assistance ought to be afforded him. But if he will pertinaciously abstain from this, to our minds, obvious and proper course, then it is surely the duty of Government to appoint proper persons to enquire into and report upon the present state of the machinery; to ascertain the causes of its suspension; and to recommend such measures as may appear to be most effectual to ensure its speedy completion. If they do not by such means succeed in putting the project in a state of advancement, they will at least shift from themselves all responsibility for its suspension.

ART. II.—*The Poetical Works of* Anne Radcliffe. *St Alban's Abbey; a Metrical Romance. With other Poems.* 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1834.

BOOKSELLERS are certainly a peculiar people, and do venture to play very fantastic tricks before the public. Here are two volumes given to the world—as if for the first time—without a hint of their having ever appeared before—bearing with all solemnity the date of 1834 on the titlepage; and yet these self-same sheets were printed and published in 1826. So palpable indeed is the patchwork, that what ought to be the first page of the first volume, is actually page ninety-first; the truth being, that all these poems were appended to Mrs Radcliffe's posthu-

mous romance of *Gaston de Blondeville.* The tale occupied two volumes, and ninety pages of the third; the remaining volume and a half being occupied with the sheets which are now 'done up' in these two volumes, bearing the date of 1834. The publisher, in short, has disjoined them from the romance, and has sent them forth in a new cover, apparently in the expectation that the oblivious public would receive them as a new arrival.

We do not much quarrel, however, with their appearance. Their merits are certainly not high; but were they less than they are, they would still be received with grateful interest, as the last relic of a highly-gifted and amiable mind, which, in its day, exercised no mean influence over the spirit of literature, and the charm of whose productions has perhaps been acknowledged more universally, and with less dispute, than that of any other English writer of fiction. Tastes have no doubt greatly altered since the days when each successive tale of mystery from her pen was hailed with curiosity and delight; another people have arisen that know not Joseph; other principles of composition, other objects of interest, have superseded, in novel-writing, the stimulus of wonder and superstitious fear; nor, with the exception of the anonymous romance of *Forman* (which we recollect perusing with deep interest, and which, though its name is probably unknown to most of our readers, we had the satisfaction of finding had been a favourite with Sir Walter Scott), and the wild creations of Maturin, in his *Montorio* and *Melmoth*, has any author of superior talent for a long time past ventured to strike the chord which had, in her hands, been made to discourse such eloquent music. Yet there is a charm in her compositions which can never entirely fade; and *she* need have little apprehension for her posthumous fame, whose romances have been praised by Sheridan, commented on with admiration by Fox, placed by Scott among the *élite* of English fiction, and associated by Byron with the works of Shakspeare, Otway, and Schiller, as having stamped upon his mind, by anticipation, the image of the City of the Sea.*

Mrs Radcliffe has shared the fate of many an inventor. She has been made answerable for the sins of her imitators; and the just tribute to which she was entitled, as having opened up an original walk in composition, has been withheld, from disgust at the extravagances of the 'rabble rout' who had rushed in after her, filling every dingle and bushy dell of that wild wood into

* *Childe Harold,* canto iv., st. 18.

which she had forced an entrance. Not perceiving that the very effect of her romances was dependent on the skill with which she knew how to relax, as well as to press, the springs of terror and suspense;—to transport the reader, wearied with the darkness visible of Apennine castles, or the scenes of torture in the vaults of the Inquisition, to the moon-illumined streets of Venice, or the sunset dance by the Bay of Naples;—from the fierce encounters of condottieri, to the quiet and mournful solitude of Le Blanc or La Vallee—they laboured to eclipse her in her own field by the simple expedient of crowding wonders and terrors on each other without an interval of repose. In their hands, her 'dreary passages,' always too long, now became ten times longer and more intricate; the castles more and more perplexing in their architecture; the *personnel* of the robbers more truculent; the gleam of daggers more incessant; the faces of the monks more cadaverous; and the visits of ghosts so unjustifiably obtrusive, that they came at length to be viewed with as much indifference by the reader as they were of old by Aubrey or Dr Dee. No wonder if this school of romance—which, resting as it undoubtedly does, at the best, on no very elevated sources of interest, requires peculiar caution and dexterity in the handling of its materials—should soon have fallen into utter discredit, from the coarse, bungling workmanship of its disciples, and should now recall to our recollection little else than a mass of puerile and revolting absurdity, into the perusal of which we are ashamed to think that, even in boyish days, we should ever have been betrayed.

But Mrs Radcliffe was as truly an inventor, a great and original writer in the department she had struck out for herself—whether that department was of the highest kind or not—as the Richardsons, Fieldings, and Smolletts, whom she succeeded and for a time threw into the shade; or the Ariosto of the North, before whom her own star has paled its ineffectual fires. The passion of fear,—'the latent sense of supernatural awe, and curiosity con-'cerning whatever is hidden and mysterious'—these were themes and sources of interest which, prior to the appearance of her tales, could scarcely be said to be touched on. The *Castle of Otranto* was too obviously a mere caprice of imagination; its gigantic helmets, its pictures descending from their frames, its spectral figures dilating themselves in the moonlight to the height of the castle battlements—if they did not border on the ludicrous, no more impressed the mind with any feeling of awe, than the enchantments and talismans, the genii and peris, of the *Arabian Nights.* A nearer approach to the proper tone of feeling, was made in the *Old English Baron;* but while it

must be admitted that Mrs Radcliffe's principle of composition was, to a certain degree, anticipated in that clever production, nothing can illustrate more strongly the superiority of her powers, the more poetical character of her mind, than a comparison of the way in which, in these different works, the principle is wrought out;—the comparative boldness and rudeness of Clara Reeve's modes of exciting superstitious emotions, as contrasted with the profound art, the multiplied resources, the dexterous display and concealment, the careful study of that class of emotions on which she was to operate, which Mrs Radcliffe displays in her supernatural machinery. Certainly never before or since did any one more accurately perceive the point to which imagination might be wrought up, by a series of hints, glimpses, or half-heard sounds, consistently at the same time with pleasurable emotion, and with the continuance of that very state of curiosity and awe which had been thus created. The clang of a distant door, a footfall on the stair, a half-effaced stain of blood, a strain of music floating over a wood, or round some decaying chateau —nay, a very 'rat behind the arras,' become in her hands invested with a mysterious dignity; so finely has the mind been attuned to sympathize with the terrors of the sufferer, by a train of minute details and artful contrasts, in which all sights and sounds combine to awaken and render the feeling more intense. Yet her art is even more visible in what she conceals than in what she displays. 'One shade the more, one ray the less,' would have left the picture in darkness; but to have let in any farther the garish light of day upon her mysteries, would have shown at once the hollowness and meanness of the puppet which alarmed us, and have broken the spell beyond the power of reclasping it. Hence, up to the moment when she chooses to do so herself, by those fatal *explanations*, for which no reader will ever forgive her, she never loses her hold on the mind. The very economy with which she avails herself of the talisman of terror preserves its power to the last, undiminished, if not increased. She merely hints at some fearful thought, and leaves the excited fancy, surrounded by night and silence, to give it colour and form.

Of all the passions, that of Fear is the only one which Mrs Radcliffe can properly be said to have painted. The deeper mysteries of Love, her plummet has never sounded. More wearisome beings than her heroines, any thing more 'tolerable and 'not to be endured' than her love tales, Calprenede or Scudery never invented. As little have the stormier passions of jealousy or hatred, or the dark shades of envious and malignant feeling, formed the subjects of her analysis. Within the circle of these passions, indeed, she did not feel that she could walk with

security; but her quick perception showed where there was still an opening in a region of obscurity and twilight, as yet all but untrodden. To that, as to the sphere pointed out to her by nature, she at once addressed herself; from that, as from a central point, she surveyed the provinces of passion and imagination, and was content if, without venturing into their labyrinths, she could render their leading and more palpable features available to set off and to brighten by their variety the solemnity and gloom of the department which she had chosen. For her purpose,—that of exciting a deep, undefinable interest, ever apparently on the point of being gratified, yet, like the bird with Camaralzaman's ring in its beak, always flying before us as we follow; an ever-increasing sensation of awe and superstitious fear,—the preliminary agency of powerful passions was, no doubt, necessary. But it was quite sufficient to exhibit them in their results, and any minute analysis of their growth or action, any great anxiety to give individuality of character to the beings represented, would have been thrown away; if, indeed, it did not actually interfere with, and run counter to, her object. The moral interest involved in the actual play of passion would, at the best, have imperfectly amalgamated with the state of restlessness and suspense occasioned by the investigation of a train of mysterious occurrences, or the thrilling sensations of the supernatural. Nothing, indeed, in her tales, indicates the possession of any power of character-drawing; nor would it, in our opinion, have very materially increased their fascination, if her personages had been discriminated by more characteristic traits. For her object it was quite sufficient, that as the representations of classes, their leading outlines should be sketched with a firm and spirited hand; that the heroine in white satin should be duly supported by the confidante in white muslin; that the bandit chief of the Apennines wore his mantle and plume with a true Salvatoresque grace; that the demure look or villanous scowl of the monk was touched in by a few decided and striking traits; that the chattering attendant, the thick-witted peasant, the thoughtless lazzaroni, the brutal robber, should all be grouped together, acting in their vocation; and should be so placed and opposed to each other as that, in the language of the melodrama, the characters should 'form a picture,' upon the most received principles of stage effect. Mrs Radcliffe's romances are to the tales of her predecessors, what the pictures of Martin are to those of the ordinary masters in historical painting. In Martin's pictures, how little of the effect lies in the figures! The groups, indeed, are good, the mass tells; but in those slight, sketchy forms, and features indicated only by a spot of colour, what microscope shall detect the working of passion, or trace the

differences of feeling? The spell which binds the imagination lies in the scene where these personages are placed, and the atmosphere of uncertain light and shadow by which they are surrounded;—in those vast pillars of Titanian architecture stretching off into endless perspective, those colossal towers of Belus or Nimrod rising into the moonlight air, the strange radiance of the prophetic characters on the wall, the lightnings which traverse the sky, the multitudes, 'beyond number numberless,' which throng the dim-discovered background;—in all those accompaniments of grandeur and terror with which the artist has invested the scene, and in which the leading figures, though they are so placed as to assist the effect, form, after all, but one, and perhaps not the most striking, source of emotion. So also in Mrs Radcliffe's romantic pictures. The figures are there well sketched, though with a hasty pencil; but it is the scenes through which they are led, the skill with which she scatters over them her light and shadow, the magnificence or terror of the backgrounds on which they are relieved, the variety of the situations in which they are placed, and the sweet transitions from danger and anxiety to tranquillity and joy in which she delights, which give them their main hold on the imagination and the memory.

The truth is, as has been very beautifully remarked by a critic, that though Mrs Radcliffe's supernatural machinery is represented as influencing her characters, we tremble and weep not for others but for ourselves. It is on us directly that it properly operates. 'Adeline, Emily, Vivaldi, and Ellena, are nothing to us save as 'filling up the scene; but it is we ourselves who discover the ma-'nuscript in the deserted abbey, we who are prisoners in the castle 'of Udolpho, we who are inmates of Spalatro's cottage, we who 'stand before the secret tribunal of the Inquisition, and even there 'are startled by the mysterious voice deepening its horrors. The 'whole is a prodigious painting, so entire as to surround us with il-'lusion, so cunningly arranged as to harrow up the soul, and the 'presence of a real person would spoil its completeness. As 'figures, all the persons are adapted with peculiar skill to the 'scenes in which they appear, the more as they are part of one 'entire conception.'

In this light, the profusion of landscape painting with which Mrs Radcliffe has been reproached, and which most readers may have thought carried to excess, was probably adopted on system, as an element of effect. Even while it tires us, as suspending the interest of the story, it probably attunes the mind to sympathy with the coming events, and, like an overture, conveys hints and shadows of what is to follow. That her landscapes are often vague—that no two individuals who read them would draw

from them alike, we scarcely know whether to consider as a blemish or not. It is not always desirable to paint or describe too minutely;—it is a matter which depends essentially on the object the author has in view;—and considered in relation to the general tone and object of Mrs Radcliffe, the vague mist with which her towers and precipices are surrounded, the Claude Lorraine haze she spreads over her gentler landscapes, probably impress the mind more perfectly with the feeling she wishes to excite, than the most elaborate description in the spirit of an architect or a landscape gardener.

That she could paint with the firmest pencil, who that recollects the first glimpse of Udolpho, with the slant sunbeam lighting up its weather-beaten towers, will deny? Do we not actually see before us that lone house by the Mediterranean, with the scudding clouds, the screaming sea-birds, the stormy sea—the scene selected for the murder of Ellena by her father? Who cannot figure to his mind's eye that ruined villa, with its broken tower, the scene of some half-hinted guilt, in the deserted courts of which Schedoni is attacked by Spalatro? Or those enchanting silvan landscapes, dew-besprinkled, or sun-illumined, with which she has surrounded the half-decayed mansion which affords an asylum to La Motte? But we cannot resist the temptation of comparing these ideal landscapes, with which every one is familiar, with some of Mrs Radcliffe's actual sketches from nature;—fresh, dewy, bold, instantly impressing the mind with their truth and vigour;—as if she had caught, and fixed in the words of her journal, the very hues and tints of the scenes among which she had been wandering. She was accustomed almost every year to take a short tour with her husband, generally along the southern and western coasts of England, and to snatch a moment at the inns where they rested, to commit to paper the impressions and events of the day, though without the most distant view to publication. In these sketches, her acute perception of the beautiful and picturesque, and her power of conveying her impressions in language which excites a corresponding impression on the reader, are remarkable. Like Turner's, her empire is peculiarly that of the air; light and its effects, from dawn to the glow of sunshine,—twilight, or the azure depth of moonlight, as seen on the woodland landscape, the ruined tower, or the freshening sea,—she depicts with singular skill and felicity. To us there is a great charm in the brief and picturesque style of these Journals, of which some extracts accompanied the posthumous publication of *Gaston de Blondeville*, but which we think ought to have been given to the public entire. They are far more interesting, and a thousand times more graphic, than her published

Journal of her tour to Holland and Germany, where much of the original spirit of the sketches seems to have evaporated in the process of preparation for the press.

Here is a sea-scene near, but not in sight of, Beachy-head. See with what a clear and Crabbe-like truth the leading outlines of this marine picture are sketched!

'A shore of ruins under the cliffs, which gradually rise from what is called the Wish-house, a small white building, standing sweetly near the beach, to the summit of the Cape. Large blocks of granite imbedded on the shore, and extending to the waves, which rage and foam over them, giving one dreadful ideas of shipwreck. Sometimes patches of gravelly sand or pebbles, soon ending against masses of granite or chalk, between which it is difficult, and not always possible, to walk: some of them must be stepped on. Within half a mile of the great front of Beachy-head, unable to proceed farther, sat down on a block, wearied out, desiring William to go on: he was soon hid by a turn in the cliffs. Almost frightened at the solitude and vastness of the scene, though *Chance* [her favourite dog] was with me. Tide almost out; only sea in front; white cliffs rising over me, but not impending; strand all around; a chaos of rocks and fallen cliffs far out into the waves; sea-fowl wheeling and screaming; all disappeared behind the point beyond which is the great cliff; but we had doubled point after point, in the hope that this would be the next, and had been much deceived in the distances by these great objects. After one remote point gained, another and another succeeded, and still the great cliff was unattained; the white precipices beautifully varied with plants, green, blue, yellow, and poppy; wheat-ears flew up often from the beach; *Chance* pursued them. At length William returned, having been nearly, though not quite, in front of the great promontory. Slowly and laboriously we made our way back along the beach, greatly fatigued, the day exceedingly hot, the horizon sulphurous with lowering clouds: thunder rolled faintly at a distance.'

A close like this is a good introduction to a nocturnal storm, in the Isle of Wight, which she visited in the autumn of 1801. After describing a 'fiery sunset in the evening, with sullen 'clouds,' she proceeds with this brief but graphic description of the thunderstorm which followed.

'After dark, a storm with thunder and lightning; listened to the strong steady force of the wind and waves below. The thunder rolled, and burst at intervals; and often the sound was so mingled with that of the wind and waves, as to be scarcely distinguished from it. *No complaining of the wind, but a strong and awful monotony. Lightning very blue, showed at moments the foaming waves far out. Glad to hear from the other side of the house cheerful voices talking or singing.* When the storm subsided, the thunder rolled away towards the Sussex coast. This display of the elements was the grandest scene I ever beheld; a token of God directing his world. *What particularly struck me was the appearance of irresistible power which the deep monotonous*

sound of the wind and surge conveyed. Nothing sudden, nothing laboured; all a continuance of sure power without effort.'

Passing with reluctance some beautiful sketches of Kenilworth (a spot which, by the by, so deeply impressed the mind of Mrs Radcliffe, that its recollections gave rise to her latest romance of *Gaston de Blondeville*), of Penshurst and Blenheim, we would request the reader to compare the following night-scene on the terrace at Windsor, with some of her pictures of Italian fortresses. How closely, for instance, does it recall to recollection those scenes where Emily is represented as watching the veiled figure which paces nightly the terraces of Udolpho! In how many points had the romance which appeared in 1794, anticipated the realities of 1802!

'We stood in the shade on the north terrace, where a platform projects over the precipice, and beheld a picture perfect in its kind. The massy tower at the end of the east terrace stood up high in shade; but immediately from behind it the moonlight spread, and showed the flat line of wall at the end of that terrace, with the figure of a sentinel moving against the light, as well as a profile of the dark precipice below. Beyond it was the park, and a vast distance in the faint light, which spread over the turf, touched the avenues, and gave fine contrast to the deep shades of the wooded precipice on which we stood, and to the whole line of buildings which rise on the north terrace. Above this high dark line, the stars appeared with a very sublime effect. No sound but the faint clinking of the soldier's accoutrements as he paced on watch, and the remote voices of people turning the end of the east terrace, appearing for a moment in the light there, and vanishing. In a high window of the tower, a light. Why is it so sublime to stand at the foot of a dark tower, and look up its height to the sky and the stars?

'What particularly strikes at Windsor is the length of terrace in the east thus seen by moonlight; the massy towers, four in perspective, *the lights and shades of the park below, the obscure distance behind them, the low and wide horizon, which you seem to look upon, the grandeur of the heavenly arch which seems to spring from it, and the multitude of stars which are visible in so vast and uninterrupted a view.* Then the north terrace stretching and finally turning away from them towards the west, where high dark towers crown it. It was on this terrace surely that Shakspeare received the first hint of the time for the appearance of his ghost.'

> Last night of all,
> When yon same sun that westward from the Pole
> Had made his course to illume that part of heaven
> Where now it burns, Marcellus and myself,
> The bell then beating one'——

One other quotation from these Journals, and we have done. Independently of its beauty—and it seems to us to possess all the stir and motion, the breezy and sparkling freshness, of one

of Callcott's sea pieces—it is interesting as the last description of the kind which flowed from the author's pen. It was the last entry in her Journal. For twelve years, she had been suffering from occasional spasmodic attacks of asthma, during which period, the public had been told, and devoutly believed, that the authoress of the *Romance of the Forest*, the *Mysteries of Udolpho*, and the *Italian*, a victim to the terrors she had raised, was the melancholy inmate of a lunatic asylum. Not only was the story not true, but, *a priori*, nothing could be conceived more improbable or unphilosophical, since, if these tales of hers have any particular fault, it is precisely, that she all along has her own imagination too completely at command, calculates her effects too calmly and elaborately, and insists after all, to the manifest detriment of her own spells, upon explaining, by natural causes, what we would rather leave enveloped in the vague obscurity of conjecture.

'*Ramsgate, Saturday Morning, October* 19, 1822.—Stormy day; rain, without sun, except that early a narrow line of palest silver fell on the horizon, shining here and there. Distant vessels on their course: ships riding in the Downs, exactly on the sea-line over the entrance into the harbour, opposite to our windows, were but dim, and almost shapeless hints of what they were. Many vessels, with sails set, making for the port; pilot-boats rowed out of the harbour to meet them; the tide rolling in, leaving the foaming waves at its entrance, where vessels of all kinds, from ships to fishing-boats, appeared in succession at short intervals, dashing down among the foam, and rushing into the harbour. The little black boats around them often sunk so low in the surge as to be invisible for a moment. This expansive harbour, encircled by noble piers, might be considered as a grand theatre, of which the entrance and the sea beyond were the stage, the two pier-heads the portals, the plain of the harbour the pit, and the houses at the end of it the front boxes. *This harbour was not now, as some hours since, flooded with a silver light, but grey and dull, in quiet contrast with the foaming waves at its entrance. The horizon thickened, and the scene around seemed to close in, but the vessels, as they approached, though darker, became more visible and distinct, the sails half set, some nearly wholly set. They all kept away a little to the westward of the west pier, the wind southwest, then changed their course, and dashed round the lighthouse pier-head, tossing the foam high about them, some pitching head-foremost, as if going to the bottom, and then rolling helplessly and reeling in, settled in still waters.*'

These beautiful sketches have somewhat seduced us, however, from our subject; and, indeed, we have dwelt longer on them, and on our recollections of the impressions produced by Mrs Radcliffe's early Tales, because we really feel that, with all our admiration of her powers, we can say little that is favourable of her *Metrical Romance*. Even the Tale which originally accom-

panied these Poems, *Gaston de Blondeville*, was quite unworthy of its predecessors. It might have been an improvement on the *Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne*, or the *Sicilian Romance*, but it was felt as a sad sinking after the grand and impressive pictures of *Udolpho* and the *Italian*. The truth was, that the plot admitted of no developement—no progressive or complex interest. The discovery of a murder, by the repeated appearances of the murdered man, might have afforded materials for one of those episodical fragments which Mrs Radcliffe has occasionally introduced with such success, as related by some of her personages;—it might have been very effective, for instance, if condensed into the same space as that admirable ghost-story of Sir Bevys of Lancaster, which Ludovico is represented as perusing during his midnight watch in the chateau of Le Blanc;—but expanded into three volumes, narrated in the obsolete style of a chronicle, and filled with antiquarian descriptions (in which, by the by, we greatly doubt the accuracy of the chronology), the story drags most heavily. If any thing, too, could reconcile us to Mrs Radcliffe's system of explaining every thing by natural causes in her former romances, it would be to see how completely in this she has failed in the management of a true spirit, for here all her early tact seems to have deserted her; her spectre appears so often, with so little reason, and in situations so little calculated to set off his spiritual dignity,—such as the dinner-table and the tilt-yard,—that the reader at last gets perfectly reconciled to his exits and his entrances, and is prepared to receive him with the cool remark with which Hamlet greets the 'fellow i' the cellarage,' 'Art thou there, old Truepenny!'

Though any one might have naturally inferred, from the character of Mrs Radcliffe's mind, as exhibited in her romances, that she had little turn for the more meditative and reflective kinds of poetry, we should hardly have anticipated her total failure in a metrical romance. For this species of poetry, so purely objective, as our German neighbours call it,—requiring little beyond a picturesque eye, and graphic hand, or perhaps some ingenuity of plot, and exacting no study of character, and but little strictness of versification,—one would have thought her powers extremely well suited. There seem, however, to be some who are poets in prose, but whose poetry forsakes them the moment they attempt to embody their ideas in verse; and one of these undoubtedly was Mrs Radcliffe. In her *St Alban's Abbey*, she has strung together a few incidents, which are supposed to be connected with, or to follow the defeat of, the Lancastrians by Richard of York in 1455; but so miserably told, so broken and confused by tedious descriptions, that though we have toiled

through the ten cantos which compose the story, we have the most indistinct notion what the whole is about. We have some visions of battles in the streets of St Alban's,—monks gazing on the fight from the Abbey walls, alarms, retreats, dirges for the dead, processions and banquets—but the whole blended in such a hazy mass, as absolutely to defy all attempts at decomposing it into its particulars. With the exception of some of the architectural sketches of the Abbey, we can scarcely lay our hand on a passage approaching to poetry, save the following. It is not very striking, certainly, but naturally and unaffectedly told. A father is searching for the body of his son among the different biers in which the dead are placed, when a dog is seen, with a mute and forlorn look, to draw near, from one of the coffins, and then to gaze up in the stranger's face.

'A little Spaniel dog was he,
All silver white his hair,
Save some few spots of red tawney,
With forehead high and fair.
His lively eyes were hazel bright,
And mild and tender too,
And full of sympathy's quick light,
Artless, and warm, and true.
Full often gaily had he run
In sport o'er field and wood,
With his dear lord round Alban's town,
Now crimson'd with his blood!
And all for sport had sought this day
His master's step afar,
Till coming where he bleeding lay
Upon his bed of war,
He knew him through his dead disguise,
And own'd him promptly with loud cries;
Then silent crouch'd him by his side,
Faithful the utmost to abide.

* * * * *

Now as the stranger turn'd his view,
He his lost son's companion knew,
And then, the shield from which he crept,
Where he for hours mute watch had kept;
Then was the mournful truth made plain,
A father could not doubt again;
He saw his dead son resting here,
And check'd no more the bitter tear.
The dog, who late had drooping stood,
With fixed and earnest eye,
Soon as the stranger chang'd his mood
To sorrow's ecstasy,
Own'd his dear master's sire in grief,

And sprang as if to give relief
By sad responsive cry,
And even strove those tears to dry,
That now came rolling by.
Stronger no human tongue could speak,
Soothing and comforting,
Than his who dried the mourner's cheek
With tender minist'ring.'

Of the other pieces in these volumes, we are compelled to say, that their merits are inversely as their length. The longer pieces, *Stonehenge*, and *Edwy*, are very tiresome, though some pleasing moonlight scenes in Windsor Park, in some measure relieve the tedium of the latter. But in the shorter pieces which are scattered through the book, there is frequently a fine power of description, a pleasing though vague melancholy, and occasionally considerable happiness of expression. The following lines on 'A Second View of the Seven Mountains,' written during her tour on the Rhine, are full of truth, picturesque, and pleasing. She had last seen them under the splendid effect of a thunderstorm.

'Mountains, when next I saw ye, it was noon,
And Summer on your distant steeps had flung
Her veil of misty light; your rockwoods hung,
Just green and budding, though in pride of June;

'And pale your many-spiring tops appear'd,
While here and there, soft tints of silver grey
Mark'd where some jutting cliff received the ray,
Or long-lived precipice its brow uprear'd.

'Beyond your tapering pinnacles, a show
Of other giant-forms more dimly frown'd,
Hinting the wonders of that unknown ground,
And of deep wizard vales, unseen below.

Thus on the long and level plains ye rose
Abrupt and awful, when my raptured eye
Beheld ye. Mute I gazed! 'Twas then a sigh
Alone could speak the soul's most full repose;

'For of a grander world ye seem'd the dawn,
Rising beyond where Time's tired wing can go,
As, bending o'er the green Rhine's liquid lawn,
Ye watch'd the ages of the world below.'

There is much melody, and a fine twilight solemnity, in the stanzas to the river Dove.

'When Evening's distant hues
Their silent grace diffuse
In sleepy azure o'er the mountain's head;
Or dawn in purple faint,
As nearer cliffs they paint,
Then lead me 'mid thy slopes and woodland shade.

'Nor would I wander far
When Twilight lends her star,
And on thy scenes her doubtful shades repose;
Nor when the moon's first light
Steals on each bowery height,
Like the wing'd music on the folded rose.

'Then on thy winding shore
The fays and elves once more
Trip in gay ringlets to the reed's light note;
Some launch the acorn's *ring,*
Their sail, papilio's wing,
Then shipp'd, in chase of moonbeams gaily float.

'But at the midnight hour
I woo thy thrilling power,
While silent moves the glow-worm's light along;
And o'er the dim hill-tops
The gloomy red moon drops,
And in the grave of darkness leaves thee long.

'Even then thy waves I hear,
And own a nameless fear,
As 'mid the stillness the night winds do swell,
Or (faint from distance) hark
To the lone watch-dog's bark,
Answering a melancholy far sheep-bell.

'O Nymph! fain would I trace
Thy sweet awakening grace,
When Summer dawn first breaks upon thy stream;
And see thee braid thy hair,
And keep thee ever there,
Like thought recover'd from an antique dream.'

We must now bid adieu to these poems. They are little calculated certainly to increase the reputation of Mrs Radcliffe; and perhaps her friends would have acted more judiciously if they had allowed them to remain in that obscurity in which they were left by their amiable authoress. Yet we are glad of the opportunity they have afforded us of expressing our admiration of her powers as a writer of romance; and of reviving in some measure the

recollection of that fascination which her scenes of beauty and terror once exercised over our fancy. That a critical perusal of them at the present moment, with the cool eye of middle age, would probably point out to us many incongruities, and many weaknesses, is very probable. It is an experiment which we shall take care not to hazard. We prefer leaving them as they float at present in our memory, here and there freshly remembered in their better parts, the rest fading into distance and half forgotten; on the whole, a pleasing pageant of gloomy castles and caves,—moon-illumined streets and palaces,—dance and Provençal song, and vintage mirth,—aërial music floating over fairy-haunted forests,—or choral chant of monk or nun, borne to the ear over the still waters of the Adriatic.

Art. III.—1. *On Wages and Combinations.* By R. Torrens, Esq., M.P. 8vo. London: 1834.

2. *Character, Object, and Effects of Trades'-Unions.* 8vo. London: 1834.

3. *Trades'-Unions and Strikes.* 12mo. London: 1834.

4. *The Tendency of Strikes and Sticks to produce low Wages.* By Harriet Martineau. 12mo. Durham: 1834.

The publications which we have enumerated at the head of this article are only a selection from amongst those which the present crisis in the history of our labouring population has called into existence. Not that the combinations at present subsisting among workmen in various branches of industry, and the Unions into which they are formed, appear to offer any new features of real danger, which should render them subjects of greater apprehension to the community than former associations of the same nature, which have long lasted, and frequently assumed for a time a threatening aspect and character. But they have acquired additional interest in the eyes of all, and in those of the timid great additional importance, from the turbulent state of so large a portion of the manufacturing population in France; from the new language held by their leaders; and, above all, from their approximation towards the co-operative doctrines which a few zealous speculators have so long preached, and with such little success. Until within the last few years, Unions among workmen had no other ostensible object than that which was the real one,—the establishment or mainte-

nance of a fixed rate of wages in a particular employment. Now the writers and orators of these associations often assume a higher tone; they proclaim war against capitalists in general; and hold out the grand project of dividing profits among that class of producers which at present furnishes labour and receives wages,—a project which of course implies a complete social as well as political revolution. For our parts, we believe these visionary schemes, and the applause they have met with, rather to betoken the failing hopes and desperate condition of many of the combinations, the supporters of which require to have their expectations kept alive by extravagant delusion. Those Unions which have been most successful in effecting their immediate object of raising wages, and have consequently been most injurious to our manufactures, and most detrimental to the trade of the towns in which they were established, have always wrought in comparative silence, and confined their exertions to the accomplishment of their particular design, avoiding, above all things, political discussion.* All schemes of a more extended character have hitherto signally failed; and when experience shall have accumulated more materials, it will no doubt be a service to the public, if some writer, as well qualified for the purpose as those we are now reviewing, will present us with a sketch of the circumstances and causes of their failure; of the decline of those various co-operative societies which have been established in London and elsewhere; and of the recent unsuccessful attempt, on the part of the Derby workmen, to establish mills of their own, and commence trading as capitalists. But the late overtures of alliance between the Lodges of the Unions and the zealots of the levelling school in politics, have, of course, given an apparent degree of importance to the former, and attracted more general notice to their proceedings. Above all, however, the recent great strike among the tailors, in London and its vicinity, which lasted more than two months, by bringing the inconvenience of the present differences between masters and men home to the feelings of every one who wears a coat, has had the effect of drawing public attention, in an unprecedented degree, to the subject before us.

The work of Colonel Torrens is chiefly valuable for its exposing, in a clear and forcible style, the fallacy of maintaining that combinations, whether among masters or men, can regulate wages,

* It is said that at a recent and famous Liverpool election, the members of a trade agreed to divide their suffrages equally between the candidates, and that the sum of L.1600 was in consequence received and paid into the common stock.

except for a very limited extent in time or space. His reasonings bear the same relation to those of more practical writers on the subject, which the deductions of pure mathematical science bear to their evidences in the operations of nature. It is both curious and instructive, first to trace the unerring principle, and then to examine the obscure and tortuous ways in which the problem is circumstantially worked out, and that same result produced in real life at which the philosopher had arrived by abstraction within the walls of his closet. But we have space only for a very brief analysis of the Colonel's arguments.

Suppose, to take the most favourable case of combination among the masters, that in all trades a forced reduction took place, and in all trades an increase of profit followed. The necessary result—if that increase is to be maintained—must be, that all the additional income of the masters must be spent unproductively. The first who should employ part of his profit as additional capital, must bid for fresh hands, must consequently raise wages, and break up the combination. By working out the details of this principle, and tracing the phenomena which would appear in combinations limited to particular trades, the writer has shown convincingly, to use the words of his conclusion, 'that an effectual combination for the reduction of wages 'cannot by possibility exist.'

To pass to the effects of a combination to raise wages: The maximum of wages, in any given time or country, we must assume to be that point above which wages cannot rise, without reducing the lowest rate of profit at which the capitalist can continue the work of production. Suppose the actual rate of profit to be 10 per cent; the lowest possible rate of profit 7 per cent. The labourers, by combining, might reduce profits 3 per cent before production would cease. But the moment in which the number of competitors for employment increased, or the moment in which foreign competition lowered the cost of the article to the consumer, would see the ruin of the combination begun. In the first case, wages would fall and profits rise; in the second, wages would fall and profits remain stationary. And this is the only practical view in which the question affects the industry of England; for no Union among the workmen can check the pressure of their own numbers on the means of employment, or the pressure of foreign production on the markets for English commodities.

The last position requires a more detailed examination; as it has been argued, that high wages in England can never influence our foreign trade, as long as the rate of profits falls in proportion to the rise of wages, and prices consequently do not increase. Profits being by the supposition 10 per cent in the first instance,

the English master's profits fall to 7 per cent, the French master's remain at 10. The Frenchman cannot lower his prices without lowering his profit; he will not, therefore, lower his prices for the sake of an extended market, for the plain reason that he can make 10 per cent on his capital in any occupation. This reasoning is strictly and philosophically correct, upon the suppositions which it assumes. But the fact is, as Colonel Torrens has shown, that in the case of manufactured articles into the production of which fixed capital largely enters, the rate of the Frenchman's profits would rise, while his prices fell, if he could gain a more extended market. Suppose, as before, that 10 per cent is the rate of the Frenchman's profit, of which 5 per cent is the return to his fixed, 5 per cent to his floating capital. Suppose also, that his fixed capital, his mills, machinery, &c. are capable of being employed to produce a far greater quantity than they now do, without the cost of working them being materially increased. In this case, the Frenchman, in order to undersell the Englishman, consents to reduce his profit to 8 per cent on his first cargo of goods: he may now double the quantity produced, and obtain 8 per cent by *expending his floating capital only* in this second speculation; that is, 3 per cent more than his previous rate of profit. Thus the Colonel is correct in asserting, that 'it admits of the strictest demonstration, that if additional quantities of 'raw material can be worked up without incurring an additional 'expense for buildings and machinery, the manufacturers of the 'country in which the rate of profit is comparatively high, will 'have an interest in lowering their prices in the foreign market, 'so as to beat out the fabrics of the country in which the rate of 'profit is comparatively low.'

With combinations of masters we have little to do at present; inasmuch as all allow that the dangers which now threaten our industry, proceed from another quarter. It is remarkable that some of the greatest authors in the science of political economy, should have agreed in maintaining that such combinations are far more general and more permanent than those among the men. Having made their observations at a period when the laws against the latter were still in force, and conscious of the unjust principle and ineffective character of those enactments, they seem to have written rather as advocates of the labourers, than as impartial observers. The sentiments of Dr Adam Smith on this subject have often been repeated. M. Say, too, maintained that masters had far greater facilities than workmen for combining; not partially only, but so as to regulate wages generally by their monopoly. But more recent experience must moderate the respect which we pay to the authority of names, however deservedly dis-

tinguished in this branch of knowledge. It should seem that neither these writers nor their followers had sufficiently estimated the peculiar control which the fluctuating nature of demand exercises over the resolutions of master manufacturers. If the demand for the goods which they produce pressed upon them in a regular and continued stream;—if their business was nothing more than the making a steady profit on transactions, the amount and recurrence of which were as regular as the seasons and markets (in a long average of years) of the agriculturist,—then it is evident that they might, with much greater ease, enter into such a tacit confederacy as Dr Smith has described, not to raise wages above a particular level. They might then always calculate the amount of loss to be incurred by desisting from working their mills or their mines for a certain time, and subdue the resistance of their workmen by irresistible force. But the fact is, on the contrary, that the very essence of a master's business, in most of our manufactures, is speculation. He has no power to regulate the amount of orders he may receive, or the time at which they may come. Should a combination be ever so regularly formed, for instance, between the masters of a particular town, a sudden order coming on one of them, and requiring immediate execution, would be sufficient to induce him almost perforce to relinquish the Union, to call in fresh hands, and to offer higher wages. The individual artisan's employment being (however liable to fluctuation) far more regular, *on the whole*, than the profits of the individual master, he can calculate the supposed gain to be made, and the loss to be incurred by a strike, far better than the latter can do. Add to this, that Dr Smith's sanction of public opinion, which he supposes to bind the masters together, is a very weak preventive indeed against the strong stimulus of jealous competition. The committee of a Trades' Union may govern the operatives by intimidation; the committee of a Masters' Union have no better resource than the censure of their own body, against which the 'nummi in arcâ' afford a very sufficient consolation.

Another reason which strongly militates against the possibility of effective combinations among the masters, supposing them shortsighted enough to believe that such combinations would eventually increase their profits, is to be found in the large amount of stock which each of them has invested in fixed capital, and the loss which is incurred by leaving it unemployed. The reasoning of Colonel Torrens, with respect to the effect of foreign competition, in underselling goods produced by high wages, is equally applicable here. For the same reason which, on the former supposition, would induce the Frenchman to submit to low profits in the first instance, in order to increase his speculations, the rival

manufacturer, in the present case, would be willing to give high wages, and win from the combiners the supply of the market. He would gain on his fixed capital more than he would lose on his floating capital. Hence in trades in which circulating capital is chiefly required, combination may and does take place with much greater facility among the masters; each has less temptation to overbid the other in the labour market; because any raising of wages is attended with much greater loss to him, than to the manufacturer whose capital is chiefly fixed. Therefore it is extremely probable that tacit combinations, of the nature described by Dr Smith, do frequently for a time raise profits in such employments above the ordinary level, to which the influx of fresh capital must speedily reduce them. This, perhaps, chiefly takes place in trades in which manufacture and retail dealing are combined; in which the producer disposes of the object produced to the consumer. Whether the journeymen tailors, on the occasion of their recent strike, were unreasonable or not in their demands (that they were so, few will hesitate in supposing, when it is known that the wages generally received in that trade, and which they struck to increase, are the same in 1834 as they were in 1815, when the prices of most necessaries were a third higher), there is no doubt that among the better masters—those who enjoy the monopoly profits which fashion gives—there is a combination, and that wages are in fact regulated less by supply and demand, than by the balanced leagues of employers and men. It is the consumer who really suffers, and in truth voluntarily suffers, as he is content to make to fashion the sacrifice of almost all the pecuniary saving which the general fall of prices ought to have secured him. But with manufacturers the case is widely different. Shops may be shut, and the capital usually laid out in wages, remain in the owner's pocket for a while; but factories cannot stand idle, or mines remain empty, without very serious loss. The old capitalist may hold out for a time, whether he endeavour to reduce wages, or to resist reasonable demands for raising them: the speculator cannot; he has been at a great expense, and cannot forego the return; he will therefore inevitably underbid his competitor, by offering higher wages, until he reduces himself to the average rate of profit on his fixed and circulating capital together, which must eventually fix the maximum limit of wages.

To imagine, therefore, that a combination can exist to lower wages, we will not say among master manufacturers generally, but even among those of any trade in any single town, is a delusion. Most advantageous it would be to all, could it become generally known that such is the case. The general

perception of this one truth in commercial science, would save more suffering to the unfortunate operative, and his unhappy family, than the acquisition of any of those chimerical objects they now seek to attain. For it is important to observe, in justice to all parties, that many of the most obstinate Strikes of which the history has been recently before the public, and some which are animadverted upon as acts of great injustice on the part of the Unions, were, in fact, begun by the masters, not by the men. We are aware that these instances are exceptions: that, especially of late years, the Unions have generally commended turns-out when trade has been brisk, and wages naturally high: although any reader, from the first pages of the little pamphlet of Miss Martineau, would be induced to suppose the contrary. From a wish, we suppose, to address the men in conciliatory language, she condoles with them as a suffering race, who are induced to strike by the depression of their wages to the lowest possible point. Surely it was not necessary for her thus to represent the exception as the rule; nor will men of intelligence be attracted by an exaggerated statement of their case, while men of no intelligence will be captivated by the representation, but wholly neglect the moral. But *some* combinations, as we have said, have been occasioned by the inevitable lowering of wages. The great Strike among the spinners, in December, 1830, (by which fifty-two mills and 30,000 persons, according to the statement of the author of the second and third pamphlets on our list, were thrown into idleness for ten weeks,) occurred, we believe, in consequence of the masters having lowered wages, which happened, from some accidental cause, to be higher at Ashton and Stayley Bridge than in the neighbouring district. In 1829, their turn-out in Manchester was occasioned by a reduction, the necessary consequence of the depression of trade in the spring of that year. The famous Kidderminster Strike, in 1828, originated in the same cause. Undoubtedly, in none of these cases were the masters wilfully combining; they were merely endeavouring to save themselves from loss, or rather, to divide the loss between themselves and their men. But so long as the latter are under the erroneous impression, that their employers are everywhere in a confederacy against them, it would be too much to expect, that they should not adopt the same weapons, in what they must consider a case of self-defence. To endeavour to remove this impression, should be one of the first objects of those who seek to instruct the working classes; not to encourage the delusion, as interested men have done, when, in endeavouring to force on the manufacturers their projects for limiting the duration of labour—projects which, whatever may be their value, can never be carried

into effect without lowering real wages until 'seven halfpenny 'loaves are sold for a penny, and the three-hoop'd pot has ten 'hoops'—they fraternize with the delegates of Trades'-Unions; and join in the common cry against the avarice of capitalists.

It is of equal importance to show, as all the authors whose productions are now before us have endeavoured in different ways to do, the manner in which a Strike among the workmen almost invariably counteracts itself. Not only are high wages, when enjoyed for a time, in consequence of a successful Union, usually followed by a slack trade, and diminished employment; but a still more valuable lesson may be learned, by observing, that the nominal high wages are in truth subject to proportionable deductions, occasioned by the consequences of the Strike. They are, in fact, reduced (as nearly as in so difficult a calculation it is possible to conjecture) to that amount at which the necessary regulators of wages—supply and demand—would have fixed them. This point, perhaps the most important which can be discussed with reference to Trades'-Unions, we have nowhere found so well stated as in the second pamphlet on our list; the author of which (Mr E. Tufnell) has qualified himself for its elucidation by a very extensive acquaintance with the condition of the several branches of our manufacturing industry, and sums up the evidence with equal intelligence and impartiality.

'Where the workmen have succeeded in compelling their employers to raise wages, they have equally failed to derive benefit, or even to escape injury from the change, though it is of course more difficult in this case to trace the means by which this effect has been produced. It has either arisen from the high wages attracting more labourers to enter the trade in which they have been given, than can be supplied with work, and who, consequently, must be supported by those who get work, else the competition of their numbers will beat down the advance that has been obtained; in both which cases, the advance, or more than the advance, is instantly lost: or it has arisen from the expense of maintaining the various burdens which a combination entails, such as clerks, secretaries, delegates, meeting-rooms, &c.—from the falling off of consumption, in consequence of the increase of price; and, therefore, less being manufactured, and less wages distributed among the body of the Unionists,—from the driving away of the manufacture to other places,—from some one of these, or other causes, the advantage vanishes in the moment of expected fruition, and generally leaves the workmen in a worse state than before.'—P. 76.

When, therefore, it is asserted, that the Spinners' Union, for instance, and one or two others, have, in fact, eventually and permanently raised the rate of wages in their respective trades, this is the true answer—that the actual receipts of the workman are no greater than his natural wages would have been; the rest

is absorbed in what may be called the expenses of collection. These expenses, or deductions, have been stated to amount in some Unions to twenty per cent, besides occasional levies, and this statement we should think below the mark.

'By the evidence of a large Glasgow manufacturer, given before Parliament last session,' (says Mr Tufnell,) 'it appears that the spinners in that town have applied part of their funds towards paying the emigration expenses of some of their class, and in this way have got rid of one-eighth of their numbers.'—P. 96.

Here is an instance of a body of men uniting to raise wages, and then devoting the excess of those wages to the greatest service, perhaps, which, in the long run, they could render the country, as well as themselves. But is it not probable, that had they not procured the emigration of one-eighth of their number, the whole would have found work at wages lower than the combination rate by a less sum per man than that actually contributed towards their emigration fund? The same problem might be worked out in many ways. The chief laws of political economy, however darkly they may lead to their result, are as unchangeable as those of nature; and it would be as possible to make the quicksilver in the thermometer expand beyond the temperature of its atmosphere, as to fix wages at any other rate than that at which they would fix themselves, if undisturbed either by Unions or Acts of Parliament.

But the workmen go still farther, and lower wages beyond the natural limit, in their attempts to raise them; by the almost incredible expense entailed upon them under the sort of organization which it is their pleasure to form. Societies must have officers; officers must be supported out of the common funds; and their support must be, like that of other placemen, on a scale sufficient to render their offices worthy of acceptance. Thus a large body of men is interested in what is called in commonwealths the maintenance of established order; that is, the maintenance of the system which gives them dignity and profit. Hence, in the accounts of the Trades' Unions, from which many extracts lie before us, we find something equivalent to most of the items of a nation's expenditure. They have their public creditors in the parties out of work, who claim to be supported out of their funds. Their civil list, and their army and navy estimates,—the effective part of their disbursements—are represented by the sundry items of the necessary expenses of committees, stationery, newspapers, and advertisements. Their Parliaments, like those of America, are paid, and at a pretty high rate too. An account of one of the most remarkable of these, the Spinners' Union Parliament, which met in the Isle of Man in 1829, to frame laws for the three kingdoms

on that neutral ground, will be found in the early pages of Mr Tufnell's first pamphlet. They have their courts of justice too. 'I have known an hundred pounds spent in six weeks,' says a writer in a Yorkshire newspaper, 'in deciding the disputes of in-'dividuals.' Finally, if governments have their coronations, their regalia, their palaces, and household troops, the Unions, too, are of opinion that the splendour which surrounds authority is one of its chief recommendations in the eyes of the governed; and they show a noble disregard for economy in trifles, in the sums which they lavish on 'expenses for furniture in the hall, gas 'pipes, chandeliers, painting president's chair, new top and side 'curtains for president's chair,' for axes, emblematic devices, and robes of office. But for one of the articles most prominent in these financial estimates we confess we are at a loss to find an exact parallel in those of any exchequer except that of the King of Yvetot, of whom his poet sings,

'Il n'avait de goût onéreux
Qu'une soif un peu vive;
Mais en rendant son peuple heureux
Il faut bien qu'un Roi vive.

'We have before us,' says Mr Tufnell,* 'a statement of the half 'yearly expenses of all the lodges of the Union of Mechanics in 'England, Scotland, and Ireland; in all of them the charge for '*committee liquor* is large, and in some the chief item in the 'accounts; so that we may apply to the Unionists literally the 'words of the prophet, "he that earneth wages earneth wages to 'put it into a bag with holes."'

These fooleries, however unimportant they may seem amongst the graver matters of the great question now agitated between capitalists and operatives throughout the country, are of too serious consequence, in reality, to be passed over so lightly as they may at first seem to deserve; because a full exposure of the wasteful extravagance on which the funds of the latter have been squandered, by the very men who have incited them to make such heavy sacrifices, will probably have more effect than any other argument in convincing readers of the working classes of the futile nature of these associations. In these intestine wars, the great body of mechanics fall under the influence of small côteries of artful or turbulent men; and the desire of such paltry distinctions and emoluments as a Trades' Union has to bestow, operates in raising up a succession of agents to direct to mischief the endeavours of the united body. Many, however, among the leaders

* Trades'-Unions and Strikes, p. 32.

have been of a very different character;—men who have acquired influence over their comrades from a reputation of steadiness and honesty, and of extensive acquaintance with the economy of their trade. It is on such men that writers who compile treatises like those before us, for popular circulation, must hope to make an impression. Many too hastily conclude, that, because such treatises do not appear to acquire an extensive circulation among those to whom they are directed, they are therefore useless; and that no argument except that of the passions ever makes a strong appeal to the multitude. But the seed falls silently, and if in a vast majority of instances the ground refuses to receive it, in those few in which it penetrates, the means are thus afforded for the productin and extension of the plant. The small thinking class will ever exercise a decided influence over the multitude; more powerful, perhaps, in the long run, for good than for evil. These are the men on whom the education of circumstances, and the education of books, are not thrown away. That there are many thousands of such men among our working population in every department—men whose intelligence and activity of mind are of the highest order—no one who has paid any attention to the history of these recent agitations will venture to deny. When these are gained over, and a majority of the best informed mechanics, the reign of the Unions will soon be at an end. In many of those who have exercised the greatest influence in recent Strikes, such a change has already taken place. Among the most remarkable of the leaders whom these events have called into authority, was one who almost wholly controlled and managed the great turn-out among the clothiers at Bradford in 1829. The account which this individual (John Tester by name) has sent forth of the unsuccessful combination which he commanded, has supplied Miss Martineau with great part of her materials for the little publication named at the head of this article. We believe it is only doing him justice to say, that under his direction it was carried on with better temper, better order, and less extravagant expenditure, than has been often exhibited in similar emergencies. Yet this man wrote at the end of the Strike, 'If I do 'not procure employment in a week or two, I shall be without 'the means of subsistence; but this will not induce me to ask 'employment of the Bradford manufacturers. Not that I owe 'them any ill-will, wish them any harm, or shall ever think 'of treating them disrespectfully. My only motive is, I have 'heard some of them say they should like to have the pleasure of 'refusing me work, and I am determined they shall never have 'that pleasure.' Well may the authoress add,* 'It is a matter

* Strikes and Sticks, p. 17.

'of deep concern, not only to the people of Bradford, but to 'the whole of society, that such feelings should ever arise be- 'tween those who must go hand in hand if either are to prosper.' This person, whose intelligence and dexterity are evidently such as no education could give without great personal abilities, has now not only completely changed his views on the subject of Trades' Unions, but time and retirement have so operated on him, as to smooth away all the irritation of party feeling, which he had so long shared as well as directed; at least, if he is the author of two letters published in his name, which we find in the Leeds Mercury (for June 7 and 14). We have no other authority for their genuineness than the character of the journal in which they appear, and the tone of truth and soberness which pervades them; but believing them to be his productions, we do not hesitate to say, that such good as can be done in this crisis by the dissemination of pamphlets would be better furthered by a cheap reprint of these letters, than by the circulation of any tracts to which men belonging to other classes had set their hands. They possess all the advantage which clear and plain language can give, and the writer appears in the form which finds most favour in the eyes of all men;—in that of an equal, who neither flatters nor threatens his readers, but who simply states the result of his own experience—an experience of which all must acknowledge the extent. 'If,' says he, 'any advantages 'are to be obtained—if any benefit can be secured—if any im- 'provement is to be effected—if any good may be achieved by 'the working classes of society, from strikes or combinations, or 'Trades' Unions, or any association of a similar description, some 'at least of these advantages must most assuredly have been visi- 'ble to me. On the other hand, should associations of this kind 'be injurious, and calculated to produce misery and suffering to 'those for whose benefit they profess to be intended, it is alike 'impossible the whole of the evil should have escaped my notice.' No one can have had more opportunities of remarking the profligate expenditure of the committees which govern the Unions. On this point, he gives the following details:—

'Of two hundred pounds paid as entrance-money into the Trades' Union nearly two years ago, I calculated that L.60 were spent in *regalia;* L.100 in eating, drinking, and wages for the Union's committees; leaving only L.40 for the purposes originally contemplated by the members. Perhaps some one, wiser than myself, will explain to you in what way your condition in life can be improved by the joint possession of swords, death-scenes, gowns, banners, battle-axes, and large empty boxes, like military chests, with a number of devices, of which no one knows the meaning. The bare mention of committee expenses reminds me of various scenes of profuse expenditure and wanton waste, and worse than

beastly gluttony, which I have witnessed, and always with feelings of disgust. . . . . I am aware that professions are made by the advocates of the new system, which may be aptly called the nonsense system, that all these expensive feastings are abolished, and that every thing is conducted upon the least expensive scale. But notwithstanding these pretensions, the money is still wasted by committees as much as ever, only in such a way as to keep the great majority of members in the dark on the subject. The method generally adopted is this. The secretary, president, and other leading men, swill the committees and auditors with beer, and these in their turn pass the accounts with little or no examination. If peculation be discovered, it is connived at, and a favourable report issued to the members. . . . . The instances of mal-appropriation of money, which I could enumerate, would surprise you; and the various sums, if added together, amount to many hundreds of pounds. . . . . Some few, by carefully preserving the money their wits enabled them to secrete from the general stock, have been able to commence business on their own account, and to take a part in that manufacturing tyranny which a short time before they had so loudly and vehemently denounced. . . . . The most rigid economy is professed. Your officers declare to you that they work for nothing, notwithstanding which, your money is thus shamefully and profusely wasted. A person from the west of England attended, a short time ago, a Grand Lodge Meeting in the North, and his expenses of attendance were little less than L.30. It was really amusing to read some of the items in his extraordinary bill. There was so much for the purchase of an umbrella, to replace one lost upon the road; so much per day during a number of days, during which, after his return, he was unable to work, from the great fatigue of his journey!'

We see, by the way, that a speaker, at one of the late Leeds Union meetings, charged John Tester himself with having left the Bradford Union with L.36 of its money in his pocket. The charge, we hope, has no foundation; but if it has, it only places the writer in the situation of a king's evidence revealing a conspiracy. We have only room to quote one of his anecdotes, which illustrates our former statement, as to the necessary deductions from the high wages obtained by a successful combination:—

'Six years since, the Combers of Leicester turned out for a considerable advance, and after expending nearly L.2000, they attained the object of their wishes. But mark what follows:—At the commencement of that strike, there were less than 600 combers in the town, and at the conclusion of it more than 700. At the beginning we had all full employment; at the termination, between one and two hundred must be supported without work, or they would go and turn in. Continual disputes took place between the employed and the unemployed; the latter accusing the former of selfishness, and the former accusing the others of idleness and unwillingness to work. Eight-and-twenty shillings per week were allowed me for the exercise of my powers of per-

suasion, to keep these two parties from an open rupture, and in this way to do the best I could for the interest of both. Alas! I saw most clearly that the wages could not be maintained, and voluntarily resigned my well-paid but unenviable situation, and left the town. Wages fell immediately, and men were soon working at a lower price than ever.'

Before dismissing the subject of the expenses entailed on workmen by their Unions, it may not be unimportant to notice the sums which they lavished last year in support of Lord Ashley's bill for the regulation of labour in factories. The principal part of the former evidence, before Mr Sadler's committee, had been furnished by parties in connexion with the leading body of the Clothiers' Union. This is not the place to discuss the important question which that measure involved—the question, namely, whether the law can or cannot interfere, with advantage, to control the duration of labour, or the internal discipline of factories; whether the waste of health, and strength, and youthful happiness, which those factories undoubtedly occasion, can be diminished or no, without causing distress and suffering, far greater in amount, by the ruin of productive industry. No doubt can be entertained of the pure and humane motives which actuated most of its chief supporters. But while the philanthropists promoted it from principle, and conservative politicians, in hopes to break up the influence of the Whig party in the manufacturing districts, there is reason to suppose, that 'canny Yorkshire' saw in it the commencement of a hopeful scheme for obtaining equal pay with less labour. Its chief agents were, therefore, loudly cheered on by all that designing class among the operatives, who have undertaken the great experiment of forcibly raising wages. By them it was considered only as one mode of effecting what the Trades' Unions seek to obtain by other means,—the absolute destruction of the capitalists, or their complete subjection to the committees of their workmen.

Accordingly, the Unions which then existed were set in active motion to promote the bill of Lord Ashley. 'A penny for Time 'Bill,' (alluding to charges incurred in sending delegates to London, and other disbursements, in furtherance of this object,) 'constituted a regular item in the contributions to the Lancashire 'Trades'-Union.' Mr Tufnell (himself a factory commissioner) has given, we believe, a tolerably correct representation of the reasons which induced this body to take up the cause so heartily.

'From the evidence relating to the cotton trade, taken before the Factory Commission, it appears that the spinners were invariably the strenuous, and in many cases the only supporters of the Ten Hour Limitation Bill. It is also shown, by the Report of the Commission, that the

spinners are nearly the sole employers of the children, and consequently answerable for the cruelty, if any there be, in their treatment. Why, then, it may be asked, did they not leave the promotion of this bill to those of their fellow-workmen, who could support it with a decent regard to consistency? Those, who have not penetrated their secret motives, may think this surprising; the circumstance, however, admits of an easy solution.

'The effect produced by the Spinners' Union, affords an explanation of this anomalous conduct. It has been before stated, that the high wages given in this business, cause a greater number of persons to enter it than the trade can employ, and that those superfluous labourers receive a weekly stipend from those who are in work, to prevent them from engaging themselves under the combination prices. The Union calculated, that had the Ten Hour Bill passed, and all the present factories worked one-sixth less time, one-sixth more mills would have been built to supply the deficient production. The effect of this, as they fancied, would have been to cause a fresh demand for workmen; and hence, those out of employ would have been prevented from draining the pockets of those now in work, which would render their wages really, as well as nominally high. Here we have the secret source of nine-tenths of the clamour for the Ten Hour Factory Bill; and we assert, with the most unlimited confidence in the accuracy of our statement, that the advocacy of that bill amongst the workmen was neither more nor less than a trick to raise their wages—a trick, too, of the clumsiest description; since it is quite plain, that no legislative enactment, whether of ten, or any other number of hours, could possibly save it from signal failure.'

It is not an easy matter to speculate on the doctrines or objects of Mr Sadler, or upon the view which he may now take of this great interlude in his unsuccessful dramatic performances at Leeds. But we should think Lord Ashley, for whose character and motives we entertain sincere respect, must look back with some degree of compunction on his connexion with those with whom he then associated, now that their wishes and plots have been more fully brought to light.

This is the point—namely, the enormous expenses which necessarily accompany the most successful combination—which we should wish to see most strongly insisted on by the numerous writers who are now endeavouring to instruct our industrious artisans in the real elements of their prosperity. So sanguine are the anticipations with which they invariably look forward to the result of a contest, that the history of ten unsuccessful Strikes, and of the misery, the debt, the demoralization which they have produced, would probably be listened to with less interest than the exposure of the real state of facts in a single case where similar efforts have proved successful.

As to the extent of the mischief which these Unions have done, and are still doing, to our manufacturing population, we confess we

do not quite entertain the dark apprehensions with which many reasoners consider this subject. We have a confidence, not easily to be shaken, in the versatile and elastic character of British industry: we believe, too, that the unrivalled steadiness of our men—that very circumstance which makes their Strikes so stubborn, so lasting, and so peaceable—will prevent them from being hurried by passion into excesses, which can only produce lasting injury to themselves and their employers. It cannot be denied that Trades'-Unions may exist and flourish along with a flourishing trade, so long as their demands are not unreasonable, and their leaders uninfected with the levelling fancies which now beset them. This has been the case for many years, for example, in the spinning trade, in many respects the most important branch of our industry; inasmuch as most of the processes in the cotton manufactory are necessarily dependent on it. Mr Babbage has drawn a very discouraging picture of the state to which the repeated Strikes of the workmen have reduced that ancient and staple branch of British skill, the cutlery of Sheffield. It appears that this town is fast losing its long vaunted pre-eminence; that in some of the finest articles of steel fabric, France, with her high-priced iron, and her half-developed industry, is said to be already superseding England in the foreign market! In many other towns the effects of multiplied combinations are more or less conspicuous. Many of the most respectable manufacturers at Derby, Manchester, and other places, are supposed to be planning the abandonment of their factories; less from actual loss than from the constant annoyance to which they are subjected by the unreasonable demands and rude dictation of the committees.* Not content with fixing the rate of wages, these bodies decide on the fitness or unfitness of men to be employed, on the hours and division of labour; and the punishment for every infraction of their laws, inflicted frequently without any notice, is a turn-out. The men cannot wonder if, under such circumstances, the respectable portion of their employers, those who wish to deal fairly with them, are gradually driven to relinquish the contest; and that their

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* It must, however, be confessed that this threat has been too often repeated to produce much effect on our minds. As long ago as 1807, the late Sir Robert Peel declared in Parliament, that in consequence of the combinations then existing in the cotton trade, 'there were many 'men of property who seriously thought of moving themselves and their 'capital to some other country where their property would be better pro-'tected.' The subsequent extension of the greatest manufacture in Europe has sufficiently answered these predictions, although uttered by one of those most conversant with its details.

place is supplied by adventurers of inferior capital and character, who may be willing to bow to the Unions for a while,—waiting for the first opportunity of obtaining the upper hand, and practising exaction in their turn.

There are many alleviating circumstances which have accompanied the recent extension of the Unions. One of these is, the impulse which they give to the ingenuity of the masters in the production of new machinery. High wages and dictation infallibly sharpen the wits of the masters and their agents. 'Corn laws and combinations,' says Colonel Torrens, 'have produced the same effect, of causing machinery to be employed in 'this country more extensively than it otherwise would have 'been.' We must refer to a very interesting section of Mr Tufnell's pamphlet (the second on our list) for an account of Mr Roberts's self-acting mill; of the employment of steam-power in raising materials for building; of the wool-combing machine; and of others, which have been introduced into general use within the last four or five years by masters at variance with the Unions in those trades. Undoubtedly similar machinery would eventually have been discovered and employed without such a stimulus. But it is well remarked by Mr Tufnell, that 'the obvious 'result of this forced and premature adoption of new machinery 'is to displace labour with inconvenient rapidity; and, instead of 'improvement proceeding by those gently varying gradations 'which characterise its natural progress, it advances, as it were, '*per saltum*, and comes upon the workman unprepared for the 'change which his course of life must subsequently undergo.' The new engines are put in action, not to meet the gradual extension of demand, but to replace the unnatural deficiency in the supply of labour. How slowly, where no particular cause exists to accelerate the operation, labour is displaced by the invention of new machinery, may be calculated from the well-known fact, that in 1830 the number of hand-looms at work was nearly the same as it had been in 1820, after ten years of competition with the giant strength of the power-loom.

In the unfortunate state of hostility which at present subsists between the employers and workmen in so many districts of our empire, no victory obtained by either party can be regarded with satisfaction. Whichever side wins can only do so at the expense of much suffering and distress among parties, whom the natural fluctuations of trade expose but too often to calamity. But such have been of late the tyrannical and unjust demands of some of the Unions, that we must be permitted to hope that the recent defeats they have encountered will eventually prove of service to the country. All seem agreed, that the dissolution of the late combinations among the tailors in London, and the clothiers at

Leeds, was justly provoked by their unreasonable conduct. But a difference of opinion has arisen, whether or no the masters have acted rightly in requiring from men, on returning to work, a written renunciation of their Union. It is said, and with justice, that to deprive the mechanic of the right of combining, which the legislature has recognised, would be an abuse of authority on the part of the employer. Whatever the real effects of Trades'-Unions may be, it is quite impossible that, while the liberal professions maintain among themselves a minimum rate of remuneration, and while all the landed proprietors in the country are combined in one great Union against the consumer, with Parliamentary enactments at their back, any argument can be employed to convince the workmen that they act with injustice, in endeavouring to raise wages by the best means in their power. Nor are these organized associations without some utility. They have occasionally exercised a beneficial interference with regard to the admission of apprentices. They have not unfrequently prevented masters from taking an unfair advantage of their workmen's necessities;—for example, in cases of piece-work, by increasing the size of the blocks in calico-printing. Many other instances might be pointed out in which the men have protected themselves from injustice by their Unions; and nothing can be more visionary than the apprehensions which some profess to entertain of the general association of the working classes throughout the empire. To unite in one body, for the purpose of fixing the rate of wages, the calico-printers and spinners, who make 30s. a-week, with the poor weavers, whose toil can often hardly procure them seven, would require power and contrivance such as no human authority could command. The regulations proposed at the convention of the defunct National Association at Manchester, (in June, 1830, when twenty trades sent delegates,) will afford to any one who consults them abundant evidence of the hopelessness of such a project. On these grounds, and also because it may appear impossible to put down a Union by exacting declarations from its members, it is urged that the masters should be content to readmit the men to employment without the requisition of any pledge. We are, nevertheless, of opinion that the masters have, in the present emergency, acted rightly. Although an extorted pledge be in itself of little value, yet the disgust and weariness of the men themselves at combinations, which have involved them so deeply in debt and distress, will give it additional force; many will abide by it on principle; many more, perhaps, as a sufficient plea to excuse them when they are solicited to reconstitute their Union. And should the present associations be broken up, no fear need be entertained lest, when any real occasion occurs on which they may be of service, there should be a difficulty in organizing fresh ones.

Be this as it may, we apprehend that Government ought on no account to interfere, unless, without any restrictive legislation, additional protection can be afforded to the persons and properties of manufacturers, and of operatives who desert the Unions. Some suggestions of Mr Tufnell on this subject may be worthy of attention; for instance, that of giving to the police a power to apprehend persons stationed to 'picquet' the mills of refractory masters,—although it is evident that there would be considerable difficulty in justly exercising such authority. The appeal which is given to the Sessions, in cases of summary conviction under the present combination laws, is productive of much mischief; as time is thereby afforded for the Unions to put their funds into action, and to intimidate or buy off adverse witnesses. But here also it is difficult to suggest a remedy which should not interfere unwarrantably with the liberty of the subject. The resolution which has been lately adopted in so many instances by parish vestries to refuse relief to any applicants who belong to a Trades'-Union in an actual state of turn-out, is obviously no less demanded by common justice to the rate-payers, than by sound policy. But it is vain to expect that any discouragement, either by the laws or by the higher classes, can disarm the Unions of their mischievous tendencies. Our chief reliance must be on the accumulated experience of unsuccessful Strikes, and on the slow but steady progress of sound commercial knowledge among the people.

ART. IV.—*Cours de l'Histoire de la Philosophie*, par M. VICTOR COUSIN.—Tomes 1. 2. 8vo. Paris: 1829.

SINCE the revival of learning, speculative philosophy has owed its advancement chiefly to the nations of Teutonic descent. France, it is true, has not failed to acquire fame in this, as in every other province. She has produced acute and profound metaphysicians; but she can boast no independent system of native growth, with the single exception of the Cartesian. The various doctrines which have prevailed since the abandonment of those of Descartes, have all been transplanted from foreign soils. Thus Condillac derived his inspiration from the works of Locke; and the philosophy of 'Sensation,' founded on an imperfect conception of the opinions of the great English master, was handed down by him to the authors of the *Enyclopèdie*, and firmly established in France through the instrumentality of that powerful organ of opinion. More recently, M. Royer Collard intro-

duced, and impressively taught in the chair of the 'Ecole Normale,' the philosophy of Reid and of Stewart; and at the present day, M. Cousin has acquired high reputation, as the head of a new school, equally of foreign parentage.

This very eminent writer professes a system of impartial and universal Eclecticism. But it is obvious that his mind has received its main impulse and bias from the philosophical systems of Germany, and especially from that of Schelling and Hegel. He has the merit of having rendered intelligible and popular in France the 'obscura reperta' of these profound thinkers, methodized by his own clear and vigorous understanding. His public discourses have been received with signal and well-merited favour, and have proved most instrumental in reviving the national interest in the long neglected topics of metaphysical enquiry. Gifted with a rich and persuasive eloquence, M. Cousin has succeeded in clothing abstract truth in warm and imaginative diction, without, however, sacrificing the essential qualities of method and logical exposition. Indeed, the Ideal philosophy has intrinsically more power to move the deeper and nobler sensibilities of our nature than the philosophy of Sensation; and were it necessary to adopt exclusively either creed, that of the idealists would recommend itself by the more exalted conceptions of human perfectibility, and by the loftier hopes and aspirations which it tends to kindle and to sustain. The translator of Plato, and the personal friend of Hegel, could not fail to imbibe a strong predilection for those sublime speculations, which seem better fitted to nurture right and honourable affections, to elevate the moral taste, and to breathe over the conduct of life somewhat of the higher poetry of thought and feeling, than a philosophy which addresses itself exclusively to the colder principles of reason.

The most important of M. Cousin's original works is his Course of Lectures on the 'History of Philosophy.' These have been published in the form in which they were originally delivered. It therefore becomes the part of liberal criticism to make a large allowance for the redundancy of ornament, and repetition of argument, inseparable from such addresses, as well as for the seductive influence of the station of a public teacher declaiming in presence of large assemblies. Stimulated by the honourable desire of applause, and roused to the highest degree of mental excitement by the eager attention and manifest sympathies of numerous hearers, the Lecturer may reasonably claim a large measure of indulgence, if he is sometimes tempted to minister to national prejudices, or if he even aim at present effect by gathering the materials of criticism from partial and contradictory passages, rather than from a comprehensive and candid survey of an entire work.

In a previous 'Introductory Course,' M. Cousin defined the method and general principles, which were to guide his public instructions. It is one of these principles that the philosophy of an age is the collective expression of all the elements of which that age is composed, and must be studied in the general civilisation from which it emanates. In final analysis, the historic developement of mental science must be traced to the fundamental laws of human thought; and as these laws are universal and immutable, the same great systems, or elementary forms of thought, must be evolved in each epoch of intellectual culture. According to M. Cousin, there exist four of these primitive systems. They are discoverable in the infancy of speculative science, and reappear successively in every age and country in which it has been since cultivated. These four systems are the philosophy of Sensation, Idealism, Scepticism, and Mysticism; and they are said to observe a uniform order of succession. We shall shortly have to examine this principle in its application to different schools and systems. At present, it is sufficient to remark, that there is some truth in the principle of this classification, and that many philosophical systems tend naturally to fall within its lines of division. But it is no less true, that the history of philosophy presents rather *tendencies* to one or other of these forms than their perfect and exclusive manifestation. M. Cousin has therefore often been obliged to neglect the secondary elements of systems, and to curtail their just symmetry and proportions, in order to adapt them to his artificial arrangement. His procedure in this kind of adaptation has been strongly exemplified in his view of the philosophy of Locke.

It is in the primitive and unchanging forms of Oriental civilisation that M. Cousin has sought for the earliest traces of his systems. The great question, whether Egypt or India is to be regarded as the first parent of science and letters, is perhaps still undetermined. There seems, however, an increasing weight of evidence in favour of India. Professor Heeren has rendered it probable, that Egyptian civilisation is at least subsequent to Ethiopian. The gradual descent of priestly settlements down the valley of the Nile, each having a temple for its nucleus, and a progressive filiation of colonies along the course of that river, tracing their parentage to Meroe, and bearing with them the architecture and advanced knowledge of the mother country, seems as clearly established as any conclusion can be that is anterior to positive historical records. Dr von Bohlen of Königsberg, in a late elaborate work, has still more powerfully advocated the secondary and derivative civilisation of Egypt, and has pointed to India as the sole and

primeval fountain of ancient wisdom, and of Egyptian as well as of Hellenic culture. Indeed, a comparative survey of the literary monuments of the two nations, so far as that is practicable, would lead to the same conclusion. In Egypt, there is no reason to believe that mental philosophy ever unfolded itself. The human intellect seems to have lain prostrate 'in terris, obpressa 'gravi sub religione.' In the words of our author, 'En Egypte 'la pensée s'était arrêtú à son envellope religieuse, et n'était pas 'arrivée à sa forme philosophique.' But in India the researches of Mr Colebrooke have disclosed an advanced state of psychological knowledge; and here, M. Cousin has discovered his four elementary systems fully manifested.

It has been profoundly remarked by Mr Mill, that the agitation of the dark and subtle questions of abstract metaphysics is by no means to be regarded as a symbol of high general culture. Such enquiries stand at the very threshold of human knowledge; inasmuch as they naturally arise out of the rudest conceptions of primitive religion. The nature of the percipient principle, its relations to the body, its future existence, and retrospective responsibility, are questions which may be traced to the earliest recorded periods; and are there found interwoven with what is held most sacred in belief, and in ceremonial observance. In India, as elsewhere, philosophy is first found closely incorporated with the popular religion. Its earliest developement was the illustration and interpretation of the Vedas, esteemed by the Hindoos as the revealed precepts and will of the Divinity. Thus infant philosophy was consecrated to the service of those altars, which, in its maturer form, it was destined to violate and overturn. The two systems of Mimansa,—the latter of which is more commonly called Vèdantà,—are 'emphatically orthodox.' They contain nothing that is not strictly consistent with the theology and metaphysics of the Vedas. This cannot be asserted of the two Sanc'hyas, especially of that branch which is generally ascribed to Capila; though that supposed sage is conjectured by Mr Colebrooke to be a merely mythological personage. The Sanc'hyas are regarded as partly heterodox, and such portions as disagree with the Vedas are rejected by Indian orthodoxy. In the Sanc'hya of Capila, M. Cousin discovers the first of his four systems, the philosophy of Sensation, exclusively developed; and there certainly does appear, in Mr Colebrooke's luminous exposition of the doctrines of Capila, some groundwork for such a conclusion. For though three sources of knowledge (perception, inference, and affirmation) are recognised in the Sanc'hya, yet inference is, in all the examples recorded, confined to the relations subsisting between external objects; and affirmation is subjoined simply as a prudent

concession of the authority of the Vedas. *Re tollit, oratione relinquit Deos.* Moreover, the first principle of all things is eternal uncreated matter; and intelligence is only second to matter, being produced or evolved from matter. The existence of a deity is also expressly denied by Capila, at least in the sense of an infinite being, creator and guide of the universe, by volition. Yet M. Cousin's view, though in the main correct, must not be received without some exception. For the soul is by Capila defined to be eternal, unalterable, immaterial;—an admission which is incompatible with the entire exclusion of idealism from his system of philosophy. The prevailing character of the Sanc'hya doctrine has, however, been faithfully represented by M. Cousin.

The first indistinct gleams of the ideal philosophy are perceived in the doctrine *Nyaya*, ascribed to Gotama. The Nyaya is essentially a system of Dialectics, and exhibits the syllogistic mode of reasoning, as well as six positive and one negative category. In its earliest form the Indian syllogism consisted of five members, two of which, being superfluous, were afterwards omitted by the followers of the Mimansa; and the syllogism assumed the shape invented or adopted by the early Stoics, and received into the Aristotelian logic, together with the categories of Archytas. It is most remarkable that not only the syllogism but the categories of the Nyaya should precisely correspond with those of Aristotle. The similarity is so perfect, as clearly to indicate their transmission from the one country to the other; but sufficient historical data are wanting to determine whether India or Greece is entitled to the honour of the discovery. Mr Colebrooke is disposed to decide in favour of India. The Nyaya is more than a system of logic: it inculcates a refined psychology. The first and most important of the objects of evidence is soul: it is distinct from body—infinite, eternal, and demonstrated by its peculiar attributes. Body occupies only a second place.

The traces of a Spiritual philosophy, perceptible in the Nyaya, are most distinctly marked in the Vèdantà. Mr Colebrooke's memoir on this doctrine has been published since the delivery of M. Cousin's lectures on this branch of his subject, and fully confirms the view entertained by the latter of the general tendency of that system. The Sutras of the Vèdantà inculcate the doctrine of Pantheism in its widest acceptation. They treat of God as of the universal soul of the world; and they extract from the Vedas a subtle psychology, which ascends even to the entire denial of a material world. The individual soul is an emanation from the *anima mundi;* but the various affections and emotions by which it is agitated no more disturb the supreme mind, than the trembling of the sun's image on the surface of agitated water affects

the serenity of that luminary. We cannot, then, hesitate to admit the existence of pure idealism in ancient India.

There does not appear, in Mr Colebrooke's successive memoirs in the 'Asiatic Transactions,' any indication of a distinct school of Scepticism in India. Indeed, sceptical opinions are the growth only of an advanced state of metaphysical knowledge; since they presuppose as their basis some preexisting dogmatism. In the Sanc'hya of Capila there are not, however, wanting signs of a decidedly sceptical spirit. Thus the Carica declares, that by attainment of spiritual knowledge, the conclusive, incontrovertible, single truth is learned, 'that neither I am, nor is aught mine, nor do I 'exist.' It would be difficult to express more universal and unconditional doubt than is embodied in these few words. But we must avoid the error of raising a single unsupported sentence to the dignity of a system; and must conclude that the sceptical spirit had not manifested itself with sufficient vigour in India to give birth to an independent sect.

Mysticism, the fourth and last of M. Cousin's philosophical systems, attained maturity of form, and a widely prevailing influence, in the Oriental world. Indeed, the habits of dreamy, passive contemplation which it inculcates, seem singularly congenial with the feelings of lassitude and indolence inspired by a tropical climate; and the close affinity of mysticism in philosophy with mysticism in religion, must have strongly recommended such a system to the favour of a people who were addicted to ceremonial observances, and governed by an ecclesiastical caste. The Yógasastra of Patanjali is little more than a system of mystical doctrine. It inculcates intensely profound meditation, accompanied by suppression of breath, restraint of the senses, and the maintaining prescribed postures. It teaches that the promptest mode of attaining beatitude consists in absorbed contemplation of God, and in repeatedly muttering his mystical name (the syllable 'om'), at the same time meditating its signification. The Bhagavad Gità is, according to M. Cousin, the most interesting monument of mysticism in ancient India. It is an episode in the great national epic Mahabharata, in which the deity Khrisna unfolds to the young Ardjouna the mysterious principles that preside over human destinies. It enforces the supremacy of contemplation, of a state of absolute inaction, and an indifference to all the relations of country and kindred. The true devotee reposes in undisturbed tranquillity, 'like a solitary lamp, which burns peaceably, sheltered from all 'agitation of the air.' He endeavours to annihilate all emotions, all thought having self for its object; to suppress every act of consciousness and of memory; and thus to arrive at ecstasy, or the identification of self with Divinity. This state, like the mo-

dern illusions of animal magnetism, is supposed to exempt its recipient from the ordinary condition of humanity, and to invest him with supernatural powers.

But the spirit of Oriental institutions was unfriendly to the vigorous expansion of thought. In all ages of the world, Asia has been deprived of the light of freedom, and has in consequence incurred the doom of absolute sterility in the higher fruits of moral and mental culture. We find this fair and fertile portion of the earth's surface, in the very dawn of traditional history, darkened by the shade of colossal and uncontrolled monarchies, which, wanting stability, the only element that can render autocratic power endurable, gave way, after longer or shorter intervals, to successive waves of Nomadic conquest. We find religion administered by an exclusive and hereditary caste, and, as the necessary consequence of such monopoly, confined to mere ritual observances, and lending its sanction to the most irrational superstitions; and we find a universal debasement of the intellect and of the heart, evidenced and perpetuated by the fatal prevalence of polygamy. Such influences could not but arrest the developement and spread of speculative truth; and it was therefore only the germs of a higher philosophy, that could be borne from the East to the fresh and vigorous soil of Greece.

All the elements of the Hellenic civilisation were propitious to the culture of science. The freedom of political institutions; the absence of an hereditary priesthood; the singleness and sanctity of the domestic relations; and the physical gifts of soil and climate, conspired to stimulate the free and bold developement of thought. There appears reason to believe that the religious mysteries were in Greece the earliest instruments of a higher culture. Professor Heeren is of opinion that their main object was to preserve the symbolic sense of the Theogony, which was effaced in the popular religion;—to record and to teach what the Gods originally were, of what natural powers and objects the representatives;—in short, that they constituted the true esoteric parts of polytheism. But our knowledge of the philosophical truths typified in the mysteries, notwithstanding the profound researches of St Croix, of Warburton, and of Ouwaroff, scarcely passes the degree of learned conjecture; and it is in the Ionian and Pythagorean schools that we must look for the first distinct traces of Grecian philosophy. These two schools, consequently, are the earliest representatives of M. Cousin's systems of Sensation and Idealism. In Greece, as elsewhere, the phenomena of external nature were the first to arrest investigation; and the earliest schools of philosophy were schools rather of physical than of mental science. Within the limits of physical knowledge there are, how-

ever, two distinct modes of contemplating the phenomena of the external world,—either in themselves, simply as objects of sense, or in their relations. Thales, and the founders of the Ionian school, contemplated nature under the first aspect, and therefore laid the basis of a system of pure physics. Pythagoras studied mainly the relations of phenomena, and was thus guided to the sciences of geometry and of number, which are closely allied to Idealism.

But these were only preludes to the developement, in Athens, of a new and more exalted philosophical spirit, which, disdaining the limited sphere of external nature, devoted itself to the higher provinces of mind, of moral feeling, and of the duties and social relations of man. Socrates was the leader of this great intellectual movement. There is, perhaps, no enquiry in the history of ancient letters more shrouded in uncertainty than the real character of this remarkable person, and the causes of the mighty influence he exerted upon his own and after times. His appearances as interlocutor in the Dialogues of Plato certainly fail to carry with them the impressive conviction of marked intellectual supremacy. The catechistic process of argument which he employs is tediously and needlessly minute; and the conclusions finally elicited by it are too unimportant to reward so operose a mode of deduction. The sources of his influence are to be sought rather in the practical tendencies of his philosophy; in the purity and elevation of his moral precepts; in his firm conviction of the Divine government; and of the immortality of the sentient principle, and its continued existence in a state, where it will be freed from all restraints to the full unfolding of its capabilities.

It is in the works of Plato and Aristotle that the vigorous maturity of Grecian philosophy manifests itself; and we again discover the two fundamental systems of dogmatic philosophy as fully unfolded as the Socratic sobriety and caution would permit. Neither of those sagacious thinkers has himself overstepped the limits of legitimate generalization; but their disciples have been tempted to pass the frontier, to which the great masters had so closely approached. Indeed the Platonic philosophy is almost a system of pure spiritualism. General ideas constitute the main object of contemplation; they are the principles of all definitions and all judgments. They are not derived from the senses, which are the sources only of the variable and the particular. They appertain, therefore, to mind itself, or rather to reason, of which they are the proper objects. But though conceptions of reason, they are not constituted or created by reason, but have an independent self-existence, and are therefore justly termed *ειδη αυτα καθ' αυτα*, and regarded as attributes of the divine reason. Abstraction is hence

the essential process and principle of the Platonic philosophy. Classification, on the contrary, is the prominent feature of the Aristotelian. Three classes of truths are admitted by Aristotle; those obtained by demonstration,—general or intuitive truths, which have their source in reason,—and particular truths, which flow from sensible experience. M. Cousin does not, therefore, contend for more than *a tendency* to the doctrine of Sensation in the writings of Aristotle himself; but he discovers unequivocal evidences of that exclusive system in the opinions of Diccarchus and other philosophers of the Aristotelian school.

The Middle Ages constitute the next great era in the progress of intellectual science. This period, long regarded as one of mental sterility and darkness, has been elevated, by a more exact and enlightened criticism, to its just rank in the history of knowledge. It is now generally admitted that all the fruits of human intelligence,—the institutions of civil and social polity, no less than the discoveries of scientific truth,—can only be matured and perfected in a succession of ages; and that it is vain and unphilosophical to expect in an age of preparatory twilight, fruits that can only be ripened by the full light of knowledge and refinement. The long interval from the overthrow of the Roman civilisation to the revival of letters, is mainly characterised by the absolute reign of ecclesiastical authority. In common with all earthly powers, and even with royalty itself, philosophy was compelled to bow before the altar, and was indeed solely employed in the defence of a subtle and mystical theology. The scholastic logic was involved in the fall of the priestly domination, which it had laboured to sustain. An intermediate age of transition succeeded; in which the various systems of ancient wisdom, and especially the Platonic philosophy, enforced by the zeal and learning of Ficino, and of the two Picas of Mirandola, became prevalent in Italy, and were gradually extended to Transalpine nations. The seventeenth century is the age of modern philosophy, properly so called—a philosophy, equally independent of ecclesiastical control, and of classical antiquity. But our limits compel us to pass over an epoch rendered illustrious by the names of Bacon and Descartes, and to confine our observations on the philosophy of the succeeding century, which forms M. Cousin's principal object, to his account of Locke.

In those portions of the history of speculative science, that have already passed under review, we have rarely discovered perfect examples of the four archetypes, to which M. Cousin would refer all systems of mental philosophy. On the contrary, it has appeared that those highly gifted individuals who have appeared at long intervals in the history of our race, as the creators of new systems,

are rarely to be numbered among the supporters of a limited and exclusive dogmatism. Thus in India, Capila, the representative of M. Cousin's first system, inculcates the immateriality and eternity of the sentient principle; and in Greece, Aristotle, the alleged founder of the same school, admits into his system general truths, or intuitions of pure reason, which are the very foundations of the ideal philosophy. Nor is even Plato to be regarded as a pure spiritualist, since he does not disavow the existence of an external world, or reject the evidences of sensible experience. The historical prototypes of M. Cousin's systems are to be discovered, if anywhere, in the works of disciples, who have misconceived, or overcharged, the opinions of their masters. It is only by similar misapprehension, or by the skilful alternation of the processes of pruning and extension, that the thoughts of the great masters themselves can be adapted to the arbitrary forms of this artificial rangement.

In M. Cousin's view of Locke's philosophical opinions, a devoted attachment to system, and a tendency to sacrifice to it historical correctness, visibly betray themselves. His first and prominent object is to contract the comprehensive doctrines inculcated by Locke within the narrow limits of his class of Sensation. He asserts, that 'it is an incontestable fact that Locke 'is the parent of the philosophy of sensation of the eighteenth 'century; its chief, its acknowledged master—in date, as in ge-'nius, the first metaphysician of that school.' How completely discordant such doctrines are with those professed by Locke, must be evident from even a superficial examination of his great work. At the opening of the second book, Locke distinctly announces that there are *two* fountains of knowledge—Sensation and Reflection. 'The other fountain, from which expe-'rience furnisheth the understanding with ideas, is the per-'ception of the operations of our own mind within us, which 'operations, when the soul comes to reflect on and consider, do 'furnish the understanding with another set of ideas, which '*could not be had from things without.*' Nor has Locke confined himself to this preliminary announcement of the twofold origin of ideas. He proceeds, in the sixth chapter, to enumerate some of the simple ideas of reflection; and in the seventh, to treat of simple ideas derived both from sensation and reflection. In the ninth chapter he speaks of perception as the first and simplest idea we have from reflection. The abstract notions of space, duration, infinity, number, and their various modes, are all shown to be derived from one or other of these two channels, or from their combination. Though he denies the existence of innate ideas, and of innate speculative principles, Locke distinctly recognises original

faculties, and active powers of mind, wholly independent of experience; and he has received into his system a multitude of ideas, obtained by these powers, either operating on the materials supplied by sense, or contemplating their own acts and capabilities, and consequently owing no exclusive parentage to Sensation. In placing Locke at the head of the 'école sensualiste,' it is thus obvious that M. Cousin has wholly misapprehended the purport and spirit of the philosophical system which he undertakes to subvert.

This error is by no means peculiar to M. Cousin. It is entertained by the majority of continental critics. Under this false impression, La Harpe has styled Condillac the first disciple of Locke; and the *Encyclopedistes* imagined that they were enforcing Locke's metaphysical tenets, when they advocated the theory of Sensation. Condorcet asserts that Locke was the first who proved that *all* our ideas are *compounded of sensations;* and Frederic Schlegel, under the same conviction, has charged the philosophy of Locke with an inevitable tendency to materialism and atheism, and with being essentially identical in principle with that of Hobbes. M. de Barante, in his analysis of the doctrines of the *Encyclopèdie*, has attempted to trace their origin to the 'philosophie superficielle de Locke,' which he comprehends with them in one general sentence of condemnation. It cannot fail to excite much surprise in this country, that the principles of a system, which constitutes so prominent an era in the intellectual progress of mankind;—which, during the lifetime of the author, became the subject of much controversy and critical scrutiny both at home and abroad; and which, moreover, was first communicated to the learned world in a foreign language, and through the medium of the widely diffused journal of Le Clerc,—should have been so essentially misconceived, not only by adversaries, but by those who believed themselves to be the disciples of Locke. It may be suspected that many of his continental critics have derived their knowledge of his philosophy from the works of foreign disciples, who have deviated widely from the principles taught by their master. But M. Cousin has evidently collected the materials of his survey from an examination of the writings of Locke himself. He has noticed the frequent inconsistencies arising from Locke's desultory and illogical style, and has acknowledged the consequent propriety of observing limitations in criticism, which he has, however, in practice, not unfrequently overstepped. In such instances of loosely worded and contradictory statements, it was clearly incumbent on a faithful critic to collect the author's meaning from an exact collation of detached passages and probable senses.

After some general strictures upon the character and method of Locke's philosophy, M. Cousin advances to the analysis of individual ideas, and first of that of Space. Locke's definition of the idea of space, and his account of the mode in which it enters the mind, are clear and satisfactory. The existence of external matter, of something resisting and solid, is revealed to us by the sense of touch; and from the conception of solidity the mind ascends to that of the *space* occupied by the solid body. According, then, to Locke, the idea of solidity precedes that of space, in the order of their appearance in the mind; and is, moreover, the occasion or condition essential to the formation of this latter idea. In the doctrine of Kant, espoused by M. Cousin, space, on the contrary, is asserted to be not an empirical idea, which has been derived from external experience; but the condition of the possibility of all external appearances, and a necessary *a priori* intuition. But the doctrines of Locke and of Kant, though apparently so different, may be easily reconciled with one another, and are both essentially true. Locke is to be regarded as the *historian* of mental phenomena; he records their successive appearance and mental relations as respects exclusively the order of time; and it is doubtless true, chronologically, that the idea of space is unfolded after that of matter. But Kant describes the intellect in its adult condition, already furnished with ideas; and, neglecting the history of their genesis, contemplates their relations in the light simply of their logical filiation. It is obvious that in this aspect the idea of space may be said to be anterior to that of matter, for logically the existence of space is the essential condition of that of matter.

It is, then, sufficiently apparent that Locke and Kant, pursuing distinct paths of metaphysical enquiry, have contemplated the idea of space, each in the spirit and peculiar aspect of his own system; and that each has arrived at just, though partial conclusions. In M. Cousin's critical remarks there is much that is contradictory and inconsistent. He seems at first to have imbibed his metaphysical creed exclusively from the writings of Kant or his followers; and he affirms that the logical solution of the question of the origin of ideas destroys entirely the system of Locke. Yet, after this unqualified assertion, he proceeds to examine the relations of ideas in the order of time; and concludes by formally admitting the truth of Locke's derivation of the idea of space from that of solidity. But this concession is shortly after nullified by an endeavour to prove that Locke had confounded the idea of space with that of matter; or rather, that he had regarded the two ideas as identical. No charge could have been preferred more destitute of foundation, or even

of plausibility. Throughout the whole of the chapters on solidity and on space, Locke has preserved a steady and exact consistency; distinguishing with especial vigilance the ideas in question, 'which,' he says, 'there are some that would persuade us are 'the same.' Of numerous passages, in which this distinction is strongly stated, the following appear most unequivocal. 'Our 'idea of solidity is distinguished from pure space, which is capable 'neither of resistance nor of motion.' Again,—'For I appeal to 'every man's own thoughts, whether the idea of space be not as 'distinct from that of solidity as it is from the idea of scarlet 'colour.'—'Space and solidity being as distinct ideas as thinking 'and extension, and as wholly separable in the mind one from 'another.'

After such clear indications of Locke's earnest design to distinguish the two ideas of space and solidity, it is natural to enquire upon what evidence M. Cousin has charged him with confounding them. A single passage has given origin to the critical strictures spread over the greater part of M. Cousin's seventeenth lecture; and of this passage, which is as follows, he has misconceived the true import. 'That our idea of place 'is nothing else but such a relative position of any thing as I 'have before mentioned, I think is plain, and will be easily admitted, when we consider that we can have no idea of the place 'of the universe, though we can of all the parts of it; because, 'beyond that, we have not the idea of any fixed distinct particular beings, in reference to which we can imagine it to have any 'relation of distance. *For to say that the world is somewhere, 'means no more than that it does exist.*' Hence it follows, says M. Cousin, 'that Locke reduces the idea of space to that of body; 'and that space, in his system, can be nothing else than body 'itself,—body enlarged, indefinitely multiplied, the world, the 'universe; and not only the real, but the possible universe. For it 'is tantamount to affirming that the space of the universe is equivalent, neither more nor less, to the universe itself; and as the 'idea of the universe is, after all, only the idea of body, the idea 'of space reduces itself to that of body.' It seems very difficult to account for such a perversion of the obvious meaning of Locke. In order to derive, with any plausibility, such an inference from the words printed in italics, M. Cousin has been obliged to insulate them completely from the connected passages. It is obviously only by defining the place of a body to be the space occupied by the body, that Locke's negation of the universe being in a place, can be interpreted into the negation of space, or into its identification with matter. Now Locke, besides premising a clear definition of place, as consisting in a relation to two or more

external points, has especially guarded against M. Cousin's misconception of its proper force, in a passage immediately succeeding that already quoted. 'Though it be true that the word place 'has sometimes *a more confused sense*, and stands for that space 'which any body takes up, and so the universe is in a place.' With the acceptation, then, of the word *place*, which Locke has adopted, and which is strictly in accordance with its prevailing meaning, he is perfectly correct in affirming that *place* cannot be predicated of the universe; and M. Cousin's allegation, founded upon a sense which Locke expressly rejects as 'confused,' at once falls to the ground.

From the idea of space, M. Cousin proceeds to Locke's account of the genesis of the ideas of time, infinity, causation, &c. The line of argument pursued, and the nature of the objections preferred, are so analogous to those adopted in the former enquiry, that it is needless to reply to them in detail. These ideas all owe their parentage to the mind's operations upon data acquired from sense; space to extended solidity; time to the observed succession of mental changes; infinity to the ideal addition of finite quantities; causation to observed unvarying sequence. They are, therefore, correctly affirmed by Locke to issue from experience; but they are, with equal truth, regarded by Kant as *logically* anterior to experience, or as conditions essential to the possibility of experience.

With these observations we must, for the present, take leave of this able and estimable writer; for whom, notwithstanding our dissent from some of his opinions, we entertain great and sincere admiration and respect.

Art. V.—*Excursions in the North of Europe, through parts of Russia, Finland, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, in the years* 1830 *and* 1833. By John Barrow, junior. 8vo. London: 1834.

This is a very agreeable and instructive volume. It is the production, we believe, of a young man, the son of a distinguished traveller, who has long and meritoriously discharged the duties of an important official situation in the Capital; and contains the results of the writer's observations during two summer excursions in the North of Europe, in 1830 and 1833. It makes no pretensions to any information beyond what could be gathered by a quick-sighted and intelligent observer, in the course of a very

rapid tour; but we are bound in fairness to say, that the reader will find in it all that he could in reason expect, and that it would not be easy to point out a volume of travels, of the lighter sort, more likely to leave clear and definite recollections of the objects noticed, or more favourable impressions of the unaffected manner and compressed sense of the author.

In the first of the two excursions, Mr Barrow, after visiting St Petersburg and Moscow, returned to Stockholm, and thence to Copenhagen, which formed the last object of his tour. His accounts of these capitals, and of the intermediate towns and districts, and his remarks on the people among whom he travelled, are lively and judicious. If they do not surprise us by any thing very brilliant in description, or profound in observation, they never disgust us by affectation, or by any flimsy pretensions to depth or originality. We feel ourselves in the company of one who tells us easily, and agreeably, what he saw and thought of the various scenes and countries through which he passed; and who shows how well qualified he is to observe and recite, by the interest with which his narrative throughout impresses us. The political economist, the statist, and the naturalist, must go elsewhere for the more recondite information required by them; but Mr Barrow will not disappoint those who can content themselves with such instruction as is usually sought for by general readers in books of travels.

St Petersburg has so often been described, that we do not think it necessary to present our readers with our author's remarks either on the Admiralty, the Winter Palace, the Marble Palace, the Hermitage, or the colossal statue of Peter the Great. We may mention, however, that he thinks the latter, as a work of art, inferior to the statue of Charles at Charing Cross. At Kammennoy-Ostrof, an island about four miles from St Petersburg, which is a favourite resort in the evening, Mr Barrow had an opportunity of seeing the Emperor and Empress as they passed round in the line of carriages. 'The Emperor was on horse-'back, attended by Prince Oscar of Sweden, and the Empress 'was in an open carriage. After riding about for a short time to 'show himself, the Emperor dismounted, and walked among the 'crowd, unattended by any one. He had thrown a cloak across 'his splendid uniform, and not a soul seemed to take the least 'notice of him,—many, probably, not recognising him; and 'those who did, knowing that it was not his wish that they should 'pay any attention to him. We stood on a bridge close to him for 'several minutes; he is a fine-looking man, about six feet high.'

Mr Barrow's intercourse with the society of the Russian capital appears to have been confined to that which any traveller may

enjoy who has money in his pocket. He tells us that he had resolved to take no letters of introduction, because, though they might have procured a few dinners, they would have consumed perhaps as many days of his limited time. The following is a sketch of the company and entertainment that may be met with at the principal *table d'hôte*.

'Here in general between forty and fifty sat down every day to dinner. Many of these were officers fully accoutred in their regimentals, who added much to the effect of the dinner-table. The price of dinner was six paper rubles (or six francs) a-head, but this sum included a bottle of excellent claret. The dinner hour was half-past four *to a moment*, the master proclaiming the time from a clock at one end of the room, upon the striking of which every one took his seat. On the side-tables were placed different kinds of spirits, with bread, butter, caviare, and cheese. It appeared to be the general custom, for each person observed it, to take a glass of the *liqueur* and a mouthful of bread and cheese before they sat down to their meal; and, as example is catching, we thought it right to do the same. At table each dish was served up separately, beginning with soup, a plateful of which was brought to each person by one of the waiters; but all the other dishes were handed round by them, and every body helped himself to that which he fancied most. The Russians, like the French and Germans, partook of every dish. A large supply of ice was placed on the table, and the general mode of using it was to put a lump of it into a tumbler of wine.

'When the dinner was ended, a glass of spirits was again served out to every one, as well as a cup of coffee, and a cigar, all of which were included in the six rubles.

'Now commenced the smoking. Most of the assembly had long pipes, which were placed under the table between their legs; but some few were contented with their cigar. In less than five minutes, the room, as may be supposed, became one dense mass of smoke, and the fumes of the tobacco to one who, like myself, is not in the habit of smoking, were quite suffocating, and I always made my escape into the open air as soon as with decency I could. One particular smoker, with large mustaches, amused me exceedingly by a habit he had acquired of puffing a large volume of smoke through his nostrils, which occurred at such regular intervals, that at last I discovered that it came at every sixth puff. My utter inexperience in the art renders me incapable of conceiving what pleasurable sensation could be derived from this strange trick.

'The best society at this season of the year, when all the nobility were at their châteaux in the country, at least the best accessible to humble travellers like us, was, no doubt, to be met with here. In appearance, those out of uniform bore such a resemblance to our own countrymen, that I was frequently mistaken in my conjectures. We found generally, that if they could not speak English, they all understood it pretty well, although I remember one gentleman, on our asking him the distance to some place, politely informed us that it was six rubles,—no doubt imagining that we were enquiring the price of the dinner.

'Wherever we went we met with nothing but civility: the wish to oblige may often be discovered in little matters. My companion and myself were one day admiring a new silver coin, which we had taken in exchange, and expressing a wish to get some more of the same kind, when a gentleman, in the kindest manner possible, offered to procure us as many as we pleased, and, on giving him our address, he sent them to us the following day.'

The distance from St Petersburg to Moscow is about 460 English miles; and the road, for nearly two-thirds of the way, is said to be as 'excellent in some parts as it is execrable in others' Mr Barrow performed the journey in four days and three nights, in a coach or diligence, which carries four inside passengers, who pay five guineas each for their seat. The conveyance does not seem to be an easy one; and if the traveller is obliged to go outside, he must either place himself in the front *coupé* beside the *conducteur*, from whom he is sure to carry off some living remembrances of the juxtaposition, or in the after *coupé*, the comfort of which is compared to that of 'a seat against the wall of a shelving garret.' The post-houses, however, are neat and tolerably clean; and if the traveller uses a little precaution, he may always procure a beef-steak and potatoes, undefiled by oil, grease, or garlic. Speaking of the peasantry whom he saw as he passed along, Mr Barrow says that they appeared to be in a very abject state.

'This was proved by the cruelty and insolence with which our drivers treated them. One instance will suffice. Whilst pursuing our journey, we noticed some trifling article—a piece of leather I think it was—fall from a cart at some little distance before us, the driver, as usual, being fast asleep; after the cart had passed on, and while the diligence was still some little way in the rear, a poor man stepped from the road-side, and appropriated to himself the article that had been left behind. Our *conducteur*, who, though active, was but a person of small stature, happened to see the transaction, and when he arrived at the spot, stopped the coach, and springing to the road-side, ran towards the culprit, who was in company with two other men, and seizing him by his beard, gave him a most severe chastisement with a switch, which he received without offering the slightest resistance, whilst his two friends looked on, without attempting to rescue him. They were all tall athletic men, and any one of them might, with the greatest ease, have annihilated the *conducteur;* and would, no doubt, have done so, if he had been one of the bearded tribe. Now, making all allowance for the *conducteur's* being a kind of public servant, and the peasant clearly a pilferer, such an administration of summary justice a little startled us. But the Russians of the lower class are accustomed to be roughly handled; a beating is thought nothing of, and frequently passes down from one to another, after the manner of Captain Absolute, Mr Tagg, and the errand-boy.'

Mr Barrow's stay at Moscow did not exceed a week,—a portion of time sufficient, perhaps, to enable an active traveller to

make himself acquainted with the more remarkable buildings, and general aspects of this motley city. Few traces now remain of the great conflagration in 1812, the houses destroyed having mostly been rebuilt on an improved plan; so that the general appearance of the city has been considerably bettered by that memorable occurrence. As a whole, however, it seems still to recall the observation of Dr Clarke, 'that one might imagine all the 'states of Europe and Asia had sent a building, by way of re-'presentative, to Moscow.' Mr Barrow took an early opportunity of viewing it from the Kremlin, the ancient palace of the Czars.

'Its character,' says he, 'is so totally different from that of any European city we had yet seen; there was so much of the fantastic architecture of Oriental mosques and minarets blended with every various form of European edifices, that the eye became bewildered by the crowds of objects opposed to it. Viewed from this point, the city appeared one large cluster of churches, monasteries, and convents, surmounted by innumerable spires, domes, cupolas, and minarets, varying in height, bulk, and decoration, some painted red, some green, others blue; and those that were not gilt, were splendid in bright copper, but almost all of them tipped with gold. The pavilion at Brighton affords no bad specimen of some of the bulbous-domed churches of Moscow. On the domes and cupolas were poles erected, generally bearing massive crosses, richly ornamented with glittering chains hanging gracefully from their summits. When it is stated that the number of churches, monasteries, chapels, convents, and other buildings appropriated to religious purposes, amount very nearly to a thousand—some say more—and all of them more or less decorated with gold or paint, some idea may be formed of the effect produced by the congregated mass. Some writer, in speaking of the vast number of places of religious worship, observes that they are only exceeded by the number of brandy-shops.'

Among the new buildings erected since 1812, the Museum attached to the University is mentioned as particularly deserving of notice. It is stated to be extensive, well arranged, and well kept. Mr Barrow describes the Foundling Hospital as a very superb and very extensive building; but when he characterises it as 'an admirable institution,' telling us, without any other remark, that it receives 4000 infants in the course of a year, we perceive that he has not yet taken any lessons in the philosophy of such Foundations. His candour is strongly manifested in his observations on the 'promiscuous bathing' said to take place in the river. 'I have only to state,' says he, 'that I never saw 'an instance of any impropriety or indecency, and that I do not 'give any credit to the relations which I have met with. My 'companion and myself have frequently strolled along the banks 'of the river, and on one occasion extended our walk by its side

'far beyond the suburbs of the city, and the only persons that 'we saw bathing were a parcel of boys; and if this be the cause 'of so much fastidiousness in the accounts of some of our travel- 'lers, I should recommend them to look at home, and particu- 'larly on the banks of the Thames, where there is not a day 'passes during the summer months, in which not only boys but 'men will be found in swarms annoying the passengers in the 'wherries which ply on the river with their insolent language and 'behaviour,—a nuisance which does not exist at or near Mos- 'cow.' In his concluding remarks on this celebrated city, he thus contrasts it with St Petersburg:—

'There is a marked difference in the streets of Moscow and Peters- burg; the latter are laid out in regular order, straight, broad, well paved, with trottoirs on each side, while those of Moscow are in general nar- row, irregular, dirty, without side pavements, and the foot-passen- gers are in danger of being run over by the droskies and carriages that are passing through them. In those only, therefore, near the Kremlin and the Beautiful Square, and on the Boulevards, are fashionable people seen; yet, in general, the streets of the city present a more animated appearance than those of Petersburg, being usually thronged with people, buying, selling, and transacting business, of nearly every nation in the world, each distinguished from the other by his own native costume, the great variety of which, though at first it attracted our attention, became ere long so familiar, that, before the end of a week, we passed Greeks, Turks, Armenians, Circassians, Cossacks, Poles, and Tartars, with as little notice as those one daily meets in the streets of London,—so soon is novelty worn off. Indeed, we soon discovered that we ourselves, or our dresses, were the greatest curiosities in the place. Among the crowd we observed but few equipages that could be called handsome; a coach with four horses, which was so common at Petersburg, was rarely to be seen in the streets of Moscow. This, we were told, was not owing to the want of means in the gentry of Moscow, where many wealthy families reside, but to their absence at this season of the year at their country- seats. The private droskies, however, were very far superior to the ge- nerality of those at Petersburg; and many of the horses, mostly stallions, were beautiful animals, very much resembling Arabians both in appear- ance and action, but larger and stronger. The Russian gentry appear to ride but little; in fact, a gentleman on horseback is very seldom seen, unless some young diplomatist, who may have passed a little time in Lon- don or Paris. Though Moscow occupies a much larger space of ground than Petersburg, its population is considerably less; the former not exceeding 250,000, while the latter is said to contain 449,000 inhabi- tants.'

After returning to St Petersburg, Mr Barrow proceeded to Abo, and from thence to Stockholm. The journey to the former, a distance of about 400 miles, was performed in four days and three nights, in a light carriage drawn by three horses. The

roads in Finland are excellent, the rate of posting cheap, and the scenery, though by no means striking, yet of a rather pleasing character. The traveller, however, must carry the necessary provisions for his journey alongst with him. Mr Barrow notices a rather singular preference of paper-money to coin on the part of the Drivers, who frequently refused to take silver, and insisted on notes, which, in this country, run so low as twenty *kopecks*, or about eightpence of our money. Abo, the ancient capital of Finland, is now of less importance than Helsingfors, which is well built, and favourably situated for commerce. We should have been glad to hear something of the present state of the University of Abo, and more obliged to Mr Barrow for a few particulars concerning it, than for the details with which he has favoured us regarding the very obscure theatre and *corps dramatique* of that remote place. From Abo Mr Barrow proceeded across the Gulf of Bothnia, in a cutter, to the Swedish capital. 'Viewed from a distance,' says he, 'and at particular 'spots, it has the appearance of a splendid city; but a closer 'inspection will be apt to disappoint a stranger. There are 'but few buildings of any importance, and not much to interest 'the traveller. It possesses, however, an excellent harbour, of 'sufficient depth of water to admit of vessels of considerable 'burthen close alongside of its quay. It was now crowded 'with merchant shipping, with a few gun-boats and galleys.' The population is nearly eighty thousand; that of Sweden and Norway united is, according to the latest authorities, 3,802,900. The Sovereign is represented as being extremely popular: 'when-'ever he makes his appearance in public, he is always well re-'ceived.' Stockholm, like other capitals, has its Club-houses.

'I had heard much,' says he, 'of the Nobles' Club, generally called *the Society*, and to which strangers can be introduced by any one of the members, upon paying a few dollars for a ticket, which admits them for the space of a month, and which may be renewed for the same period, but not longer at once. Being anxious to look at some English newspapers, not having seen any since leaving England, we contrived to get an introduction to the Society, and found it a most agreeable lounge, particularly in the evening. This club is frequented by all the nobility and gentry of Stockholm, and appears to be in every respect as comfortable and well managed as the first of the club-houses in London. It consists of a suite of elegant apartments, which are furnished in the best style. The reading room is well stocked with newspapers, periodical journals, magazines, and reviews. I found it generally well attended, and perfect silence was maintained throughout the apartments; in fact, rather too much so, as one cannot help feeling as if under a restraint, which is by no means agreeable.'

After visiting the celebrated falls of Trolhätten, which are very well described, Mr Barrow proceeded through Gothenborg to Helsingborg, which is about 500 miles from Stockholm, without any let or accident in the course of the journey. The roads of Sweden, like those of Finland, are remarkably good, and the rate of posting cheap. At Helsingborg, our traveller embarked for Elsineur, strongly impressed with favourable sentiments of the kingdom he quitted at this point. 'Sweden,' says he, 'I shall 'always remember with feelings of pleasure, both as regards the 'inhabitants, who appeared to be a friendly, cheerful, and con- 'tented race of beings, and the surface of the country, which 'abounds in interesting and romantic scenery.'

Copenhagen is about twenty-six miles from Elsineur, and is approached by a road which Mr Barrow calls 'execrable.' This capital is thus described:—

'The city of Stockholm cannot for one moment be compared with Copenhagen. The splendid buildings, the spacious squares, and the fine broad streets, more especially the *Amalie-gade*, render this Danish capital equal, if not superior, to any of the second-rate cities of Europe. The palaces and châteaux of Christiansborg, Amalienborg, Rosenborg, and Charlottenborg, are all magnificent structures. The other principal public buildings are the Hotel de Ville, the Mint, the Post-office, the Exchange, the Theatre; the military and other hospitals, and a splendid range of barracks, said to afford accommodation for 6000 troops. There are several churches; that of Notre-Dame but just finished,—rebuilt on the site of the old one which was destroyed by fire in 1807; the church of our Saviour; and the church of Trinity, in the dome of which is the university library, and the great globe of Tycho-Brahe.

'The buildings in general are striking, and the streets are clean, regular, and handsome, particularly the *Amalie-gade*, above-mentioned, which cannot be less than a mile in length, and runs nearly in a straight line. In a large open space, about half way of its length, are situated four elegant and well-built palaces, forming, with their several offices, a regular octagonal building. In the middle of this octagon stands a colossal equestrian statue in bronze of Frederick V. The head of the horse is considered to be very fine, but it struck me as a heavy and clumsy piece of statuary; but perhaps the beautiful statue at Charing Cross, which I am daily in the habit of passing, and, I may add, daily admiring, has made me too fastidious. The statue in question was cast by Monsieur Gorr, a French artist, and erected at the expense of the Danish East India Company.

'There are several large open squares in Copenhagen; in one of which is situated the hotel where we had taken up our quarters. It is an enormous establishment, and goes by the name of the Hotel d'Angleterre, a name that the English traveller has generally but too much reason to dread when the day of reckoning arrives; here, however, it is but justice to say, this was not found to be the case; every thing was very good and very reasonable, and there was little English about it, but its name.'

From the Danish capital Mr Barrow returned by Travemunde and Hamburg to London; having, in 'a period of sixty-eight 'days, passed over a space, by sea and land, of more than 4000 'miles.'

The second Excursion was limited to Norway, and took place in the months of July and August of the last year. The sublime, wild, and picturesque scenery of this country has attracted to it a number of travellers, and called forth many animated descriptions. We still recollect the brief but glowing touches of Mary Wolstonecroft, who visited only a small part of it; and no one who has perused them can have forgotten the delineations of Dr Clarke and Von Buch, not to mention those of Sir A. De Capell Brooke, and other later travellers; some of whom—Mr Edward Price * in particular—have largely and happily availed themselves of the assistance of the pencil to supply more lively and graphic impressions than can be communicated by the pen. Mr Barrow certainly does not outstrip the best of his predecessors in descriptive power; but he has described to us, for the first time, an unfrequented and remarkable route; and he gives us some new information concerning a country which has other objects of interest besides its mountains, its forests, and its lakes. His details regarding the people are more ample, and his observations more unconstrained and manly, than in his earlier tour; and his language, elevated by the view of this magnificent region, is more animated and impressive. It is no small praise of his narrative to say, that, coming after many others of the same kind, it is still found to present us with fresh entertainment and instruction.

Accompanied by the companion of his former tour, he proceeded in a steam-vessel from Copenhagen to Christiania, the modern capital of Norway; which is situated on the beautiful bay of that name, and has a considerable trade in timber, deals, tar, hemp, and iron. Here the Norwegian Parliament, or Storthing as it is called, assembles once in every three years, when its sittings continue from February till August. Mr Barrow, who was present at one sitting, observes, that he 'never saw an assemblage 'of men wearing the appearance of sages so strongly as the mem-'bers of the Storthing. They were mostly of a certain age, clad 'generally in coarse grey woollen coats, their hair long, and flow-'ing over their shoulders; and their whole deportment grave, 'sober, and intent on the business before them. The President 'was reading a paper, which lasted the whole time we were there,

* *Norway: Views of wild scenery, and Journal.* 4to. 1834. We cannot say much for the Journal, but the Views are forcibly and strikingly executed.

'and of which each member appeared to have a printed copy. 'What the subject was I know not, but it seemed to occupy their 'whole attention: *there was no moving about, all kept their seats 'with their hats off, and observed the greatest silence and deco-'rum.*' We wish that only half as much could be said of some legislative assemblies of far greater name and pretensions than the Norwegian Storthing.

Bergen was the next point of our traveller's destination, and for that place he and his companion set out, each in a slight carriage, called a carriole, suited to only one person, who drives himself; this being the only mode of conveyance adapted to this long and hazardous route of above 300 miles. Horses are found, though with some delays, at the different stations; the sum charged for posting is very moderate; and wholesome provisions are supplied in tolerable plenty at a cheap rate. The traveller, in the summer months, may be said to enjoy the advantage of perpetual day; but the road is difficult—sometimes terrific—though presenting at every turn scenes of unspeakable grandeur and beauty. Norway seems to be a country that will disappoint no preconceptions, be they what they may, of the wonderful in scenery. Nature here leaves the fancy at fault, and shows how vastly she can transcend the imaginings of man. One of the features in which Norway excels Switzerland, and all other countries remarkable for scenery, is the unvarying transparency of her waters. The fiords, or deep inlets of the sea, which occur in quick succession, as well as the lakes properly so called, are all of them so limpid, that the smallest pebbles, and the colour and size of the fishes, may be seen from a great depth. Mr Barrow makes the following observations on this subject:—

'The extraordinary clearness of the water of the fiords of Norway has been remarked by all travellers, and I believe has no parallel in any other country; but it has not, that I am aware, been satisfactorily accounted for by any: perhaps it may be owing to the combined effect of the purity and transparency of the water itself, the clear blue sky overhead, and the clean white sandy bottom which prevails almost in all of them; and yet blue skies and sandy bottoms are not peculiar to Norway; besides, the open sea is equally transparent along the whole coast. How different is this in Switzerland, where all the waters are dirty, except about three miles of the Rhone, where it is purified in passing through the lake of Geneva. The reflection of the mountains is often as strongly and well defined in the water of the fiord as the rocks themselves; and when viewed at a short distance, it is no easy matter to decide whereabout the line is that separates the water from the shore; and this uncertainty, when on the fiord in a boat, has a most singular effect: every thing appears topsy-turvy—houses upset, trees growing the wrong way, men walking on their heads, cattle on their backs. In short, the whole appearance wears a complete deception.'

The following description, applicable to one part of the journey from Christiania to Bergen, will afford some idea both of the nature of the scenery, and the perils of the route—a route where the traveller must purchase the glorious visions presented to him, not merely at the cost of much bodily fatigue, but at no small risk of life or limb, and in following which, even in narrative, the reader is apt to become giddy at his own conceptions of the awful heights and depths delineated in it.

'Starting early the next day, we entered upon what I should have been apt to consider as the sublimest scenery that Norway, or even Nature, could exhibit, had our excursion ended here. Indeed, it appeared difficult for the imagination to conceive any thing more magnificently wild and awfully grand—and yet we found it much surpassed in the course of our travels—than the castellated forms of the mountain peaks, blackened by time and the weather, and rent into pinnacles and turrets, rising out of their wall-shaped sides, between which and us was a yawning gulf, choked with masses of rock and rubble; in this gulf or ravine a large body of water was flowing, rapidly meandering its serpentine course, but constantly interrupted in its progress by the huge fragments that, by impeding, swelled its volume, and

"when collected all
In one impetuous torrent, down the steep
It thundering shoots, and shakes the country round."

'In the course pursued by this mass of water, a constant succession of grand falls present themselves to the eye and the ear, one of which was particularly fine; in its rush from the upper ravines of the mountains, it was divided into two cascades, across each of which was thrown a wooden bridge of primitive construction. In this part of the road the traveller is surrounded on all sides by rocks of enormous height, rising almost perpendicularly from their base, while the sides of the mountains are covered with forests of dark green fir-trees, which rear their lofty heads above each other, vying in height with the steep rocks among which they are blended. The precipices both above and below the narrow road are most frightful to look at. No precaution whatever is taken to prevent carriages from slipping off into the abyss below. In many places these precipices were perpendicular, and sometimes even inclined inwards, or overhung their base. The road too was so narrow as to be little more than barely sufficient to admit of the wheels of the carrioles between the edge and the side of the mountain; had we happened, indeed, to meet any other travellers here, we should have been under the necessity of taking the horses out, and of lifting the carrioles over each other. The chances, however, are against such a meeting, for not a single human being had hitherto appeared to us on this route. Oftentimes the road before us seemed to terminate altogether at the very brink of a precipice, when, on reaching the spot, it was found to turn sharply round; and these sharp turns, with the yawning gulf beneath, incur almost inevitable destruction, should the animal become restive, or an overturn unfortunately take place.

'On attaining the summit of the very high mountain up the side of which we were now clambering, and the ascent to which was the steepest road that I ever remember to have witnessed in any part of the world, Switzerland not excepted, we were agreeably surprised to find it to be level, or nearly so, for some little distance, and covered with a forest of fine fir-trees.'

'If the ascent of this mountain was found to be difficult and somewhat dangerous, the descent was perfectly terrific; it was so steep that the horses were literally obliged to scramble down on their haunches. We looked along a valley many hundred feet below us, shut in on all sides by steep, rugged, and lofty mountains. Those at the extreme part of the view were capped with snow, upon which the sun shone brilliantly, forming a great contrast to the general gloomy appearance of the deep ravines. Cascades were observed pouring down their waters in every direction, sparkling in their passage down the sides of the mountain, and occasionally lost amidst the dark thick forest of firs.'

Mr Barrow has given some interesting sketches of the peasantry on this route; describing them generally as an honest, simple-minded, intelligent, and active race. Their present condition appears to be greatly superior to what it was when they were under the Danish dominion. The laws are more favourable to personal liberty; some ancient services of a burdensome nature have been abolished; and the taxes have been lightened. Their repugnance to the Swedish yoke has, in consequence, been greatly lessened. They still, however, 'hold in veneration the memory of their 'ancient kings, and what they now wish for is a monarchical de-'mocracy—a king and the people, without the intervention of a 'third estate.' Mr Barrow was struck with the difference between their condition and that of the Swedish peasantry.

'With the exception,' says he, 'of a few unfrequented spots through which we had to travel, the superiority in the comforts of the Norwegian peasantry, scanty as they must be admitted to be, is conspicuous throughout the country. Their rye bread is generally better, being light, whereas that of the Swede is heavy, sour, and doughy, like a mass of paste; and the corn-brandy of the Norwegians (to them the very essence of life) is far more pure than in Sweden. Fresh butter is an article scarcely ever seen amongst the Swedish peasantry, whilst in Norway no other is met with during the summer months; and I cannot call to mind having more than once, or twice at most, found it even indifferent; it was almost invariably excellent. The Norse cows are small, and not unlike, in shape and appearance, to the Alderney breed. Among them are many beautiful animals, and so active, that they seem to jump from rock to rock as nimbly as the goats.'

Arrived at Bergen, which is a small town, consisting for the most part of wooden houses, neatly constructed, and painted white, Mr Barrow and his companion resolved to proceed to Drontheim, the ancient capital, by a route so little frequented

that he did not find the name of a single Englishman inscribed in the *Livre des Etrangers* kept at the different post-houses or stations. This route presented scenes in the highest degree grand and romantic. It conducted the travellers across a succession of noble fiords, with stupendous rocky promontories between, to a small town called Moldé, distant from Bergen about 250 miles, and from whence they found a frequented road to Drontheim. In the course of this journey, they crossed above fifty of these magnificent inlets. This was often attended with considerable delays, as it was necessary to transport their light carriages in the boats in which they crossed; 'but to have seen those 'lovely lakes, and stupendous mountain precipices, and to have 'witnessed the conduct of the honest boatmen, was worth any 'sacrifice of this kind.' Mr Barrow speaks of these men, and of the Norwegians generally, in a strain of warm and generous commendation, highly creditable to his feelings. 'These 'boatmen,' says he, 'are a fine sample of the human animal—'active, powerful, and robust. Never did I witness so much good-'nature, such constant cheerfulness, such willingness to oblige, 'and such perfect contentment as they invariably exhibited. 'Their address was firm, manly, and open; their manners simple 'and pleasing; and they appeared to know no guile.' This is a very agreeable character; and it is by no means confined to the class just described.

'It may be applied,' says he, 'to the greater part of the peasantry of Norway, and more especially to those little knots of some twenty or thirty persons who cluster round the post-houses, as they are called, by the sides of the fiords, secluded from all the world besides, and forming a little world of themselves. Of these simple people may be truly said, what the poet has applied to their neighbours of Lapland,—

> 'They ask no more than simple Nature gives:
> They love their mountains, and enjoy their storms.
> No false desires—no pride-created wants
> Disturb the peaceful current of their lives."

'In such a country as that we passed through, where there are no towns, very few villages that contain half a dozen dwellings, and in many places one solitary house, the poor people have been taught by necessity to help themselves. Accordingly, the inmates of a family make their own hats, shoes, stockings, and woollen cloth, and perform all carpenter and smith's work. The females knit, spin, and make the clothing, and do all the drudgery of the house. While this gives them a feeling of independence, their lonely situation attaches them to their families and kindred, who rarely leave their native villages, excepting when the young people marry, and then only to some unoccupied spot in a neighbouring hill or valley, where food is to be found for their cattle. They rarely leave home except to attend some distant place of worship, or when the younger branches of the family, generally the females, are sent for two

or three of the summer months to watch the cattle in the mountains, and to make their butter and cheese for their winter provision.——

'When, in the year 1814, these sons of the mountains and the fiords were struggling for their independence, and when it was decided to turn them over to Sweden, Earl Grey, in the House of Lords, asked—"And what people is it whose fate you are thus to decide?—a people who have never done you any wrong, who have never injured any of your interests—a people who are known to you only by their virtuous character, by their meritorious services, by their interchange of good offices, by the extension of your commercial relations, and by their constant and unremitting discharge of all those duties which constitute the moral greatness and happiness of a nation." The Norwegian people were highly deserving of this just and generous appeal made in their favour, but made in vain.'

We shall indulge our readers with another extract, containing an account of a village merry-making, consequent upon a marriage; and which affords some rather curious glimpses of manners and acquirements.

'The priest, or pastor, came up and attempted to address us in French, but could make little of it. He then spoke to our servant, who informed us who he was, of which we were ignorant, and that he wished to invite us to his house; that there had been a wedding that morning, and he thought it might be agreeable to us to pay a visit to the bride. We of course were delighted, and in proceeding thither the whole village followed us, and *sans cérémonie*, as many as could, walked into the parsonage, which was filled in a moment. The good pastor cordially shook hands with us, and received us with great civility. The bride was not in the room when we entered, but was brought in for the purpose of dancing before us. She was decked out in gaudy apparel, and looked very like a gingerbread queen. Her upper dress was gaily embroidered with tinsel, and she wore what appeared to be meant for a silver crown upon her head, to which were attached various gold or gilt ornaments; and beneath it hung her long hair in flowing ringlets, which "streamed like a meteor" over her neck and shoulders, not ungracefully, as she danced; but she appeared, not unnaturally, to be somewhat abashed at making such an exhibition, on such an occasion, in the presence of strangers. A good-humoured old man, who afterwards turned out to be the vestry-clerk, was her first partner; her next was a female, and they danced very gracefully together; but her third partner was by far the best dancer I had seen among the Norwegians: he was a good-looking young man, uncommonly active, and danced with great good taste: he was very pressing that I should also dance with the bride, but, unfortunately, waltzing is an accomplishment which I cannot boast. I concluded this young man to be the husband, but we were afterwards introduced to another who sustained that character, and who presented each of us with a dram of strong spirits in a little silver cup, out of which we were to drink to the health of the bride. We were pleased with the decorum with which the assembly conducted themselves. On leaving the company for our embarkation, we shook hands with the bride and

bridegroom, the priest, and the vestry-clerk, and, I think, with the fiddler also, who was the next in rank and importance; and my friend gave the bride a few English needles, with which they all seemed much pleased.'

The bay of Drontheim is beautiful; but the town is almost entirely built of wood; a fact which, as Mr Barrow observes, makes it very difficult to account for Dr Clarke's statement, 'that 'there is no part of Copenhagen better built, or neater in its 'aspect.' Christiania is now the real capital of Norway; and even Bergen is considerably superior to Drontheim in population. The trade of both has been attracted to the nearer and more conveniently situated port of Christiania; so that the ancient capital—the extreme capital of civilisation in the northern hemisphere—wears at present a rather decayed appearance. The English language is here generally spoken by the upper classes; 'and in 'fact,' says Mr Barrow, 'every thing looked English except the 'dogs, which had a very wolf-like appearance.'

From Drontheim Mr Barrow returned to Christiania, by the common road across that part of the Norwegian chain of mountains, called the Dovrefi-eld; of which, the elevated peak of Sneehätten forms the highest point. It is 8115 feet above the level of the sea; but as it starts from a base which is itself more than 4500 feet above that level, its altitude does not appear at all remarkable. The scenery on this part of the journey, though occasionally grand, was in no degree comparable to that on the route by which Mr Barrow had travelled to Drontheim; but when, in his progress southward, he came to the village of Tofté, he there entered upon the beautiful valley of Gulbrandsdalen, which stretches alongst the Miosen lake, and presents a lengthened succession of the finest landscapes in the world. He reached Christiania, on his return to England, exactly a month from the day on which he had left it for Drontheim; having travelled upwards of 1000 miles by land and water—400 of these through a part of Norway, seemingly untraversed by any preceding traveller.

We have now reached the Conclusion of this agreeable narrative. We find here one or two of the very few passages that we could have wished struck out. We have no objection to sentimental or to patriotic effusions on fit or necessary occasions; but is the 'Farewell to Norway,' in good taste? Or was it necessary, in bestowing a high and deserved eulogium on that portion of Scandinavia, to enter a formal protestation in behalf of the superiority of England—a country in all respects so different? These, however, are trifling offences. We shall quote a part of this conclusion, which contains some comparisons that may fitly enough be made, and with which it might have been as well to finish.

'There is no country which I have hitherto visited, where nature appears to have done so much to make it agreeable, and man so little to make it what may be called comfortable; none where I have been so much impressed with the grandeur of the scenery, and the honest simplicity of the natives. Yet I have traversed every part of Switzerland—I have seen its lofty mountains covered with snow, its lakes, its rivers, its waterfalls, and its smiling valleys; but the valleys, the lakes, the rivers, and the waterfalls of Norway are not in any degree inferior. The mountains of Switzerland may be loftier, wrapt deeper in perpetual snow, and bound faster in "thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice;" but where in Switzerland shall we look for the dense forests embosoming the bases of the wall-sided mountains, and where find those clear and glassy fiords which abound in Norway? Then, as to the people—what the Swiss peasantry may have been half a century ago, or more, I can only speak from what has been reported; but with all the good parts they still possess, and of which I have had experience, it would be a departure from truth to say that they are at all to be compared, in their integrity and single-mindedness, with the peasantry of Norway. The few of what may be called the upper class with whom we had any intercourse in the towns were of kind and affable manners, and clever, well-informed men; they were generally perfect masters of our language, and entered willingly into conversation.'

We take leave of Mr Barrow, with sincere thanks for the pleasure he has afforded us, and with the hope of again meeting him after his return from the new 'Excursion,' in which we understand he is engaged, to Iceland.

ART. VI.—*The Present State of the Tenancy of Land in Great Britain.* By L. KENNEDY and T. B. GRAINGER, Esqrs. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1828-30.

THIS is a valuable practical work, which we are afraid has not met with the attention it deserves. The subjects of which it treats are of great national importance; its authors have placed several of them in a new and striking light; and they have communicated much useful and authentic information, not to be met with in any other publication.

It would be useless, at this time of day, to enter into any lengthened argument to show the paramount importance of an improved system of agriculture in countries like Great Britain and Ireland. Every one is ready to admit its superior claims on the public attention. The power and wellbeing of a country are, in fact, much more certainly promoted by the adoption of improved processes and methods of cultivating the soil, than they would be

by making proportional additions to its extent. And though we do not go so far as to contend 'that a single uncultivated acre is a 'real physical evil in any state,' yet there can be no question, that the better a country is cultivated, the greater is its means of supporting a large amount of population; and the greater the excess of produce raised by the agriculturists above what is necessary for their own supply, the greater, of course, are their means of purchasing the various articles of necessity, convenience, and enjoyment, furnished by others. Hence, also, it appears, that every improvement in agriculture—every means by which the earth may be made to furnish a larger quantity of produce for the same, or for a less proportional outlay, not only redounds to the advantage of its owners and occupiers, but to that of every other class. It reacts powerfully on all departments of industry, stimulating universally the inventive powers, and rewarding their successful application.

Taking into view, therefore, the vast importance of an improved system of agriculture, the immense number of persons directly dependent on this branch of industry, and interested in its advancement, either as landlords or farmers; and considering, also, the facility with which all kinds of information are now diffused, it might, one should think, have been fairly anticipated, that every sort of improvement would be eagerly grasped at; and that no really beneficial system of managing land could be followed for any considerable time in one country, without being adopted in others having a suitable soil and climate. But reasonable as this conclusion may, at first sight, appear, there is none less consistent with truth and experience. In agriculture, the progress of improvement is peculiarly slow. So much is this the case, that instead of rapidly introducing processes and plans followed in other countries, an undoubtedly superior system is frequently for years introduced into one parish or county before it makes its way into those immediately contiguous. Mr Harte mentions, in his instructive 'Essays on Husbandry,' that when he was a youth, he heard the famous Jethro Tull declare, 'that though he introduced turnips 'into the field in King William's reign, with little trouble or ex-'pense, and great success, the practice did not travel beyond the 'hedges of his own estate, till after the conclusion of the peace 'of Utrecht.'—(P. 223.)

During the last hundred years, the means of diffusing information have been prodigiously augmented, and a spirit of emulation has been infused into all classes; so that it may seem next to impossible, in the present state of the country, that any such extraordinary indifference to an obvious improvement should manifest itself. In point of fact, however, there is, in this respect, but little

difference between the reigns of William III. and William IV. No one, indeed, acquainted with the merest rudiments of agriculture, can travel over any considerable portion of England, without being struck with the extreme discrepancy in the modes of managing the same sort of land that prevail in different counties, and even in different parts of the same county. In some places, the drill-husbandry is generally introduced, while in others it is hardly known; and the contrast in many other respects is equally striking. Abundant proofs of what is now stated are found in the work before us; and as the statements in it proceed from practical men, who have travelled over, and carefully inspected, the districts of which they speak, their accuracy may be depended on. Now, they tell us, that 'what is well known and systematically 'practised in one county, is frequently unknown or utterly 'disregarded in the adjacent districts; and that what is, to every 'unprejudiced observer, evidently erroneous and injurious to the 'land, is, in some quarters, persisted in most pertinaciously, 'though a journey of not many miles would open to the view the 'beneficial effects of a contrary practice.'—(*Introd.* p. 8.)

But not satisfied with this general statement, Messrs Kennedy and Grainger review each county separately; briefly noticing the mode in which lands are usually held in it, and the more prominent features of its system of management. Speaking generally, the eastern are much better managed than the western, and the greater number of the southern counties. Though the regular alternation of corn and green crops lies at the foundation of all good farming, there are many extensive districts where it is still but very partially introduced; and in several counties, such is the state of the arable husbandry, that even turnips are universally sown broad-cast. The authors before us, speaking of Worcestershire, observe,—'The mode of farming in this county is, gen-'erally speaking, in itself a very bad one, and is carelessly and 'negligently conducted. There being no restriction as to rota-'tion or manner of cropping, there is no regular system; but the 'plan usually adopted, is to sow the land that requires the least 'work, and barley and oat stubbles are frequently dunged over 'after harvest, and sown with wheat; a system of farming which 'certainly does not require much labour, but it is a most ruinous 'one for the land. No pains whatever are taken to relieve the 'ground from water, nor is a water furrow to be seen scarcely in 'any part of the county. The ploughing is, in general, very in-'differently performed; and the appearance of the land is sufficient 'to convince any one that neither master nor man has any sys-'tem to act upon.'—(Vol. i., p. 359.)

In Somersetshire, matters seem to be but little better.—'The 'soil cannot be said to be injured by excessive cropping; only by

'being scarcely ever properly worked, it becomes foul, and is 'kept in a very indifferent state. There is a great want of in-'dustry and method among the agricultural classes.'—(P. 308.)

The agriculture of Oxford, Sussex, Surrey, Berks, and several other counties, is not much more advanced. Even the metropolitan county, Middlesex, is distinguished by the backward state of its tillage. Mr Loudon observes of the arable land, that it is 'wretchedly managed;' and he farther states, that the farming implements are 'all bad, and the ploughs barbarous.'—(*Encyclop. of Agriculture*, 2d ed. § 7777.)

Notwithstanding, too, that the best cultivated lands in the Lothians, Northumberland, Lincoln, and Norfolk, are all ploughed by two horses, nothing is more common than to see in the vicinity of the metropolis, and throughout most parts of the south and west of England, three, four, and still more frequently five, stout horses, yoked in line to a plough, even where the soil is light and sandy, and when probably a field in fallow is receiving a second or third ploughing! And as a driver is always necessary when above two horses are used, there cannot be a doubt that more than double the labour and expense is laid out on ploughing, where this practice prevails, than in the counties where it has been abandoned: and it is obvious, too, that it occasions the keeping up of a much greater number of horses, during the whole year, than are required for any thing except ploughing. Need we, therefore, wonder at the extraordinary discrepancy of rents in different parts of the country?

In Wales, agriculture is in a still more backward state than in the least improved of the English counties. It was recently, and perhaps still is, by no means uncommon in Anglesea to take five corn crops in succession; and throughout the Principality, the arable land is, with few exceptions, wretchedly managed.—'The soil of 'Caermarthenshire is very fertile, consisting generally of a sandy 'loam; nor is there finer land anywhere in Great Britain, than 'is to be found in some parts of this county, either for the growth 'of turnips, or for the feeding of sheep. These advantages, how-'ever, are not here of much avail; as whatever requires a little 'trouble, or is over and above the natural productions of the land, 'is thought quite unnecessary, and is totally neglected. There 'never, indeed, existed a country more erroneously conducted, as 'to its agriculture, than Caermarthenshire; *nor does Wales in 'general produce half what it is capable of doing under proper 'management.*'—(Vol. i., p. 169.)

We believe, however, that the latter part of this statement is not much less applicable to England than to Wales. In fact, we have been assured by the highest practical authorities, that were England in general as well cultivated as Northumberland and

Lincoln, it would produce more than double the quantity that is now obtained from it; and that, not with a greater, but with a less proportional outlay. But, taking the increase at only a third, which is certainly a good deal within the mark, every one must be impressed by a deep sense of the vast importance of the more general diffusion of improved processes and methods of management.

It is not very easy to give a satisfactory explanation of the extreme slowness with which an acknowledged and signal improvement spreads itself over the country; and for that rooted disinclination evinced by the generality of farmers to leave established practices, even after experience has clearly demonstrated the superiority of others. There is not, we incline to think, the smallest ground for ascribing it, as many have done, to the influence of tithes, poor-rates, or other public burdens. These affect the whole kingdom, and press with the same, or perhaps greater severity, on the farmers of Northumberland, Lincoln, and Norfolk, as on those of Worcester, Somerset, Sussex, or Wales. Certain vicious practices in the letting of land, to which we shall afterwards allude, have had, we believe, considerable influence; and a good deal of the better management, and more rapid spread of improvement, in some districts, must probably be ascribed to accidental and inappreciable circumstances. There is, besides, a much greater aversion to precipitate changes, and a more resolute adherence to whatever has been long practised, among the occupiers of land, than amongst any other class of persons. It has been truly observed by Dr Rigby, that, 'improvements which affect material changes in long 'established customs, have, under all circumstances, and in all 'countries, ever been slowly and reluctantly admitted. It requires 'no little effort to quit the common routine of practice, and still 'more to relinquish long maintained opinions. The general cir-'cumstances affecting agriculture are, moreover, little favourable 'to great, and more especially to sudden alterations: the farmer is 'not so much within reach of information as the merchant and 'manufacturer; he has not, like those who reside in towns, the 'means of ready intercourse, and constant communication with 'others engaged in the same occupation. He lives retired; his 'acquaintance is limited, and but little varied; and, unless in the 'habit of reading, he is little likely to acquire any other knowledge 'of his art than what is traditionary—what is transmitted from 'father to son—and limited in its application to his own immediate 'neighbourhood.'*

* Preface to the Translation of Chateauvieux on the Agriculture of Italy.

The able writer from whom we have borrowed this paragraph appears to think, that the obstacles to the more rapid diffusion of agricultural improvements will gradually be overcome through the ready access that is now afforded to all sorts of information, and the multiplication of useful works. We confess, however, that we are by no means sanguine in our expectations on this head. The lethargy in question depends partly on other causes than those stated by Dr Rigby, and is too deeply seated to be got rid of by such gentle means. Hitherto, the agricultural clubs and shows, the premiums that have been given, the libraries that have been established in country towns, and the books and tracts that have been distributed, have had (we shall not say none, but) *extremely little influence;* and we see no grounds for concluding that it will be greater in time to come. The extraordinary growth of the town population, and the consequent increase of demand for all sorts of farm produce, but more especially for butcher's meat, has been the mainspring of all the improvements that have been made in husbandry since 1763. That this increase of demand should not have had a greater influence, is owing to certain circumstances peculiar to England, which, until obviated, oppose an all but insuperable barrier to the spread of improvement. Of these, the want of leases of a reasonable length, and containing proper stipulations as to management, is by far the most important; and we agree with the able authors of the work before us, in thinking, that the granting of such leases would do ten times more to accelerate the progress of improvement, than will ever be done by all the other means it is possible to devise.

It is believed, that, at present, not more than a third part of England is occupied by tenants holding under leases. Surely it cannot be necessary that we should enter into any lengthened disquisition to show the extreme inexpediency of such a state of things. Every one is ready to admit, as a general proposition, that without security there can be neither industry nor accumulation. But a tenant at will has either no security that he will be allowed to reap the fruit of any improvement he may make, or he enjoys it only in a very inferior degree. Under such circumstances, it would be absurd to suppose that he should adventure upon any new or expensive undertaking. He confines himself to the routine practice of his district, and passes from the cradle to the tomb in the same dull and beaten track that had been trodden by his unambitious ancestors. To render a man really enterprising and inventive, he must be morally certain that he is not labouring to serve others, but that he will himself reap all the advantage derivable from outlays of capital, or

from the exhibition of superior skill or industry. If he be not impressed with this conviction, he becomes little better than a mere machine, and does not make a single step in advance of those around him. 'Unless,' say the authors before us, 'a tenant is 'allowed to hold the land he occupies for a term of years sufficient 'to enable him to remunerate himself for the outlay of capital in 'improvement, it is in vain to expect any change for the better. 'It is true, that, in some quarters, though holding nominally at 'will, the tenant considers himself as secure as if he had a lease; 'but it is obvious that this security cannot extend beyond the 'lives of the parties; that, in the event of the estate descending 'to a minor, his guardians or trustees must act according to law, 'without any reference to such an understanding; and that in 'case of the decease of the tenant, his executors or administrators 'may be ousted, and much loss sustained by his family. The 'only efficient and available security for a tenant who lays out 'money on improvement, is, of course, a lease for a sufficient 'length of term to enable him to realize an adequate profit, 'which every trader or manufacturer naturally expects in return 'for the employment of his capital.'—(*Introd.* p. 9.)

The only plausible objection that ever has been made to the granting of leases for a reasonable number of years, takes for granted that the contract is really binding on the landlord only. It is contended that if a farm be too low rented, the tenant continues, during the currency of the lease, to enjoy that advantage; whereas, if it happen to be too high rented, it is next to certain that the landlord will be compelled to reduce the rent to what the farm is really worth. A transaction of this kind throws, it is alleged, all the risk on the landlord, and ensures all the advantage to the tenant; so that the only fair plan is to let from year to year, or, at most, for very brief periods. But, though specious, this reasoning will be found, on examination, to be without any good foundation. The complaint that a farm is too low rented, is one that can hardly ever be made with any degree of justice at the commencement of a lease; and if it were made, it ought not to be attended to; for, as the proprietor might either let or not let the farm, and as he has in most instances a choice of tenants, it is pretty certain that he would not have let it, unless the stipulated rent had been, at the time, about, or believed to be about, its full value.

It is true, the rent may become too low; or rather it may happen that the farm would let for more after a few years of the lease have expired, than the sum actually paid for it. If the rent be a money rent, it will, of course, be affected by changes in the value of money; but if it be, as it ought, a certain quantity of

produce convertible into money according to the prices at the time, the fair presumption is, if the farm become worth more during the lease, that the increase of value is chiefly to be ascribed to the fact of a lease having been granted. The security which it gives to the tenant encourages him to lay out capital on the land, to follow the best system of cropping, and to execute various improvements which add to the permanent as well as to the immediate productiveness of the soil. Although, therefore, the rent of a farm let for a corn rent, and for a reasonable number of years, should appear to be inadequate towards the middle or during the latter part of the lease, the landlord must not imagine that he has, by letting the farm, deprived himself of an advantage he would otherwise have enjoyed; for the truth is, that in nine cases out of ten the apparent inadequacy of the rent arises out of improvements effected by the tenant, and which would not have been so much as thought of but for the lease. Hence, in granting it, the landlord has not made any sacrifice; but, on the contrary, while he obtained all the rent for his farm that it was worth at the time, the security which the lease afforded to the tenant, by tempting him to make improvements, and to meliorate the farm, will ensure to the landlord a decidedly larger rent at the termination of the lease than he would otherwise have realized.

It is really, therefore, no more than equitable that all the advantages to be derived from a lease of moderate length should belong, during its currency, to the tenant; for these advantages are, in the vast majority of cases, the result of his industry, skill, and capital. And although it be not possible, or, if possible, exceedingly inexpedient, for a landlord to attempt to compel a tenant to pay the stipulated rent for a farm when it materially exceeds its real worth, there are no substantial reasons for impeaching the contract of lease on the ground of its not being founded on a fair principle of reciprocity. The inadequacy of a corn rent convertible into money at the prices of the day, is, in ninety-nine out of a hundred cases, merely apparent, or is a consequence of improvements effected by the tenant. The landlord cannot complain that he is prevented from participating in these until the expiration of the lease; because had the tenant not been secured in the exclusive possession of the farm for the term in question, the improvements would not have been made, and the rent would not have seemed inadequate. All, therefore, that can justly be said with respect to the want of reciprocity in the contract, is this, that if a landlord should through accident or simplicity let a farm for less than it is worth at the period when the lease is entered into, he will not be able to get the rent raised during its currency; whereas, if a tenant should, from too an-

xious a desire to get a farm, or over sanguine expectations with respect to its value, promise more for it than it is really worth, it will, generally speaking, be impracticable to hold him to his bargain. Such is the whole extent of that want of reciprocity of which so much has been said; and we believe our readers will agree with us in thinking that it is entitled to very little attention. The injury sustained by a tenant who offers too much rent for a farm, before he gets it reduced, supposing him to be ultimately successful in that object, is invariably very severely felt by him; while the fact, that a farm has been let below its value, warrants the presumption that the additional rent that might have been obtained for it, is of trifling importance to its proprietor. A landlord may be always assured of the fact, that if the rent at which he lets a farm be such as a prudent and industrious tenant can pay, it will be paid either by the person in possession, or by some one else. And no prudent (to say nothing of liberal) landlord would wish, even if he had the power, to exact more from a tenant than the value of his lands, or to make a temporary and trifling addition to his income, by encroaching on the capital of those engaged in the cultivation of his estate.

It has been said, that, supposing leases to be made for limited periods only, it is yet possible, by inserting proper conditions in them, not merely to hinder farms from being deteriorated, but to ensure their improvement; and that the shortness of the lease will be advantageous to the landlord, by enabling him to participate sooner in the benefit of the improvement. There is, however, much reason for thinking, that those who have argued thus were entirely ignorant of the practical business of agriculture. Conditions may be so contrived as to prevent a farm from being reduced in value; but it is visionary to imagine that any thing, save the interest of the occupier, can ever be made a source of improvement. The most vexatious system of *surveillance* is totally inefficient to enforce the faithful discharge of covenants in which the tenant does not believe he has an interest. He might be taken bound, for example, to fallow a certain proportion of the farm, or to have a certain proportion in green crop; but if his lease were not sufficiently long to allow of his profiting by such operations when properly executed, they would be performed in the most slovenly way, and with an eye only to the advantage that might be derived from their evasion. It is as clearly, therefore, for the interest of the landlord as of the tenant, that leases should be of a reasonable length,—that is, for nineteen or twenty-one years. Such leases afford the only means by which a feeling of perfect security, and consequent energy and enterprise, can be given to tenants; and while the improvements

executed under them redound, as they ought, to the advantage of the occupiers, during their currency, they add permanently to the value of the land, and to its rental at their termination.

There is hardly a single writer on the subject of agriculture, or a single practical farmer, whose authority might not be quoted in proof of the advantages derived by all parties from the granting of leases of a reasonable length. 'The improvements that 'have been wrought in England,' says Arthur Young, 'have 'been almost totally owing to the custom of granting leases. In 'those counties where it is unusual to give them, agriculture is 'much inferior to what we find it where they are usual; nor can 'they flourish till this custom is adopted. If the mode and pro-'gress of country improvements be well considered, they will be 'found to be utterly inconsistent with an occupation without a 'lease. A farmer hires a tract of land in an unimproved or infe-'rior state; he repairs the fences, deepens the ditches, clears 'away rubbish, purchases dung, forms composts, drains the wet 'fields, waters the meadows, adds to the buildings, digs for 'marl, gets the arable lands into good and clean order: these 'works take him three or four years, during which time he sacri-'fices his profits, in hopes of being well paid. Now, how can 'any person possibly suppose that such a system will be executed 'on his farms, if he will not, or does not, grant long leases? Is 'it to be expected that a tenant will lay L.1000 out on improve-'ments, and remain all the time at the mercy of his landlord, to 'be turned out of the farm as soon as the money is expended? 'The case is so self-evident, that the necessity must be unde-'niable; no man of common sense will put such trust in another. 'Nor is it sufficient that granting leases is a common custom; 'they must be so guarded by the laws as to give the tenant the 'most perfect security; he must be sure of his return, and also 'sure of being safe against the ill-designing, malevolent, or insi-'dious attacks of a wealthy landlord; and be as independent 'while he adheres to the conditions of his lease, as the landlord 'is of him.'—(*Political Arithmetic*, p. 16.)

It is almost superfluous to add any thing further on this head; but if a doubt should still remain as to the advantage of giving leases of a proper length, it will be removed by attending, how cursorily soever, to their influence in Scotland. Generally speaking, our soil and climate are inferior to those of our neighbours; and yet the agriculture of our improved districts is greatly superior to almost any thing that is to be met with in the west and south of England. An unexceptionable judge, the late Mr Curwen, stated, in an 'Address to the Workington Agricultural So-'ciety,' published in 1810, that the beauty and regularity of the

crops, and the extreme cleanness of the fallows, in the Lothians and Berwickshire, struck him more than any thing he had ever previously beheld in any other country; and that he did not know a farmer who might not learn something in that district. Not only, however, is the farming better, but the rents paid by the Scotch tenants for land of the same quality are invariably a good deal higher than those paid for *tithe-free* farms in England, even where the poor-rates are quite inconsiderable. Now, this extraordinary discrepancy is in no respect owing to the greater skill or economy of the Scotch; but is mainly, if not entirely, ascribable to the custom of granting leases of a reasonable length, and with proper stipulations as to management and entry, that prevails everywhere in the improved districts on this side the Tweed. The tenure under which our farmers hold their lands, gives them that *complete security*, of which the English farmers are generally destitute; and they are, in consequence, stimulated to make exertions, and to effect improvements, that seem quite impossible to occupiers holding under a different system. That this is the grand source of the wonderful progress of Scotch agriculture, is admitted by every one who knows any thing of this part of the empire; and is established beyond all question by the fact, that in some of our northern and western districts, where it is not customary to grant leases, agriculture is in the most degraded state possible—worse even than in Wales. The statements in the 'General Report on the Agriculture of Scotland' are decisive as to this:—'The tenant,' it is there said, 'in the districts without 'leases, is debased and enslaved. Agriculture is neglected. The 'property of the landlord is deprived of every species of improvement; and *if all Scotland were, but for twenty years, held by 'such a tenure, it would be unable to support half its existing 'population.*'—(Vol. iii., p. 378.) Hence it appears, that Scotland furnishes the most signal example of the advantages of lengthened leases, and of the miserable consequences of occupancy at will.

Notwithstanding this overwhelming weight of authority and experience, it is, we believe, admitted that the practice of granting leases has been latterly declining in England. This seems to have been occasioned partly by the circumstance already noticed, of the supposed want of reciprocity in the contract of lease; partly by the changes that have taken place in the value of money; and partly by political causes.

1. In so far as a disinclination to grant leases proceeds from landlords believing that the contract is not a really fair one, we hope we have said enough to show that the notion originates in a misapprehension of the facts of the case; and it may, therefore, be presumed that its influence will gradually diminish. We are

quite sure that no landlord, who takes all circumstances fairly into view, will ever be deterred from letting by such a notion.

2. There can be no doubt that a good deal of the existing aversion to the letting of land has been occasioned by the changes that have taken place in the value of money since 1800. For a lengthened period the depreciation in its value was so very rapid, that a farm let at a fixed money rent was sure, even though no improvements were made upon it, to be in a few years much under-rented. The rapid rise in the value of money subsequently to 1815 was, of course, productive of quite different results; so much so, that the rent of many farms that had, previously to the peace, been considered low, speedily became so oppressively high, that where the tenants did not obtain, as was the case with most of them, a considerable reduction, they seldom escaped being ruined. This fluctuation produced an indisposition on the part of the landlord to grant, and of the tenant to take, a lease of a reasonable endurance; and contributed more, perhaps, than any thing else to prejudice the practice of letting in the public estimation. It is not very likely, however, that we shall experience such fluctuations in future; and, so long as our present monetary system is maintained, we do not think that either landlords or tenants need be very apprehensive of suffering from changes in the value of the currency. But, though it were otherwise, the plan of fixing rents in a certain quantity of produce, convertible into money at the prices of the day, effectually provides against the disturbing influence of the changes in question, and has besides many considerable collateral advantages. This plan has been extensively introduced into some of the best cultivated districts of Scotland, and has been found eminently calculated to promote and secure the just rights and interests of all parties. The want of some organized means of readily ascertaining the average prices of particular districts, such as that adopted for the determination of the *fiar prices* in Scotland, is a considerable obstacle to the general introduction of convertible corn rents into England. Our southern neighbours have, in fact, been long sensible of this desideratum; and few things, we are convinced, would do more to encourage the letting of farms on sound principles than the getting it supplied, which it might be without any material difficulty.

3. The wish to have their tenants so situated that they might be able easily to influence their votes at elections, has, no doubt, also contributed to render landlords of all parties disinclined to the granting of leases. It may be questioned, indeed, whether it would not have been better for tenants, as such, to be totally excluded from the privilege of voting. But, however this may be, it certainly appears to us, both on political and economical grounds, that the

privilege ought to be confined to those who hold farms of a considerable extent, under leases of a reasonable length, and who are not encumbered by any arrears of rent. It would be folly, under ordinary circumstances, to expect that the mass of tenants at will, or of tenants in arrear, should think of voting for any candidate not approved by their landlords; so that the giving them the elective franchise does not really add to the number of independent freeholders, while it is highly injurious in a public point of view, by tending to keep up and to disseminate injurious methods of letting land.

Not only, however, is it necessary to the progress and perfection of agriculture that tenants should hold under leases of a reasonable length; it is farther necessary that these leases should be framed so as, at all events, to hinder the overcropping and exhaustion of the land previously to their termination; and that a tenant entering to a farm should not be obliged to waste a large part of his capital on objects of comparatively trifling importance and value. These are subjects of incomparably greater importance than may at first be imagined; and none but those pretty familiar with the practices respecting the occupancy of land in different parts of the kingdom can form any just idea of their influence. The work before us contains much curious and valuable information as to these practices, which, we suspect, will be as new to the mass of readers as it is interesting.

Dr Smith has expressed himself very strongly against the inserting of conditions as to management in leases,—saying that in most cases they are merely the result of the landlord's overweening confidence in his own superior sagacity, and that they tend to tie up the hands of the tenant, and to confine him to a routine system. This statement is probably in some degree true; but the expediency of inserting conditions in leases, and of enforcing their observance, is, notwithstanding, unquestionable. The interests of the parties to a lease are, in some respects, the same; but in others they are quite opposite. It must, of course, be the object of a tenant occupying a farm to make the most of it during the lease, without caring much about the state in which it may be at its close; especially if he has no intention of renewing his lease. But it is for the interest of the landlord (which in this, as in most other cases, is identified with that of the public) that the farm should be always, and especially at the end of the lease, in good order. Experience has, however, proved conclusively, that it is impossible to secure this important object without embodying conditions as to management in the lease, and taking care that they are observed. It is not easy, indeed, to exaggerate the mischief occasioned by neglecting to provide against the exhaus-

tion of farms. 'In Italy, when the husbandman's time of holding 'is nearly expired, it is his custom to ruin the vineyard he rents, 'by forcing the trees to bear till they become barren. Such 'treatment is called by the neighbourhood *lascia podera*, or *adieu* '*farm!*' (Harte's *Essays*, p. 160.) We are ashamed to have to say, that in many parts of England this wretched and barbarous practice is prevalent. The tenant too frequently believes that, were he to bring his farm into fine order, he would either be obliged to leave it, or be charged with a higher rent; and, not being restricted in his proceedings, he scourges it, in the view of ensuring his own occupancy, or of making it worth as little as possible to a successor. Mr Harte mentions that in some parts, the inhabitants have a proverb expressive of this feeling:—

He that havocs *may sit*,
He that improves *must flit*.

And even at the present day this detestable practice is followed in some of the finest English counties. Speaking of Berks, Messrs Kennedy and Grainger tell us, that 'owing to the system acted 'upon, the soil, generally speaking, is very much out of condition. 'A tenant, up to the last one or two years of his lease, drives his 'land as hard as he possibly can, and in fact *leaves it entirely run* '*out*: thus the labour of several years is required to put it into 'any thing like good condition; whilst by the time A has 'brought his land tolerably round, his neighbour B, perhaps, 'intends to relinquish his farm; and thus is kept up the neglected 'appearance of the country. When a farmer cultivates his own 'property, it is, in consequence of this system, generally seen to 'the greatest advantage, like a fat sheep amongst a lean flock.' (Vol. i., p. 145.) And the practice is nearly similar in Buckingham, Oxford, and several other counties.

All parties—the public, landlords, and farmers—are deeply interested in the suppression of such miserable practices. We say *farmers*, because though a farmer should succeed, which is not very often the case, in squeezing a little more out of a farm he is about to quit by the scourging plan, than if he had kept it always in good heart, he will, if he take another farm, most likely have to enter to one where his predecessor has been equally rapacious and shortsighted as himself; and he will unquestionably have to expend a great deal more in bringing his new farm into a tolerably decent state, than he can have gained by the exhaustion of the old one. The retribution may not, it is true, always fall on the guilty party; but if it do not fall on him, it is sure to fall on some one else of his caste. Hence the custom is admitted by all prac-

tical authorities to be in the last degree injurious to the farming interest.

Nothing, of course, can be directly done to obviate this great evil. But we would fain hope, now that the extent and ruinous nature of the practice have been brought fairly under the public notice, that landlords, who alone have the power, will take the proper steps for its suppression. By doing this, they will materially advance their own interests and those of the public. It may not, indeed, be always expedient for a landlord to attempt suddenly to enforce a change very much at variance with the customs of the district in which his estate is situated; but experience has proved that the difficulties in the way of a change from a bad to a good system are not nearly so great as might be supposed, and that by laying down proper regulations, and providing for their gradual introduction, such a change may be effected in the course of a few years, as cannot fail to be advantageous alike to the landlord, the occupiers, and the community.

The customs that prevail as to the entry to farms vary greatly in different parts of England. In some, they seem to be very well fitted for promoting the interests of all parties; but in many extensive districts they are of a very different description, and have a powerful and most mischievous influence. In the northern counties, the usual practice is for the outgoing tenant to retain the last corn-crop, and to thrash it on the premises,—the straw going to the new tenant as an indemnification for the use of the barns, and for his assistance in carrying the crop to market; all that the new tenant has to pay his predecessor being for grass seeds, the manure upon the farm, and sometimes, but not always, for breaking up the fallows. This is called the *free-entering* system; and how trivial soever it may appear in the estimation of superficial observers, it is a principal cause of the generally improved state of agriculture, and of the better condition of the farmers, wherever it obtains. In Kent, on the other hand, and the greater number of the southern counties, the custom is for the new tenant to take the straw and hay on the farm when he enters to it, which is usually at Michaelmas, at a valuation. 'The 'old tenant also claims from the incomer a remuneration for all 'the labour he has bestowed during the last year upon the Mi- 'chaelmas, or turnip fallows, which the outgoer, up to the time 'of his leaving the farm, has the privilege of sowing. He like- 'wise charges for the seed and the labour of sowing, and has a 'similar demand upon the incomer for the clover, or other seeds 'upon the ground, *for all the manure laid out during the last year* 'on the land, *for half that which was used during the preceding year*, 'and *for the expense of carting, and the labour attending it!* In ad-

'dition to this, all the hop-poles are taken in the same way as 'the rest of the articles, by the incomer, at a valuation.' (Kennedy and Grainger, vol. i., p. 250.)

This practice is in the last degree objectionable: and the present authors have shown that it contributes as much, or more, perhaps, than anything else, to keep agriculture in a backward state. Every one must see that it cannot fail to be productive of the grossest frauds. After a field has been ploughed, harrowed, rolled, &c., some three or four times, how can any one tell how the first operations were performed? And what can an appraiser have to trust to, as to the manure laid out on the land, during the *previous year and a half*, except the statements of the outgoing tenant, or his servants? But supposing, which however does not hold in one case out of ten, that every thing is, in these respects, correct, the practice is obviously most injurious; as it compels the new tenant to pay for various articles which probably he does not want, or might have got cheaper elsewhere, and for work which he has not superintended, and which, in the vast majority of instances, is neither well executed nor to his mind. A large proportion of the tenant's capital is thus swallowed up at the moment of his entering to the farm, and when, of course, it is most important that he should have his entire funds under his control. The authors of the work before us affirm, that, 'in many counties of England, 'a farmer entering upon 200 acres of land with a capital of 'L.1500, has to pay, according to the custom of the place, 'L.1200, upon a valuation, and for stock, leaving him only 'L.300 to carry on his business; whilst in the north, and in 'Scotland, a farmer may enter on the same quantity of land, 'having no valuation to pay, with only L.800, and after stocking his farm to the best advantage, have the same sum left that 'the other has, but with much better opportunities of employing 'it profitably.'—(*Introd.* p. 16.)

In reference to the county of Kent, Messrs Kennedy and Grainger observe,—'In consequence of having so large a sum to pay 'at the outset, if the first year turns out bad, the farmer is irretrievably ruined. This has been the case with hundreds, who 'having entered upon farms with all the money they could raise, 'have nothing left with which to go on, in the event of declining 'markets, or a wet season affording them an unfavourable price 'for the produce of their first harvest.'

'Let the practice, in this respect, in Kent, Sussex, Surrey, 'Essex, Suffolk, and some other counties, be compared with that 'in the north of England, and it will be found decidedly proved, 'that, with *a certain capital employed in the latter, a farmer can*

'*do as much, and as well, as with double its amount in the south:* 'for, even in the counties just mentioned, if the first year turns 'out well, a farmer entering under such a practice, with a moderate 'capital, can never half stock a farm,—an evil which is too well 'known and too much felt in those districts, and which, from the 'baneful practice alluded to, is easily accounted for.'—(Vol. i., p. 250.)

The same writers elsewhere state, that 'to this practice it 'may, in a great measure, be attributed, that so large a propor- 'tion of the soil of England lies in a neglected state, or is not 'cultivated under a proper rotation, or rendered efficiently pro- 'ductive. It is true, that part of these evils may be traced to a 'cause we before stated,—the not giving tenants a sufficient 'interest in the land, by means of leases, to render it of any ad- 'vantage to them to speculate on improvements; much, also, 'must in some cases be ascribed to the ignorance or prejudice 'of occupiers of land; but perhaps the greatest of all evils is 'that to which we have just alluded, namely, the compulsory 'system of valuation; because that either prevents farmers of 'spirit, experience, or knowledge of the subject, from taking 'farms which there is no doubt they would greatly improve, and 'in so doing, set an example in their respective neighbourhoods, 'which might be highly and generally beneficial; or, if they do 'enter upon land under such a custom, it incapacitates them from 'making those improvements which they wish, and are inclined 'to make, and which would be in the same degree advantageous.' —(*Introd.* p. 19.)

These statements ought, we should think, to make a deep impression. They come from gentlemen of great experience, who 'pledge' themselves that the facts laid before the reader 'were 'entirely collected on the spots to which they respectively relate, 'either from actual observation or local information.' After allowing for difference of taxes and rates, Messrs Kennedy and Grainger state, that the circumstances mentioned as to the entry to farms, are sufficient to occasion a difference of five shillings an acre, or upwards, in the rent of the arable land of Scotland and of the south of England! And they affirm, that were the customs as to entry amended, and leases of a reasonable length, and containing proper conditions as to management, granted to the tenants of the southern counties, their situation would be vastly improved, even though they paid an additional rent of five shillings an acre.

These facts are not only extremely important in themselves, but they show that the agriculturists have it in their power materially to alleviate, or rather, we believe, entirely to remove,

the pressure of that distress under which they are at present suffering. We do not certainly wish to undervalue the relief they will no doubt receive from the commutation of tithes; but there is a large extent of England tithe-free, and the advantages resulting from a commutation, though great, are quite inconsiderable, compared with those that would result from the general introduction of a proper system as to the holding of farms. This would go far to double the agricultural produce of the kingdom, and would consequently render us more than independent of foreign supplies; at the same time that it would add materially to the rents of the landlords, and to the wealth of the farmers. We do, therefore, hope, that the former will give their best attention to this subject. They have it in their power, when their estates are out of lease, or out of occupation, to introduce whatever new rules and regulations they think proper; and those landlords will best promote their own interests, and those of the public, who let their farms for a reasonable period, under stipulations calculated to maintain their fertility, and so that the tenant entering to a farm shall have the full command of his capital.

ART. VII.—*Egypt, and Mohammed Ali; or, Travels in the Valley of the Nile.* By JAMES AUGUSTUS ST JOHN. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1834.

IF a great book be a great evil, the work before us is certainly in that category. On such a subject as 'Egypt,' indeed, not to mention that of 'Mohammed Ali,' a couple of bulky octavos might not, perhaps, be thought excessive, even in the present utilitarian age; but when it is considered how much has already been written and published respecting both the country itself and the extraordinary person who at present presides over its destinies, it can scarcely be doubted that Mr St John has exceeded the limits within which he ought to have confined himself. By attempting too much, he has failed to do almost any thing in a complete and satisfactory manner. Egypt, archæologically considered, is a subject with which Mr St John is evidently not in a condition to grapple. His erudition, judging from his book, appears to be somewhat superficial;—on the vast field of Egyptian antiquities he seems scarcely to have broken ground;—he has not apparently made himself acquainted

with the researches of the learned in Europe respecting the texts of the hieroglyphical inscriptions;—the various lights which have latterly been struck out have, accordingly, been totally neglected by, if not altogether unknown to him;—and in regard to the monuments, whilst we are not aware that he has added any new facts of importance, his opinions are, for the most part, either erroneous or paradoxical. Nor has Mr St John given any decided proofs of eminent fitness for describing the actual condition of Egypt under its present ruler, or fully appreciating the true character of the regenerative process through which that country is now passing; far less of estimating correctly the policy pursued by the Viceroy, whether for the extension or consolidation of his power. With the principles of economical science, as applicable to the internal industry and foreign commerce of Egypt, he does not seem to be very intimately acquainted; and although his remarks are frequently judicious and well founded, he often fails to perceive the consequences to which they lead, and sometimes draws conclusions at variance with the premises from which they are deduced.

But, with all these defects, Mr St John is in general a shrewd observer; and as he writes in an agreeable style, he might have produced a very pleasant and useful book, had he pruned down his materials to half their present size, spared us his itineraries and monumental descriptions, and confined himself to a plain unaffected narrative of what fell under his own observation, particularly in his intercourse with the native population. All that he has actually given us on this subject is not only excellent in itself, evincing a discriminating and, at the same time, a generous and philanthropic cast of mind, but is by far the most interesting and valuable part of his work. He has, in fact, the merit—and, in our estimation, it is not a slight one—of having deigned to bestow some little attention in studying the character and feelings of the poor oppressed Fellahs, whom preceding travellers have treated very much in the spirit of their tyrannical oppressors; and, what is more, he has the courage to do justice to the many admirable qualities which, amidst all their desolation and misery, still continue to distinguish the Arab population of Egypt.

But as the work is of a kind to be exemplified rather than described, we shall, as far as our limits will permit, allow the author to speak for himself; reserving for the proper heads such remarks in detail as we may deem it necessary to offer respecting either his statements or opinions. Having landed at Alexandria, of which we have as usual some account, Mr St John manages —no difficult matter—to get himself presented to the Viceroy,

who happened to be then in the maritime capital of his territory, and with whom, it would appear, our traveller held sundry conferences through the medium of Boghos Yussuff, his Highness's first interpreter and prime minister. Mr St John having favoured us with a specimen of his skill in reporting, we can scarcely do less than submit to our readers his colloquy with the Viceroy, which, to say the truth, is by no means the least remarkable portion of his book.

'The conversation was commenced in the ordinary way. "You are welcome," observed the Pasha, "I am glad to see you in Egypt. Does the country please you? Are you contented? It is my desire that travellers should be quite at their ease, quite at home, in my dominions."

'"I thank your highness. Alexandria has interested me exceedingly; but as yet I am only on the threshold of Egypt. With your permission, I wish to explore the whole country. Travellers appear to move about as safe here as in Europe."

'"Certainly, certainly. Nothing can afford me greater pleasure than extending my protection to strangers. You will run no risk in traversing the whole of my territories. How far do you purpose extending your researches?"

'"As far as Dongola, should I be blest with a favourable wind!"

'"Indeed! Well, you may proceed in safety as far as you please. I understand it is your intention to write a book. Is it so?"

'"Your highness has been rightly informed."

'"In that case, I shall be happy to afford you all kinds of facilities. But do you confine your researches, as is the custom, to ruins and other remains of ancient art?"

'"On the contrary, my principal object is to obtain an insight into the character of your highness's government, and the present state of the country."

'When I had spoken these words, a remarkable change, I thought, took place in his manner. He seemed more polite than before, but was evidently more grave and thoughtful.

'"Ah! then," he continued, after a brief pause, "you do not run about after antiquities; your object is wholly political."

'"Not wholly, may it please your highness; but having learned from history what Egypt was in old times, I am curious to discover its present resources and military strength; and on this point I should feel extremely flattered if I could obtain permission to ask your highness a question."

'"You have my permission; say on."

'"Your highness has doubtless been informed, that a statement of the nature and amount of your forces has appeared in the *Malta Gazette*. Now, I wish to know from your highness whether I may depend upon the correctness of that statement; and, if not, I would then enquire what the real amount may be."

'He now paused for a moment, casting a half angry, half scrutinizing

look, first at me, and then at Mr Harris. Coffee, also, was at this moment brought in; and I feared that the conversation, thus interrupted, would not be again resumed. However, in a few minutes he replied:—"I have not hitherto exactly ascertained the amount of my forces, which are widely scattered about in the various provinces of my dominions; but, I assure you, the statement of the *Malta Gazette* is altogether incorrect; as I may venture to assert in round numbers, that my army amounts to quite double the number there stated. However, as people have begun to calculate my strength, I will, to confound them, cause an exact return of my troops to be made; and, on your return from the upper country in the spring, you shall be presented with a copy of the official document. At present I cannot give you the precise number; but, I repeat it, the account in the *Malta Gazette* is altogether false."

'"I thank your highness, and will rely upon your promise. At the same time, I may, perhaps, be permitted to observe, that the sooner this document is placed before the world the better, as the affairs of Egypt now command considerable attention in Europe; where, in fact, the eyes of all politicians are fixed upon your movements; and unless uncontradicted in some distinct and positive manner, it is to be feared that, on this and other points, the assertions of the *Malta Gazette*, the *Moniteur Ottoman*, and the *Gazette of Smyrna*, will be credited."

'He answered, in a somewhat hurried manner,—"I have hitherto been accustomed to reply to words with actions: but since the Sultan lays so much stress on words—on the articles of a mere journalist—I also will have my newspaper, which shall be published here at Alexandria, in French and Arabic. The editor, a very able man, is already engaged; and all the steps are taken which can ensure its speedy publication."

'"No one can doubt that your highness has acted prudently; for the influence of newspapers is incalculable."

'"And yet," he replied, in an altered manner, and as if he repented of what he had said, "and yet, I am so very indifferent about these matters, that the idea would never have occurred to me, but for my suite, who all counsel me to have a journal. I merely yield to their representations."

'At this, not being quite a courtier, I could not repress a smile, while I observed—"Your highness's suite, in my opinion, are very judicious persons, and counsel you wisely; for, after all, the opinion of Europe is of some consequence."

'At this he seemed to start as from a dream; became fidgety upon his divan; and, making a slight movement towards me, replied, in the most animated manner,—"Oh, do not mistake me; I am not indifferent about the judgment which the world may form of me; and of this I will give you a convincing proof. For a long time I have been engaged in composing the history of my own life. During every moment which I can snatch from public business, from the affairs of my people, I am attended by a secretary, whose sole employment it is to write down what I dictate, in my own words; and to obviate the objections which might be urged against a history of so long a period, composed from recollection, I may remark that nature has endowed me with a

very strong memory. I can describe, as if they occurred yesterday, events which took place forty years ago. In consequence, my biography will be very full. It will contain the history of my youth, before my arrival in Egypt. I shall describe the state of this country when I came into it; and all the events, of any importance, which happened during my military expeditions in Nubia, Sennaar, Kordofan, the Hejaz, and Syria."'

Having thus elicited the important information that the Viceroy has long been engaged in composing a history of his own eventful life, Mr St John, 'without allowing him time to cool,' continued his enquiries.

'"And what time does your highness think it will require to complete the history up to the present time? I also, perhaps, may desire to give some account of your highness's life, and should consider myself fortunate in obtaining access to materials so original and valuable."

'"Ah, that is very uncertain. The work is long, and my moments of labour are few. It cannot possibly be finished by the time you return down the river."

'I now turned the conversation into another channel. "Your highness is not, I am aware, accustomed to grant travellers the permission to visit the fortifications of Alexandria, particularly the Castle of the Pharos, and the battery on the point of Ras-el-Teen; and, therefore, though extremely desirous of examining them, I scarcely know how to ask such a favour." At these words he opened his eyes, and darting at Mr Harris a look, in which the words "What the devil have you brought here?" were clearly implied, he bit his lips, and was for a short time silent. He then directed a scrutinizing glance at me, and replied,—"Yes, you may visit them. You may see them all. I will give orders to that effect. You shall have a *kawass* to-morrow."

'"Oh, I thank your Highness! But to-morrow I set out for Cairo. When I return will be time enough. And now I have another favour to ask; *may I be permitted, while at Cairo, to see your Highness's children, and such parts of the harem as a stranger can enter with propriety?*"

'"*There will be no difficulty.* And, to ensure your admittance, I will this evening cause a letter, containing my orders, to be written to M. Walmas, which shall be delivered to you before your departure. What time do you leave?"

'"At noon."

'"Well, the letter shall be sent you in the morning."'

The first remark suggested by this dialogue, as reported by Mr St John is, that he is a most persevering and sturdy interrogator. According to his own account, he boldly put the Viceroy to the question regarding subjects of such extreme delicacy, that a favoured minister would probably have felt considerable difficulty in touching on some of them; and he, at the same time, avowed objects which, but for the indiscretion betrayed by the avowal, would

almost have justified Mohammed Ali in considering and treating our worthy traveller as a spy, who had been sent into his country to report upon its means of defence. When Mr St John interrogated the Viceroy as to the 'nature and amount 'of his forces,' and whether a statement on the subject which had appeared in the *Malta Gazette* might be depended on as correct, we do not, by any means, wonder that his Highness should have 'paused for a moment, casting a half-angry, 'half-scrutinizing look' at the querist; and when, in a reply to a question put by the Pasha, he avowed that the object of his mission, if we may so express it, was not 'wholly political,' but that he was 'curious to discover the *present resources* and *military* '*strength*' of Egypt, the marvel is, that he did not receive orders to leave the country without a moment's delay. But it is not difficult to account for the unexpected forbearance which the Viceroy displayed upon this occasion. Having discovered that Mr St John belonged to that class of persons who, according to the honest negro, 'Take walk to make book,' he at once perceived the harmless nature of his vocation; and accordingly, with the aid of his first interpreter, he seems to have amused himself with practising a little on the credulity of the querist. This, indeed, is made quite evident by the reply which the Viceroy is reported to have given to the interrogatory respecting the nature and amount of his forces as stated in the *Malta Gazette;* namely, eighty-five thousand men. For it is impossible his Highness could have meant *seriously* to affirm, that, 'in round numbers, 'his army amounted to quite double the number there stated,' or to 160,000 men. Such an assertion, if gravely made, would only have exposed him to ridicule, seeing that, even on the most favourable computation, his regular forces, upon which alone he can place reliance, do not exeeed 69,000 infantry and 4000 cavalry. What follows is, to say the very least of it, exceedingly curious. 'As people have begun to calculate my strength,' said the Viceroy, 'I will, to confound them, cause an exact return of my troops 'to be made; and, on your return from the upper country in the 'spring, you shall be presented with a copy of the official document.' To this Mr St John replies, 'I thank your Highness, and 'will rely upon your promise. At the same time, I may, perhaps, 'be permitted to observe, that *the sooner this document is placed* '*before the world the better*, as the affairs of Egypt now command 'considerable attention in Europe, where, in fact, the eyes of all 'politicians are fixed upon your movements; and unless *un*con-'tradicted [*contradicted*] in some distinct and positive manner, '*it is to be feared* that, on this and other points, the assertions of 'the *Malta Gazette*, the *Moniteur Ottoman*, and the *Gazette* '*of Smyrna* will be credited!'

Now, without adverting to the extreme modesty of the admonition here given to the victorious Pasha to keep his word, there is something exceedingly amusing in a foreigner, who had just landed on the shores of Egypt, presuming, at an interview of ceremony, to urge the powerful ruler of that country to enter into a controversy with three newspapers, two of them avowedly in the interest of his enemies, and at the same time bluntly telling him to his face that *their* 'assertions' would be 'credited' in Europe, unless contradicted by him. If Mr St John, however, had known anything of the subject, in regard to which he represents himself to have so unceremoniously interrogated the Viceroy, he would of course have been aware that his highness had no very obvious interest to contradict a statement which ascribed to him a force exceeding by 10,000 or 12,000 men, the total amount of his military strength; nor would he have felt any surprise that 'the exact return of the Egyptian troops' which, he says, was promised him 'on his return from the upper country,' should have been reserved by the Viceroy for the autobiography which, it seems, he is engaged in preparing for the edification of posterity.

The account which our author has given of the Viceroy's personal appearance, habits, and manner of transacting business, as well as of the general aspect and character of his court is much more interesting, because far less apocryphal.

'Mohammed Ali is a man of middling stature, robust and stout in his make, exceedingly upright, and, for a man of sixty-five, hale and active. His features, possessing more of the Tartar cast than is usual among European Turks, are plain, if not coarse; but they are lighted up with so much intelligence, and his dark grey eyes beam so brightly that I should not be surprised if I found that persons familiar with his countenance thought him handsome. In dress he differs but little, if at all, from any other Turkish gentleman; he has, however, a certain dignity in his manner, which, in the estimation of many, even borders upon majesty. But this dignity seems almost inseparable from the possession of power; the man who can do much good or harm, whatever may be his stature, form, or features, will always appear to exhibit it; as the scorpion, in size no larger than a snail, is viewed with awe, because he is supposed to carry death in his sting. The manner in which he spends his time is nearly as follows;—He sleeps very little. Europeans who have happened to repose in the same tent with him, while on a journey, complain of having been often disturbed in the night by his asking them questions, and afterwards continuing to talk on when they wished to sleep. He rises at or before daybreak; and, very shortly afterwards, leaves his harem on horseback, and repairs to his divan for the despatch of business. Here he receives all memorials, petitions, despatches, &c. Shortly after his arrival, the secretaries walk in with large bundles of letters, received since the day before, the contents of which are read to him. He then commands, and sketches out, *viva voce*, in a rapid manner, the neces-

sary replies. Then the answers to letters and papers, ordered to be made on the preceding day, are brought in, and read to him by the secretaries; and when he has heard and approved of their contents, he orders his signet, which he delivers into their hands, to be affixed to them; while he generally paces up and down the room, turning over the matter in his mind, and probably deliberating whether there shall any postscript be added. This sort of business usually occupies him till about nine o'clock; at which hour all those consuls, and other persons, who desire a public audience arrive. In an hour or two these individuals take their leave; upon which he retires to his harem, where he remains until about three or half past three in the afternoon. Even here, however, he is still employed; and his general orders are, that, if any verbal message be forwarded to him, it is to be delivered to the chief of the eunuchs; but that, if any letter or note arrive, whether by day or night, he is to be immediately awakened from sleep. Boghos Ioussouff often attends him in the harem for the despatch of important business. At half past three o'clock he again returns to the divan; where, except that the order of proceeding is reversed,—as he first gives audience, and then enters into the affairs of the interior,—the same round of business takes place as in the morning. About an hour after sunset he takes a slight repast, and remains in the divan until ten or eleven o'clock at night. During these evening hours he generally finds time for a game or two at chess, a person retained for the purpose being always in attendance to play with him; and this fellow, being his highness's buffoon as well as companion in amusement, always affects to be inconsolable, and makes a sad outcry, when the pieces are taken from him.

'Both the Pasha and his court are very plain at Alexandria; but at Cairo, where, however, he spends but a small portion of the year, things are conducted with more state, though he is everywhere extremely accessible. Any person who has leisure, and knows no better mode of employing it, may go every evening to the palace, whether he have business there or not; and, if he does not choose to force himself upon the notice of the Pasha, he can enter into any of the other magnificent apartments, which are lighted up as well as the audience chamber, and converse, if he pleases, with some of the numerous company there assembled. To show his Highness's close habits of business, it has been remarked to me, that, when accidentally indisposed at Alexandria, and compelled to take exercise in his carriage instead of on horseback, he is known constantly to take out with him the public despatches. Driving to the banks of the canal, he has his carpet spread upon the ground; and there, while coffee is preparing, he usually sits, reading and sealing his despatches. He will then enjoy his coffee and pipe, and afterwards return directly to the palace. This is one of his recreations. In the harem, he reads, or has books read to him; or amuses himself by conversing with the abler part of his eunuchs. At other times he is employed in dictating his history; or in playing at chess, to which, like most other Orientals, he appears to be passionately addicted.'—'The accidents of the weather never interfere with his resolutions: he will sometimes set out on a journey in the midst of a heavy shower of rain or a storm,

which has more than once caused him very serious illness. His movements are sudden and unexpected; he appears in Cairo or at Alexandria when least looked for, which maintains a certain degree of vigilance among the agents of government; though something of all this may, perhaps, be set down to caprice or affectation. In the gardens of Shoubra there is a small alcove, where the Pasha, during his brief visits to that palace, will frequently sit, about eleven or twelve o'clock at night, and, dismissing from about him all his courtiers and attendants, remain for an hour or two. From this alcove, two long vistas, between cypress, orange, and citron-trees, diverge, and extend the whole length of the grounds; and in the calm bright nights of the East, by moon or star light, when the air is perfumed by the faint odours of the most delicate flowers, a more delicious or romantic station could hardly be found. In the affairs of the heart, Mohammed Ali is not altogether without delicacy: during the whole lifetime of his wife, an energetic and superior woman, he invariably treated her with the most profound respect, and she always retained a great influence over him. Even since her death he has never married another woman; though he has not refrained from keeping a number of female slaves in his harem. She lies buried by [beside] her son, Toussoun, in a sumptuous tomb near Cairo; and, when I visited the place, some friendly hand had recently been strewing sweet flowers over their graves.'

In describing the ruins of Saïs in the Delta, while on his way to Cairo, Mr St John adverts to a commonly-received opinion, thoughtlessly repeated by many modern writers, including even Dr Adam Smith, that the ancient Egyptians had an aversion to the sea: and very judiciously points out its absurdity. 'The authors,' says he, 'who represent Egypt as the mother 'of so many colonies, inform us at the same time, that its an-'cient inhabitants entertained the most rooted aversion to 'navigation, and had no ships. How, then, could she send forth 'colonies?' He might also have asked, How could the inhabitants of a country, annually overflowed, and thereby converted into a species of inland sea, remain long ignorant of, or averse to navigation? And how is such supposed aversion to be reconciled with the statements of almost all the Greek and Roman writers, that, in ancient times, the Egyptians were not only a commercial people, but possessed a powerful navy; and that some of their monarchs undertook distant expeditions, and others sent out ships on voyages of discovery; or with the fact, that in the very figures engraved on the monuments, we discover proofs corroborative of the statements of the ancient historians? The Phœnicians were originally an Egyptian colony; did *they* inherit from the mother country any aversion to the sea or to navigation? The truth is, that this vulgar error is founded upon an obvious anachronism. Whilst Egypt was great and prosperous, commerce and navigation flourished; but when her power began to decline,

and her unprotected coasts were exposed to the ravages of bucaniering adventurers, particularly pirates of the Greek race, the policy of her rulers appears to have changed; navigation was prohibited, her harbours were closed, the coast was jealously watched, and a sort of Chinese system of exclusion introduced. This change seems to have taken place about the time of Psammetichus; and from confounding the policy then adopted with that which had distinguished Egypt's elder time, modern authors have been led into the mistake to which Mr St John has alluded. The whole question has been fully and ably discussed by Sir William Drummond in the second volume of his *Origines*, —a work of singular ingenuity, curious erudition, and, in many parts, striking originality.

One of the most instructive portions of the work before us is the account which it contains of the Egyptian capital. Cairo is, indeed, an epitome of the whole Eastern world.

'There, as in a hot-bed, flourish all those vices which have proved the bane of the vast but short-lived despotisms of the East. Converse with whomsoever you please, you quickly discover, amid the charms of the most dazzling and fascinating manners, infernal ideas and principles, peeping forth like the asp and the scorpion among flowers. Corruption, if not universal, is so general, that it seems to exhibit itself everywhere. The very tombs, when a little secluded, are not free from pollution. Yet, in the midst of this vortex of iniquity, the exterior prospect of manners, the features and costume in which society presents itself to the eye of the stranger, are generally solemn and stately; virtue and gravity are complimented with a ritual of hypocritical observances; and barbarians, in whom meanness and ignorance are as the breath of life, affect, in their walk and conversation, a dignity and generosity which belong to the highest wisdom alone. To the traveller, however, all this masquerading furnishes amusement: each day presents some new moral group to his observation; he learns to detect, one after another, the numerous contrivances which are resorted to, by all parties, to baffle his penetration; and, perhaps, among all the phenomena which excite his admiration, none are more truly astonishing than the metamorphoses which Europeans appear to undergo in that Circéan sty.'

The account of the *Almeh* given by Mr St John, is the more deserving of commendation that, without offending against delicacy, it exposes the demoralization which must inevitably result from constant familiarity with the exhibitions in which these licentiates of the school of vice are taught to excel.

'Among the most interesting and remarkable spectacles in the modern capital of Egypt, are the performances of the *almé*, of which many travellers have made mention, without, however, bestowing on the accomplished actresses all the praises which they appear to deserve. In

reality, what is termed the "dance of the almé," is the opera of the Orientals. All ranks, and both sexes, young and old, delight in the exhibition; and the ladies of the harem, instructed in the art by the almé themselves, perform in their own apartments, for the amusement of their families. Even the wives and daughters of Europeans, who have long resided in the country, contract a partiality for this dance, and are no more ashamed to entertain their friends by the lascivious movements which it requires, than they are in Europe to waltz. On my arrival at Cairo, therefore, my first enquiry was concerning the dancing girls, who, I was told, lived apart from the profane vulgar, in the little rural village of *Sha'arah*,—the *Eleusis* of modern Egypt,—where the mysteries of *Athor*, the Mother of the Universe, are still celebrated by those youthful priestesses. Accompanied by one of my companions across the Delta, and an interpreter, I this morning rode out to the opera, which is got up at a few minutes' notice, at any hour of the day or night. Traversing nearly the whole of the city, we issued forth into the fields, through one of the most ruinous and unfrequented suburbs, and, in about half an hour, arrived at the village, which, I am sorry to say, consists of a small collection of mud huts huddled together without order, though less poor and more cleanly than any of the other villages we had seen; so that Sin, in Egypt, cannot be reproached with the gorgeousness of her appearance; the Mohammedan saints and hermits being, in general, better lodged than the courtesans. On our arrival, a number of *almé*, many of them in very elegant attire, and adorned with a profusion of ornaments, came forth to meet and welcome us. They were all young; none, perhaps, exceeding twenty; and the majority between ten and sixteen years old. Some few would have been considered handsome, even in London; but the greater number, though fairer than the Cairen women usually are, had little beside their youth and the alluring arts of their profession to recommend them. When they were informed that we were desirous of witnessing their performances, they proceeded to conduct us to the coffee-house, where, it would seem, that the greater part of their lives is consumed, in sipping coffee, singing, and that sort of piquant conversation which becomes their calling.

'In the great room of the coffee-house there were, perhaps, a hundred dancing girls assembled,—all intent on the enjoyment of the moment,—pupils of that sage school which teaches, "carpere diem, quam minimum credulæ postero." Not being habituated to wine, coffee appeared to produce in them the same excitement and petulant gaiety to which Champagne or Burgundy sometimes gives birth among European women; and, having no motives for concealment, they expressed the subject of their meditations with a cynical intrepidity worthy of a Lais or a Phryne. Two or three—the handsomest of all—were elegantly, or rather, sumptuously, dressed, in short embroidered jackets, fitting close, and showing the whole contour of the form; with long loose trowsers of half-transparent silk, a bright-coloured shawl round the waist, and small graceful turbans of muslin and gold. Their hair, which escaped in long black tresses from beneath the head-dress, was ornamented with strings of gold coins, strung like pearls, which, in some cases, depended in barbaric profusion over the

forehead. Considerably the greater number were below the middle size, like the generality of their countrywomen, with clear brown complexions, oval faces, fine teeth, and beautiful large dark eyes. Their dress, when not purposely discomposed, is by no means indecent; but, proud of the native graces of their forms, they were daringly heedless of appearances, and contrived, with seeming negligence, to exhibit in succession every hidden charm which nature had bestowed upon them.

'The principal *almé* now prepared to dance. She was a fine Arab girl, in the flower of her age,—an Oriental would have thought her beautiful,—with a form resembling that of the Venus Kallipyga. Her ordinary dress, perhaps regarded as too prudish, was exchanged for a lighter and more tantalizing costume, which, for exhibiting every beauty and contour of the figure, undoubtedly equalled the Coan robes celebrated by Horace, or those transparent Amorginian garments which Lysistrata, in Aristophanes, counsels the Athenian ladies to assume, for the laudable purpose of putting an end to the Peloponnesian War. The whole business of the toilet was performed in public; and when her dress had been arranged so as to expose nearly the whole front of the person, she fastened round her waist a broad variegated belt, as thick as a horse's girth, without the support of which many of the postures required by the nature of the dance would be impossible. Throwing off her slippers, she then commenced the pantomime, her movements being accompanied by the music of the Egyptian pipe and drum, the songs of two or three of her companions, and the petulant, wanton sounds of the castanets. Many travellers affect to have been much disgusted by the performances of the *almé*, and, perhaps, when the dancers are ugly, the exhibition may have but few charms; but, in general, it is not beheld without pleasure, and I fear that a company of accomplished *almé*, engaged by an opera manager, would draw crowded houses in Paris or London. The dance which is κατ' εξοχὴν mimetic, represents a tale of love; at least, as love is understood in the East.'

These females abound in every place of consequence, nay, in almost every considerable village of Egypt, and everywhere ply their wretched trade under the countenance and sanction of the police. Even the Copts have their Almeh, whose exhibitions are not less exceptionable than those which delight the children of the Prophet. The corruption, in fact, seems to be universal amongst all classes, excepting, perhaps, the poor oppressed Fellahs, who have hitherto been so much despised and misrepresented. The extreme of despotism can only co-exist with deep moral degeneracy; but, on the other hand, from the very excess of the latter, the former is rendered incapable of consolidation, and is for the most part as short-lived as it is ferocious and sanguinary in its character. No solid fabric of government can ever be reared on the basis of vice and misery. Force and violence soon exhaust themselves; and when the compressive power begins to slacken, the heterogeneous elements immediately relapse into a chaos of wild anarchy. In

Egypt, the most oppressed are the most undepraved; and it is by calling into activity their still undestroyed courage and intelligence that Mohammed Ali has been enabled to triumph over his enemies, to humble the pride of the successor of the Prophet, and to found, by conquest, an independent empire. But where the general mass of society is degraded and oppressed,—where vice reigns in the towns, and tyranny domineers over the country,—where the great body of the people have no motive to improve their condition, no incentive to honest ambition,—there will always be found the elements of turbulence and disorder. Bad governments naturally spring out of a state of things which, in their turn, they serve to aggravate and envenom; but the first and highest interest of every government founded on sound principles is not only to check the progress of public demoralization, and force back vice into obscurity, but at the same time to attach a just value to character, and thus to raise the general standard of morality. Under a blind and unreflecting despotism, however, this is next to impossible. Until men find that their rights are respected, that the laws afford them protection, that their persons are safe from violence and their property from spoliation, they will never learn to respect themselves, nor have any higher aim than to live through the passing hour, snatching such sensual or animal indulgences as accident may throw in their way. In a word, where the general standard of morality is low, public opinion will never acquire sufficient strength and force to operate as a check against abuses in the government.

We have already said that we attach little or no importance to our author's antiquarian speculations, and do not intend to follow him through those descriptions of ancient remains which occupy so large a portion of his work. But we quote the following passage, which, though it relates to a different subject, suggests a remark connected with Egyptian archæology, which all those persons who have applied themselves to that interesting but difficult study will find it of importance to keep in view:

'It is certainly neither the fertility of Egypt, nor its commercial importance, nor yet its ruins and celebrity, mighty as they are, which form the charm that fascinates the imagination of the traveller. It is, in fact, the beholding of the principles of fertility and barrenness, of destruction and reproduction, of life and death,—the Osiris and Typhon of the mythology,—operating undisguisedly side by side. On the one hand the Nile, "imitating Heaven," scatters life and abundance;—on the other the Desert, with its whirlwinds, its poisonous blasts, its mountains of shifting sand, is every ready to be lifted up and precipitated upon the fruitful valley, extinguishing and obliterating in a moment the labours of centuries. Such are the elements of an Egyptian landscape, which, whatever it may lack, possesses a grandeur and sublimity not less cha-

racteristic than that of the Alps, with their peaks of snow and eternal glaciers. Roaming here, in the winter of the tropics and their confines, Caravaggio or Salvator Rosa might have found an inexhaustible series of terrible subjects, such as, faithfully represented, so far as Art can represent faithfully the majesty of Nature, would have moved the soul to its centre.'

From the time of Kircher till that of Dr Young, it was more or less the practice of those who applied themselves to the study of the archæology of Egypt, to endeavour to resolve its mythology into a system of what may be denominated metaphysical personifications. But more enlightened enquiry, and, above all, the discoveries which have resulted, partly from the application of the phonetical alphabet, and partly also from detecting, by means of tentative comparisons and otherwise, the values of a variety of signs not explained by Horus Apollo or any other ancient writer, have concurred to demonstrate, that the great majority of the mythological emblems are direct types or signs, not of metaphysical or abstract ideas, but of natural powers or agencies, whether supposed to reside in the heavens, or actually recognised and felt upon earth. Thus, Osiris and Typhon represent, not the principles of fertility and barrenness, of generation and destruction, but simply the Nile, on the one hand, whose inundations are no doubt the direct cause of fertility, and the Desert, on the other, whose encroachments are the direct cause of barrenness; and thus, also, the fabled contest between Osiris and Typhon, in which the former is represented as having proved victorious, indicates, not the predominance of the good over the evil principle,—of the Ormusd over the Ahriman,—but simply the triumph, if we may so express it, of the river over the desert; especially when the influence of the former was extended by those beneficent monarchs who pretended to derive their descent from the great Ammon-Ra. In like manner, the Sphinx, a type of the Nile, is merely an astronomical emblem, indicative of the sun's position in the zodiac at the commencement of the annual inundation; just as the heart, with the aorta proceeding out of it, is the natural and most direct symbol of life. Many of the signs are no doubt arbitrary, being founded on analogies which have long ceased to be understood, or on such as arose out of a system, the spirit of which was essentially allegorical and mysterious; but wherever the learned have succeeded in interpreting them, it has been found that their import is very seldom indeed of an abstract or metaphysical character. Ideas of this kind are almost always secondary and consequential;—the result of generalization on the part of the interpreter, and not necessarily involved in the sign. It is of the more importance that the distinc-

tion here stated should be kept steadily in view; because almost all the discoveries which have of late years rewarded the researches of those who have devoted themselves to the study of Egyptian antiquities, have been the result of strictly observing it, and cautiously steering clear of that wild principle of interpretation, which, having no other limits than those prescribed to the fancy, invention, or ingenuity of mankind, involved Kircher, Palin, and many others who have speculated on the subject, in the most grotesque and extravagant absurdities.

But, to turn from the mythology of the Pharaohs to the subjects of Mohammed Ali, Mr St John, as we have already said, has the merit of having appreciated the true character of the native population of Egypt, and of having done justice to the many admirable qualities of which ages of oppression and misery have failed to deprive them. There is much truth and good sense in the following passage:—

'The *Fellahs* appear to have but feeble notions of cleanliness, their clothes in general swarming with lice, which they catch, and cast alive upon the ground, to be transferred to the person who next happens to sit near the spot; but they are certainly ashamed of the fact, for they hunt the vermin by stealth, and not in the barefaced way observable among the common people in Italy. They seem, however, to be naturally industrious and active, though it depends upon the government to direct their energies into a proper channel. Even the ancient Egyptians, with all their boasted wisdom, in most of their great works, appear to have had utility very little in view. Vanity or superstition being generally the moving principle, the result was splendid palaces, tombs, or temples, by none of which were the people greatly benefited. Canals, bridges, and great public highways, for the making of which no country can possess greater facilities, seem to have been always subordinate, in their estimation, to palaces and royal tombs; the monarch, in all such governments, being everything, and the people nothing, excepting so far as they can be made to minister to their master's pleasures. And such, in a great measure, must be the sentiments of those travellers and idle speculators at home, who, regarding nothing beyond the antiquities of the country, imagine that the dust and bones of the old mummy-makers are of more importance than the living multitude who now till the soil, and who, in their dhourra-covered sheds and unsightly nakedness, are superior, in every thing that concerns the dignity of human nature, to the superstitious and degraded rabble of the Pharaohs and Ptolemies. The old Egyptians laboured slavishly for their kings—the *Fellahs* labour for their Pasha; and, if history fable not, Mohammed Ali, with all his faults, is a much greater and better sovereign than many of those who, in antiquity, ground the face of the poor in Egypt.'

If it be not natural, it is at least common for tyrants of all kinds to despise those whom they have long oppressed with impunity. Among the Turks there used to be no term of reproach so insulting

and offensive as that of Arab; and travellers, taking them at their word, have generally been careful to repeat all the abuse which these insolent barbarians were accustomed to pour out on a much nobler race than themselves. Whether the experience acquired in the course of the late campaigns, during which the proud Osmanlees were so often overthrown by these same despised Arabs, may have induced them to rectify their nomenclature in this particular; or whether after the capture of Acre, Damascus, Antioch, and Aleppo, and the battles of Homs, Hamah, Bylan, Boghos, and Koniah, they still retain their wonted contempt for the race they so long oppressed, we do not pretend to say; but we entirely agree with Mr St John, that the unfavourable opinions which travellers have expressed of the Egyptian peasantry, have in general been borrowed from their oppressors. 'Such of the Caireens,' says he, 'as have been 'much in company with Franks, even as domestics, generally 'contract a violent prejudice against the peasantry, upon whom 'they look down with extreme contempt. This morning, for 'example, at Sagultch, the Hajji, [his Turkish attendant,] *in* '*other respects a humane man*, observing that I suffered an Arab 'to take the fowling-piece in his hand, exclaimed with a kind 'of disgust, "Oh, sir, don't allow that *beast* to touch it." He 'thought we should all be polluted by the very touch of a Fel-'lah. And it is from persons of this description that Europeans 'ordinarily borrow their preposterous ideas of the Egyptian 'peasantry.' This much calumniated race, Mr St John found, from his own observation and experience, to be in almost all respects the reverse of what their enemies had represented them; intelligent, active, patient, docile; trustworthy when trusted, extremely sensible to kind treatment, and ready to repay it with grateful attachment; affectionate in their disposition, and full of strong natural feeling; cheerful and industrious amidst misery and oppression; and evincing high capabilities both of moral and intellectual improvement. It was a fortunate hour for Mohammed Ali, when the untractable barbarism and mutinous spirit of the Turks compelled him to seek amongst the native population for subjects on whom to make trial of the new discipline, which he had resolved at all hazards to introduce. The result of the experiment which necessity forced him to try, is known to the whole world. In Dongola, Kordofan, Sennaar; in a series of campaigns carried on in the depths of Arabia; in the Morea, and latterly in Syria, the defiles of Mount Taurus, and Asia Minor, his troops, though opposed to almost every description of enemy, were uniformly victorious; and he now possesses

an army which, in point of discipline, organization, and efficiency, is little, if at all, inferior to any in Europe.

Yet, with all this experience of the admirable military qualities of this race, the Viceroy, who is still three parts a barbarian, continues to pursue a system of recruiting, or rather kidnapping, which has rendered his service odious to the native population, and produced the results which are stated in the following extract:—

'In all these villages we hear execrations poured forth against the Pasha for the oppressive way in which he recruits his armies: and the practices to which the *Fellahs* resort to elude his despotism, prove at once their intense love of home, and their aversion to a military life; not their cowardice, for, when brought into the field, they commonly fight with great bravery. However, as soon as the news reaches a village that a recruiting party is abroad,—and it spreads over the country like wildfire,—many men blind themselves with arsenic, others thrust a spear, or some other sharp instrument, into one of their eyes, or chop off the fore-finger of the right hand. We had one day thirteen Arabs in our service, who were all thus mutilated. Nay, mothers, forgetting that the Pasha's wars cannot last for ever, have even been known to blind or maim their own children. And to such an extent has this practice been carried, that it has been at length thought necessary to make it punishable. An order was issued at Cairo, July 30th, 1832, to each of the principal persons in the city, commanding them to produce a certain number of men for the army, under pain of forfeiting 700 piastres * for every deficiency. The consequence, says an eyewitness, was, that the streets presented the desolate appearance observed during the plague; the shops were closed, business was suspended, and women wailed as for the dead; the soldiers and inspectors employed in seizing the men, soon discovered the lucrative trick of pressing invalids, and other persons unfit for service, from whom menaces and their own fears extorted money for their release.'

In Egypt a soldier is an authority; he not only enforces, but in some measure makes the law, or rather *is* the law; and his condition, as compared with that of a Fellah, is one of affluence and comfort. But all these advantages are counterbalanced by the detestable system of kidnapping pursued by the Viceroy, which has led to the mutilations and other practices described in the foregoing extract, and which, while persevered in, will keep alive in all its intensity the popular aversion to the service. There cannot, however, be a more conclusive proof of the high military qualities of the Arab population—of their inherent bravery and susceptibility of discipline—than the fact, that, though torn by

* 'About L.10 sterling.'

violence from their homes, and dragged like brutes to the regimental depôts, they have, when trained to the use of arms, proved themselves, both in point of steadiness and courage, equal to almost any troops in the world. Nothing, indeed, is more remarkable than the stability of their organization, and the intelligent promptitude and alacrity with which, in the field, they regain their formation when it has been momentarily disturbed; no troops, in fact, are more easily rallied in the day of battle; among none has discipline produced greater confidence in the effects of order and unity, or habits of more devoted obedience and submission to those in command. Yet these men, who swept successive armies of Turks through the Syrian Gates across the passes of the Taurus, and who, at Koniah, annihilated the disciplined infantry of Sultan Mahmoud, were all dragged to the army in chains, like human captives to the slave-market, and treated on the road even worse than the 'beasts' to which the 'humane' Suleiman Hajji compared them.

Having already exceeded our limits, we cannot accompany Mr St John in his voyage to Upper Egypt and Nubia; but shall conclude with a few general remarks on the policy and government of the Viceroy, and also on the military events of the Syrian campaign, and of that beyond the Taurus.

In a former Number, we laid before our readers a general view of the system of Mohammed Ali, and of the changes which he has effected, and is still effecting, in the condition of Egypt. We deem it unnecessary, therefore, to enter at any length into those parts of the work before us, which treat of the manufacturing system, the commerce, and the agriculture of Egypt; especially as they add but little to our previous knowledge on these subjects. It is now agreed on all hands, that the attempt of the Viceroy to render Egypt a manufacturing country has entirely failed; and that his cotton-spinning mania, in particular, which he has made so great sacrifices to gratify, has at length been pretty well cured. This result, which those acquainted with the true principles of trade and manufactures had from the first confidently anticipated, has been produced by a variety of causes. In the first place, the Viceroy has found it impossible, as it was all along foreseen he would, to produce articles equal in quality to those manufactured in Europe, or to sell even his inferior products at the prices which, notwithstanding their lowness, remunerate the European manufacturer. Money may purchase machinery; but skill, industry, and experience, to say nothing of the advantages resulting from the division of labour, and the possession of inexhaustible supplies of fuel, can neither be bought nor forced. Secondly, the peculiar nature of the climate of Egypt

presents an insuperable obstacle to the improvement of manufactures in that country; in other words, there is a natural cause, which no art or contrivance can ever obviate, and which is constantly operating as a check on their advancement. This is the quality of the atmosphere, which, being strongly impregnated with nitrous particles, proves destructive to the more delicate parts of the machinery; whilst those fine joints and interstices which, in England, are kept in order by the judicious use of the finest oil, and the nice adjustment of the neighbouring parts in motion, become soon spoiled, in Egypt, by the peculiar nature of the dust, consisting of attenuated silicious atoms, which the most compact building, and the best glazed windows, cannot prevent from collecting in quantities, to the great impediment and injury of the machinery. Thirdly, even if there were no such physical causes in operation, experience has shown the utter impossibility, by artificial means, of forcing manufactures in a country circumstanced like Egypt, where the cultivation of the soil must for a long period to come, if not for ever, take precedence of every other occupation. The rise of manufactures is naturally slow, and cannot be accelerated by monopolies, restrictions, and protective imposts, without producing a reaction in the shape of premature decay. This, accordingly, is what Mohammed Ali has already experienced; his cotton-spinning despotism, from which he anticipated so great results, has recoiled upon himself; and he is now becoming more and more sensible of the necessity of retracing his steps, and adopting a change of system. He has found to his cost, that, however advantageous it may be to grow cotton, and export the raw material to the manufacturing countries of Europe, nothing but loss has accrued from the attempts to spin and weave it on the spot where it is produced; and the same remark applies to most of his other schemes, grounded as all of them are on the sternest system of monopoly. When the inhabitants of a country find that they can purchase cheaper than they can produce, we may be assured that force or necessity alone will compel them to forego this advantage. The following extract is, with reference to this matter, highly instructive:—

'It is now nearly fourteen years since the first attempt was made to introduce the cotton manufacture into Egypt; and the wisdom of the Pasha's policy may be estimated with tolerable accuracy by the result. At present most of the mills are in ruins, and immense heaps of machinery, no longer employed, are covered with rust, and mouldering to decay. Nevertheless, Egypt is haunted by a class of foreign mechanics and adventurers, who adduce the example of England to prove to the misled Pasha, that a change of machinery and management will quickly convert his mills into a lucrative source of revenue; indeed, I believe

they have even gone so far as to allude to the possibility of successfully competing with Manchester and Glasgow. The Pasha, in all doubtful matters, generally embraces the most flattering side; for, in his manufacturing schemes, he appears to think nothing beyond his powers of creation. His highness having been informed that coal is to be found in great quantities in Syria, has, in consequence, adopted the determination of making his own steam-engines, to drive an immense number of cotton-mills. But these are not to be set up in Egypt, which, he has at length discovered, can never be converted into a manufacturing country. His recent conquests are next to taste of the bitterness of a speculating and cotton-spinning despotism; which, in lieu of encouraging the efforts of private industry, invades the province of the manufacturer and the merchant, and is justly punished with disappointment and chagrin. No reasonable man, therefore, can apprehend any lasting competition from a people ignorant in the extreme, and morally depressed to the lowest depths to which humanity can sink. The peasants are enabled to exist merely that they may labour for the government; and, while this continues to be the case, they can never excel. There is only one man in Egypt interested in the success of the manufactures. The Europeans engaged in the mills are, for the most part, unprincipled adventurers, who find their advantage in the ignorance and dilatoriness of the Turks. Receiving their pay, they are content to allow affairs to proceed in their natural course. One of these mechanics, who has resided many years in the country, where he is nearly naturalized, has done much for the Pasha and his own friends in Europe, exercising the important functions of engineer and contractor greatly to the satisfaction of his employer; who has discovered the novel method of estimating the qualities of machinery by the exorbitance of its price.'

In a land which ought to be the seat of plenty, want universally prevails; the whole mass of the population have been reduced to the state of paupers dependent on the bounty of the Pasha; there is no intermediate condition between absolute power and absolute misery. The Viceroy has, no doubt, made vast changes and improvements; but they have all been intended for his own advantage. The people, so far from being benefited by his innovations, have been plunged in deeper wretchedness than that in which he found them. His vigorous government has no doubt put down anarchy and violence, enforcing everywhere the observance of order and obedience to the laws, such as they are. But in as far as regards the condition of the people, the only practical difference in their lot is, that there is now but one plunderer instead of many; though, unfortunately for them, this single systematic spoiler takes more and leaves less than all former depredators, whether Turks or Mamelukes, put together.

Mr St John's account of the campaigns in Syria and beyond

the Taurus is exceedingly meagre, and has, in fact, been anticipated by a contemporary journal,* which has entered much more fully into details, though whence obtained we are not informed. In the absence of authorized information, we are content to defer entering on a subject of great importance both in a military and political point of view. The disastrous result to the Sultan is mainly to be attributed, first, to the incomprehensible neglect of Acre, and the failure of the Turkish fleet to succour that place when so gallantly defended by Abdallah Pasha,—a fatal error, for which Mahmoud afterwards paid dear; secondly, to the total incapacity of the Turkish commanders, who, destitute of all knowledge of the military art, took none of the precautions necessary to ensure success, and recklessly urged on their armies to battle in circumstances where the best troops in the world would, in all probability, have failed; and, thirdly, to the hostility of the Arab population of Syria, who, joining the invaders against their ancient oppressors, converted each successive defeat into a total rout. It would be a great error to suppose that the Turkish regular soldiers evinced any backwardness or cowardice in the course of these campaigns. On the contrary, though almost always brought into action at great disadvantage, when exhausted by forced marches under the burning heat of a Syrian sun, and by want of food, their conduct on many occasions would have done credit to the best troops; and in every instance they showed a decided superiority, in discipline and steady courage, over the old irregular military force. But all these qualities were unavailing under commanders alike incapable of directing the force under their immediate orders, or of appreciating the character of the enemy with whom they had to contend. In the Egyptian army it was far otherwise; for whilst Ibrahim far surpassed, in military talent, the rude and barbarous Pashas sent against him, he was surrounded with veteran French officers, who had carried with them to Egypt and Syria the science which they had learned in the schools, and the experience which they had acquired in the wars of Europe. All the chances were therefore in favour of the army of the Viceroy; nor is it in any degree to be wondered that, after the fall of Acre, its course should have been one of uniform victory. The Sultan's most fatal error, however, was the first. For if Ibrahim had been baffled before Acre, as he easily might have been, considering the tardy and unskilful manner in which the siege of that place was conducted, and the intrepid defence made by the be-

* *Foreign Quarterly Review.*

sieged, he would have had no alternative but to recross the desert to Egypt, as Napoleon Bonaparte had found himself obliged to do in similar circumstances. The possession of Acre was an indispensable preliminary to an advance into Syria, which would otherwise have been an act of insanity—the forerunner of certain destruction: no commander, however rash, would have ventured, in so narrow a country, to leave such a place in his rear; and hence, if by timely aid Abdallah Pasha had been enabled to make good his defence, Ibrahim's career would have been checked at the outset; and Syria, with its dependencies, would have been saved to the Ottoman empire.

Art. VIII.—*Remarks on the Poor Laws, and on the Method of Providing for the Poor in Scotland.* By David Monypenny, Esq., formerly one of the Senators of the College of Justice. 8vo. Edinburgh: 1834.

The defects and abuses of the English system of Poor Laws, and the means by which they may be obviated, have recently engrossed a large share of the public attention; and have excited a pretty general desire among our southern neighbours to be made acquainted with the methods of providing for the necessitous poor adopted in other countries. Of these, Scotland is evidently entitled to most attention, not only from the similar circumstances under which we are placed, but from the striking resemblance that exists between many of the principles that pervade our pauper legislation and that of England, contrasted with the wide difference exhibited in their practical results. The most sagacious enquirers seem to be fully alive to this; and hence the great attention paid by Committees of the House of Commons to the Scotch system, and the pains they have taken to become acquainted with it. Still, however, the information acquired in this way is both incomplete and diffuse; and is frequently also not a little inaccurate. It is, besides, buried amidst a multitude of other details, and is not, indeed, at all accessible to the mass of readers. Under these circumstances, we think we shall perform an acceptable service by endeavouring to supply a brief and popular account of the Scotch method of providing for the poor. The task is much facilitated by the appearance of Mr Monypenny's valuable work. Its author was formerly a distinguished judge of the Court of Session; so that his statements may be justly regarded as of the highest authority. And

we do not know that he could have more usefully employed his honourable retirement than in communicating to the public the fruits of his learning and experience embodied in the present publication.

1. The laws relating to the support of the poor in Scotland, originated, like those in most other countries, in attempts to check the prevalence of mendicity. The earliest act of the Scotch Parliament, having reference to the poor, was passed in 1424. It prohibits all persons from begging between the ages of fourteen and seventy, who should not be furnished with a pass from the proper authorities; and it further orders all other poor persons to betake themselves to some species of useful industry, under penalty of burning on the cheek and banishment. The provisions of this act were reinforced by succeeding statutes (1503, cap. 70, 1535, cap. 22); but from 1424 down to 1579, the *impotent poor* had no legal claim to any sort of relief except that of authorized mendicity; and if the claims of the *able-bodied* poor to relief during this period were ever brought under discussion, they were certainly not recognised.

Owing to the degradation of the coin, and to the confusion and disorders occasioned by the subversion of the Catholic Establishment, and of the religious houses and hospitals attached to it, by which many poor people had previously been supported, the number of destitute persons seems to have rapidly increased during the sixteenth century; at the same time that the enactments against mendicity either fell into disuse, or were but very carelessly enforced. In consequence of this increase of pauperism, some of the leaders of the reformers proposed that the estates and revenues of the Catholic Church should be applied partly for the support of the ministers of the New Establishment, partly for the instruction of youth, and partly as a fund for the regular support of the poor. There are no good grounds for thinking that the adoption of this proposal would have had any beneficial result; and it is not to be regretted that it did not take effect. The nobles and others who had seized upon the Church property, had no inclination to part with it for such objects. They consequently rejected the scheme as being, to use their own words, a '*devout imagination;*' to the great grief of the reformed clergy, who, notwithstanding their secession from the Catholic creed, entertained a sufficiently warm affection for the good things that had been enjoyed by the Catholic priesthood.

At length, in 1579, the Scotch Parliament passed the celebrated statute, 12 Jac. VI., cap. 74, which forms the basis of the existing code of Poor Laws. This statute is in several parts literally copied from an English statute, the 14th of Elizabeth,

cap. 5, passed about seven years previously. It introduced, for the first time, the principle of compulsory assessment into Scotland; but with the important limitation, that it confines all legal title to relief to poor, aged, and impotent persons; while it directs that all 'idle and lazy vagabonds,' including all 'common labourers, being *personnes abile in body*, living idle, 'and fleeing labour,' shall be punished as vagrants and vagabonds, and that a fine shall be imposed on every one harbouring such persons, or giving them alms. There is not a word said in the statute about providing work for any unemployed person, though this forms a prominent topic in the English act of the 14th of Elizabeth; and it seems plainly to have been intended to provide merely for the support of such poor impotent persons as had previously been without any means of subsistence, other than what they derived from begging. Besides its directions as to the treatment of vagabonds and sturdy beggars, it prescribes the proceedings to be adopted with respect to runaway servants, the mode of passing soldiers and seamen to their respective parishes, the regulation of hospitals, the mode of taxing (stenting) the inhabitants for the objects of the act, the appointment of overseers, collectors, &c.

Sir Frederick M. Eden seems disposed to think that this statute, instead of being borrowed from the English act 14th Elizabeth, cap. 5, formed a model which the English Parliament had copied; and that 'many of the provisions respecting the poor in 'England had been framed in conformity with the Scotch policy.'* The late Mr Francis Horner accounted for this singular error from the circumstance of Sir F. M. Eden not having seen the 14th Elizabeth, cap. 5; it not being inserted in the more common editions of the Statutes, though it is in Rastell's, and some of the older collections.† It is, indeed, impossible to doubt that the framers of the Scotch act had the previous English act before them; and so closely did they copy it, that the execution of the former in country parishes is committed, agreeably to the English practice, to those '*that sall be constitute Justices* be the Kingis commission-'ers,' there being no justices in Scotland at that time, nor till 1587, eight years after the passing of this act.

These circumstances have been but incidentally alluded to by Mr Monypenny; and we have been thus particular in noticing them, not so much in the view of correcting the mistake of Sir F. M. Eden, as of showing, beyond the possibility of doubt, that

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* History of the Poor, vol. i., p. 131.

† Note to Mr Whitbread's Speech on the Poor Laws, 1807.

the granting of relief to able-bodied paupers, either by supplies of work or otherwise, formed no part of the original Scotch system. All the regulations in the act of 1579 are copied, sometimes almost to the very letter, from the provisions in the preceding act of Elizabeth, leaving out those which have reference to the furnishing of work to able-bodied paupers. Now, as no one can say that an omission of this sort could be accidental, it is plain it could result only from the fixed determination of the Scotch Parliament to withhold legal relief from all except such as were disabled or impotent. The previously quoted words of the statute are, indeed, sufficient to establish this; but if there were any doubt on the subject, the fact of the statute being merely a paraphrase of the 14th Elizabeth, cap. 5, omitting all mention of the provisions as to the supply of work for the able-bodied poor, is quite conclusive.

Some of the later Scotch acts, and some of the proclamations that were issued in the reign of William III., contain provisions that have been supposed by some to require that work should be provided for the able-bodied poor. But any such interpretation is plainly inconsistent with the principles laid down in the statute of 1579; and Mr Monypenny thinks that the provisions in question refer only to the ordinary poor, that is, to those that are decayed and impotent. 'The statutes referred to,' says he, 'sufficiently establish that the impotent poor, who are to be 'enrolled in the parish lists, in order that their wants may be 'regularly supplied, and for whom an assessment must, if neces-'sary, be imposed, are only such as *are disabled from procuring a 'living by their own labour*, either by old age, or by some perma-'nent bodily infirmity, or mental incapacity, and who have nei-'ther separate means, nor any relations who are bound and able 'to support them. The whole tenor and declared object of the 'statutes concur with the particular expressions now pointed 'out, in proving that such is the prescribed and limited operation 'of the Scotch poor laws. It is scarcely necessary to remark, 'that no countenance is given to the idea that, in any case what-'ever, the wages of labour may be made up out of the poor rates. 'All such difficulties, whenever they occur in the country, must 'be surmounted by other expedients.'—P. 27.

The fundamental principle thus briefly explained, has led in practice to the important distinction that exists in Scotland between the *regular* and the *occasional* poor. 'Those of the first 'class,' to use the words of the late Rev. Sir H. Moncreiff, 'receive 'a constant supply from the parish funds; those of the second are 'only assisted when they are laid aside from work by sickness or 'accidental causes, and especially during that season of the year

'which chiefly affects their health, or suspends their usual labours. 'They receive at that time such assistance as the immediate 'necessities demand, for the limited period when they are in this 'situation; but when the cause which occasioned the demand 'ceases to operate, the parish assistance is withdrawn, and they 'return to their labour, under a conviction, which they never re-'linquish, that both their subsistence and their comfort must ulti-'mately depend on their personal industry.'

Mr Monypenny lays it down as clear law, that the occasional poor cannot insist on being supported by compulsory means. A measure of this sort, being of the nature of a tax, must not be resorted to without the authority of Parliament; and the existing statutory assessment 'is confined to the case of the enrolled 'poor, whose wants are of a permanent description.'

It must, however, be admitted, that there is a decision of the Court of Session in opposition to this doctrine. In 1804, certain able-bodied individuals, perfectly competent to earn a subsistence by labour, but who were involved, by accidental circumstances, in temporary distress, applied for relief to the heritors (proprietors) and kirk-session of the parish to which they belonged. A majority agreed to relieve their wants by an extraordinary assessment; but the minority appealed to the Court of Session against this decision—contending that the heritors and session had no power to make an assessment for such a purpose. The Court overruled the objection, but only by the narrowest majority, some of the ablest judges being at the same time in the minority. The question has not been agitated since, which shows that the practice has made no way; and it seems now to be the concurrent opinion of those best entitled to decide upon such a point, that if a case of the same sort were again brought before the Court, the former decision would not be repeated.

Hence, as Mr Monypenny states, in his concluding remarks on this topic, 'those who are able to work, but who, by tempo-'rary and accidental circumstances, are reduced to indigence, 'must be supplied from other than compulsory sources; and even 'when the public afford them support through the medium of the 'ordinary administrators of the poor, *this is done on the footing of* '*pure charity*, the administrators being, in such cases, in reality the 'almoners of the public. The wants of such poor persons may be 'urgent, and some of them may be equally fit objects of charity as 'the ordinary poor; but it is not to be regretted, either on their 'own account, or for the sake of the public, that they are not 'placed by the law in the rank of paupers, but are left to de-'pend on private benevolence.'—(P. 40.)

2. Having thus ascertained the class of persons entitled to sup-

port from the poor's funds, we have next to enquire into the amount of the provision allowed to each. This, though an important point, will not detain us long.

A great deal of the abuse of the Poor Laws in England, originates in the too lavish allowances made to paupers, which, indeed, are often such as to place them in a decidedly better situation than independent labourers. But such abuses are happily unknown in this part of the empire. The statute of 1579, ordered that 'inquisition,' or enquiry, should be made into the circumstances of every poor person claiming relief, to learn how much would enable him or her to '*live unbeggand.*' An enquiry of this sort into the means and condition of each individual claiming relief, has always been rigorously enforced; and this, whether the relief sought for were to be made through an assessment, or from the sums collected at the church doors, and other voluntary sources. The object in view has uniformly been so to eke out or assist the separate means of the pauper, supposing he has any, that he may not be reduced to the necessity of begging. And it is really astonishing what a small pittance is in general sufficient for this purpose; sometimes not more than a few shillings a-year being required, and rarely more than £3 or £4. In fact, it does not often happen in Scotland, that *total maintenance* is supplied to any pauper, unless he be a lunatic, or blind, or has been all his life absolutely impotent, and that he is without relations able to render him any support. The parish funds are not destined to supplant, but to aid individual means and charity; and the allowance, even when largest, is always regulated by the low standard specified above.

'According to this scheme, it is evident,' says Mr Monypenny, 'not only that the allowance to be made by the parish 'to any individual pauper, must be very small, *being expressly 'limited in amount to what may be required to render begging unne-'cessary as a means of subsistence;* but that the weekly, monthly, or 'quarterly pension must vary, according to the varying circum-'stances of the different individuals. Some may have such 'claims on relations, or expectations from them, that, although 'unable to work, and without any means of their own, no parochial 'assistance can be demanded by them. Others may have claims 'or expectations to a limited extent, and which require to be 'eked out by certain small allowances from the parish, the 'amount of which must be regulated by the circumstances of 'each case. While there may be some, but they are few in 'number, and chiefly persons deprived of reason, or of all power 'to work, and totally destitute of means, to whom a suitable sub-'sistence must be assigned, undiminished by reference to any

'separate funds whatever. Where so much is committed to 'discretionary power, and in the exercise of which a good deal 'may depend on local situation, practice precisely uniform can- 'not be looked for. But that which prevails fully carries into 'effect the wise and considerate provisions of the law according 'to their spirit and meaning.'—(P. 43.)

3. The grand difference between the Poor Laws of Scotland and England, consists in the different parties to whom the administration of the affairs of the poor is intrusted.

We have already seen, that the execution of the act of 1579, in country parishes, was committed to those who should be constituted justices of the peace, there not being any such functionaries at that time in Scotland. In consequence, it became necessary to provide other instruments for carrying its provisions into effect; which was done by the acts of 1592, cap. 149; 1600, cap. 19, and 1663, cap. 16. By these acts, the management of all matters relating to the poor of country parishes—such as the imposing of assessments, the admitting of claimants to the roll, the distribution of collections, &c.—is committed jointly to the heritors and kirk-sessions in country parishes, and to the magistrates in royal burghs. Some doubts that had occurred as to the limits and legal extent of the control that may be exercised by the landlords over the proceedings of the kirk-sessions, were finally put to rest by a decision of the Court of Session in 1751, in the case of the parish of Humbie. The Court decided, (we quote the words of the judgment,) 'That the heritors have a joint 'right and power with the kirk-session, in the administration, 'management, and distribution of all and every of the funds be- 'longing to the poor of the parish, as well collections, as sums 'mortified (placed in mortmain) for the use of the poor, and 'stocked out upon interest; and have a right to be present and 'join with the session in their administration, distribution, and 'employment of such sums; without prejudice to the kirk-ses- 'sion to proceed in the ordinary acts of administration, and ap- 'plication of these collections to the ordinary and incidental 'charities, though the heritors be not present, nor attend.' The judgment farther declared, 'That when any acts of extraordi- 'nary administration, such as uplifting money that hath been 'lent out, or lending or re-employing the same, shall occur, the 'minister ought to intimate from the pulpit a meeting for taking 'such matters into consideration, at least ten days before holding 'of the meeting, that the heritors may have opportunity to be 'present and assist, if they think fit.' And, in a case tried in the next year (1752), it was ruled, that *any single heritor* has

right to call the kirk-session to account for their administration of the poor's money.

In consequence of these acts and decisions, every thing respecting the administration of the Poor's funds in Scotland has been intrusted to those best acquainted with the real wants and situation of the claimants for relief, and who have, at the same time, the strongest motives for confining the charge, on their account, within the narrowest limits. A kirk-session is a sort of ecclesiastical tribunal, established in every parish, consisting of the minister, elders (one of whom is kirk-treasurer), and the session-clerk, who is, in most instances, at once an elder and the parish schoolmaster. The minister has the sole power of nominating and appointing elders; but they are invariably selected from the most respectable classes, and in country parishes are, for the most part, either proprietors or farmers; and as Scotch farmers generally hold under leases for nineteen years, and are obliged by law to pay half the assessment on account of the poor, should one be imposed on their farms, they have precisely the same interest as the landlords in the economical administration of the affairs of the poor, and in obviating the necessity for an assessment.

By one of those incongruous absurdities that disfigure the law of England, no individual, how large soever his property in a parish, has any title whatever to interfere in its affairs, unless he reside within its boundaries; and, as most part of the English occupiers are tenants at will, they have little or no interest in keeping down the rates. But luckily no such arrangements prevail amongst us. Here, if a man have property in fifty different parishes, he is entitled to interfere, either personally or through the intervention of his factors or agents, in the parochial affairs of each. And even if the private interests of the members of the kirk-sessions were not, as they almost uniformly are, sufficient to make them act with the greatest prudence and circumspection in all that respects the granting of relief to the poor, the fact that all the heritors may attend and vote at their meetings, and that any one heritor may challenge any of their proceedings, and make them personally responsible in a court of law for whatever they have done amiss, never fails to ensure the greatest regularity and economy.

So much, indeed, are the interests and the feelings of the heritors and kirk-sessions identified, that except on extraordinary occasions, the former rarely interfere in the management of the affairs of the poor, but leave it to the latter to enrol the regular paupers—to fix the weekly, monthly, or quarterly allowances to be paid to each—to administer assistance to the occasional poor,

&c. The members of the kirk-sessions act gratuitously, without receiving any fee or reward; and there is no one acquainted with the subject who will not be forward to admit, that they have discharged the important and difficult duties imposed on them with an integrity, zeal, and considerate regard for the interests of all parties, that has never been surpassed, and very seldom equalled, by any set of functionaries.

Defective as is the constitution of English vestries, they would have formed a considerable barrier to the spread of pauperism, had it not been for the interference of the justices; but as these functionaries were empowered, whenever they saw cause, to order relief, the powers of the vestries, and of the overseers appointed by them, were in a great measure nullified; and they seldom succeeded, either in keeping improper persons from sharing in the poor's funds, or in confining the allowances within reasonable limits. It is well for Scotland that she has escaped the mischief inseparable from such interference. Owing to the peculiar constitution of the kirk-sessions, appeals from their decisions to the justices and sheriffs have always been rare, and have never met with any encouragement from the Supreme Court. On the contrary, in 1772, this Court set aside the judgment of a sheriff, fixing the provision which an applicant for relief was entitled to receive, on the ground 'that he had arro-'gated to himself powers which belong exclusively to the mini-'ster, elders, and heritors of the parish.' A decision to the same effect was given in 1779; and at length, in 1819, it was finally decided, that there is no appeal to any *inferior court* from the decision of the kirk-session and heritors, either *as to the admissibility of a pauper to the roll, or as to the amount of the allowance to be given him.*

Mr Monypenny's observations on this decision, in bringing about which he had a large share, are judicious, and deserve to be quoted:—'The great importance of this rule to the right admi-'nistration of the Poor Laws must be obvious, on the slightest 'attention to the subject. It is seldom that a point of law is in-'volved in the discussion; and when this happens to be the case, 'and the question is one of universal interest and importance, the 'most expedient course evidently is, to take the cause by appeal, 'at once, from the kirk-session and heritors to the Supreme Court. 'If it were to be permitted, and to become the general practice, 'for paupers to demand a review by the sheriff or justices of 'the peace, of the sentences pronounced by the kirk-session and 'heritors on their claims for provision, the worst consequences 'would ensue. For not only would such practice have the effect 'of sanctioning an appeal from those best informed and most ca-

'pable of judging, to others whose knowledge of the matter in 'dispute is necessarily more limited, but farther, the authority of 'the kirk-session and heritors would be disparaged, and they 'would gradually be deprived of that respect and deference from 'the poorer classes, which is so essentially necessary for the suc-'cess of the system.' Mr Monypenny then briefly notices the disastrous consequences that have flowed from the opposite practice in England, and the advantages that have been experienced, in some parts of that country, from the magistrates having refused to listen to appeals.—P. 102.

It is quite competent to the Court of Session to review any decision, as to any matter having reference to the poor, pronounced by the kirk-session and heritors. But such appeals are of rare occurrence. 'With regard,' says Mr Monypenny, 'to the ordi-'nary business of this parochial judicature,—that is, the questions 'whether an individual pauper, who has resided for upwards of 'three years in the parish, is entitled to be placed on the roll of 'the poor, and if so, what amount of weekly or monthly provi-'sion he is to receive,—these matters are very seldom, indeed, 'brought under the consideration of the Supreme Court; and if 'the attempt were made, it would most assuredly be checked and 'discouraged.' The Court, in fact, proceed on the sound principle of interfering as little and as seldom as possible with the parochial tribunals. They are fully impressed with the conviction, 'that 'the kirk-session is best acquainted with the circumstances of 'those who reside in their parish; that they know best whether 'or not those who apply for the benefit of public charity be proper 'objects of it, and what is necessary to supply their wants.'—Pp. 104 and 105.

4. In consequence of the skilful and economical management of the kirk-sessions, and of their repugnance to admit improper persons on the roll, or to administer any relief, not required by the exigencies of the case, to the able-bodied poor, the sums collected by voluntary contributions, at the church doors and otherwise, have, in most instances, sufficed for the support of the poor; so that assessments have not been introduced into more than about a third part of the parishes of Scotland. It is worthy, also, of remark, that assessments have, in various instances, after being imposed for a time, been abandoned, and the poor again provided for by voluntary contributions. Here, indeed, it has always been held and acknowledged to be law, that assessments are only to be adopted as a *dernier resort;* and that they ought not to be introduced into any parish in which the poor may be otherwise supported. An assessment is not intended to supersede, but to add to the voluntary contributions of the parishioners; and unless

these be insufficient to meet the urgency of the case, it is not to be resorted to. The constitution and interests of the parochial tribunals have secured, generally speaking, the greatest attention to these principles. In many parishes, when any circumstance occurs to occasion an unusual pressure on the poor, it is customary for the heritors to meet this temporary difficulty by agreeing to raise a certain sum by subscription, proportioned to the real or valued rent of their estates. A proceeding of this sort is substantially equivalent to an assessment, but with the important difference that the poor are not so much disposed to regard it as a certain resource, and that it is, consequently, easier got rid of when the pressure has subsided.

The large secession from the Established Church that took place in the first half of last century, and the continued and, perhaps, growing prevalence of dissent since that time, by diminishing the contributions at the doors of the parish kirks, is believed, by Mr Monypenny and others, to have materially influenced the introduction of assessments. But we doubt whether there be any good grounds for this opinion. Liberal contributions for the poor are as regularly collected at the different meeting-houses as at the established churches, and they are distributed with the most exemplary care and economy. The extraordinary increase of the manufacturing population in towns and villages, and of day and piece-work labourers throughout the country, and the consequent greater liability of the mass of the people to be thrown out of employment, and deprived of their accustomed means of support, have been the real causes of the growth of assessments. Under the circumstances, the only thing to be wondered at is, not that they have been introduced into some parishes, but that they are not incomparably more prevalent and oppressive. The slowness with which they have spread, and their lightness, must be principally, no doubt, ascribed to the objects for, and the mode in which they are imposed. There can, however, be no question that the moral and considerate character of our people, and their love of independence, have powerfully contributed to repress the progress of pauperism.

Dr Cleland of Glasgow, founding on the statements in a report by a committee of the General Assembly, shows that, in 1820, there were in Scotland 44,119 regular paupers; which, taking the population at 1,805,688, (as ascertained by the census of 1811,) gives one pauper for every $40\frac{8}{10}$ individuals. The total sum received in 1820 for the relief of the Scotch poor, including collections at church doors, assessments, voluntary contributions, &c., was L.114,195, 17s. $9\frac{1}{2}$d.; which, being divided by the number

of paupers, we have L.2, 11s. 8¼d. as the average cost of each. The proportion of paupers to the population, and the expense of their maintenance, are generally greater in parishes where there are assessments than where there are none. But this is not by any means always the case. In St John's parish, Glasgow, for example, where assessments have been relinquished, each pauper cost, in 1830, L.3, 8s. 10½d.; whereas in the Barony parish, in the same city, one of the most populous in Scotland, and having assessments, the cost of paupers was only L.3, 6s. 11d.

In 1830, the population of the city and suburbs of Glasgow was 202,426, while the total number of paupers was 5006, being at the rate of one in every 40.43 persons: the total sum expended upon the poor in the same year was L.17,281, 18s. 0½d., so that each cost, at an average, L.3, 9s. 0½d. Hence, also, it appears that the total expense on account of the poor, to the independent population of the city and suburbs, did not exceed 1s. 9d. each! *

5. The other particulars with respect to the Scotch Poor Laws are of inferior importance. Assessments in country parishes are imposed half on the landlords, according either to the real or the valued rent of their estates, and half on the other inhabitants; that is, in nine out of ten cases, on the tenants. And hence, as already observed, the latter, owing to the universal habit of holding farms under pretty long leases, are quite as much interested as the landlords in preventing the increase of pauperism.

There has been, at different periods, a good deal of difference of opinion as to whether the parish an individual was connected with by birth or residence should be bound to support him in the event of his becoming a pauper. But it is now finally adjudged, that if an individual reside for three years in a parish, and support himself during that period by his own industry or resources, he acquires a settlement in it, and, consequently, a legal title to support, if he become infirm and destitute. It is worthy of mention, that how much soever opinions may have varied in Scotland as to what ought to constitute a settlement, no individual in this part of the empire ever so much as dreamed of making the support of the poor a national instead of a parochial burden. Any such change would, indeed, be wholly subversive of all the principles of the Scotch system, and would set wide the flood-gates of pauperism. The author before us truly states, that 'the erecting 'each parish into a separate body, or one great family, as it were,

* Cleland's *Statistics of Glasgow*, p. 34, and p. 261.

'independent, in so far as relates to the poor, of any other parish, 'was an act of the wisest policy, and most unquestioned expe-'diency.' And every one will acknowledge the justice of this statement, who bears in mind that the parochial plan brings the state of the poor under the cognizance of those thoroughly acquainted with their character and necessities, and who, while they have never shown any indisposition to relieve cases of real distress, are supported by the strongest principles and motives in their determination to withhold relief from all who can subsist without it, and to confine it, when given, within the narrowest limits.

Defective as is the English parochial system, it has done more than any thing else to counteract the abuse of the Poor Laws. Its influence in this respect has been no less clearly and ably than briefly stated by Mr Ricardo. 'The present mode of collecting 'and applying the fund for the support of the poor has served to 'mitigate its pernicious effects. Each parish raises a separate 'fund for the support of its own poor. Hence it becomes an ob-'ject of more interest and more practicability to keep the rates 'low, than if one general fund was raised for the relief of the 'poor of the whole kingdom. A parish is much more interested 'in an economical collection of the rate, and a sparing distribu-'tion of relief, when the whole saving will be for its own benefit, 'than if hundreds of other parishes were to partake of it.' *

Such is a rough, but we hope not an incorrect, sketch of the more prominent and distinguishing features of the plan followed in Scotland for providing for the poor. Its advantages are obvious and striking, and have been sufficiently indicated in the previous statements. To ensure their continuance, and to prevent the growth of abuse, it is essential that the kirk-sessions and the supreme court should always have the principles of the system in view. They should never forget that the able-bodied poor have *no right to relief;* that what is given them by the parish, is as much charity as if it were given by an unknown individual; and that such charity should never be afforded except in cases of unquestionable exigency, nor be continued one moment longer than necessity requires. All individuals should be taught to look to their own exertions, and not to the parish, for support; and there is no way so effectual to impress the mass of the people with a salutary conviction of the importance of industry and economy, as an avowed determination on the part of the parish authorities to withhold relief in all but extreme cases.

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* *Principles of Political Economy*, 1st ed. p. 113.

This is not a matter in which, as it appears to us, there is any room or call for legislative interference. The heritors and kirk-sessions must now be pretty well aware of the principles that ought to govern their conduct; and in this knowledge, and their interest in keeping the burden on account of the rates as low as possible, we have the only securities that are worth any thing, for the proper administration of the system. We doubt much whether any advantage would result from allowing, as Mr Monypenny seems inclined to recommend, the General Assembly to interfere in any way with the proceedings of the heritors and kirk-sessions. The latter have local knowledge and an interest in good management,—qualifications for the proper discharge of their important duties, which cannot possibly be found united, in anything approaching to an equal degree, in any other body. We, therefore, are disposed to condemn all attempts at interference with the existing system. The discussions that have been going on for years respecting the Poor Laws, and the strong and steady light thrown on the principles of the Scotch system, by the publication before us, and a few others, will, we doubt not, assist in eradicating whatever vicious practices may have insinuated themselves into its management.

These details may, we hope, be not altogether unserviceable in England. Nine-tenths of the abuses that disgrace the administration of the Poor Laws in that country, may be traced to the defective constitution of the parochial tribunals, and the right of interference exercised by the justices and other inferior judges. Had the power to admit claimants for relief, to impose assessments, and to regulate allowances, been intrusted exclusively among our southern neighbours, as it has been amongst us, to those having an interest in keeping the rates low, we venture to affirm, that the poor rates, instead of amounting to more than *six*, would have been decidedly under *two* millions sterling.

Art. IX.—*The Autobiography, Times, Opinions, and Contemporaries of* Sir Egerton Brydges, Bart., (Per legem terræ,) Baron Chandos of Sudeley. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1834.

We have read this work with feelings of considerable pain. It presents to us an elaborate picture of a species of literary character, that may be expected to appear, at times, in that heated and high-wrought civilisation, to which the world has attained;—a character that has all the acute sensibilities of poetical genius, without its energy and its power—its irritable temper—its wayward self-engrossment—its early relinquishment of the common pleasures of life, for one feverish and jealous object. This is often a painful picture, even when, as in the case of Byron or Rousseau, it is gilded with all the glory of success, placed in the long gallery of fame, and destined to become immortal. But how much deeper is the pain with which we gaze on these melancholy colours, when we feel them fading as we gaze; or when we know that in a little while the picture will be thrown aside, amidst the lumber of the age, to perish and be forgotten.—All these visionary repinings in which happiness is lost—this morbid susceptibility to the opinion which a no less morbid pride affects to disdain—this sacrifice of health, both of frame and heart—this dreaming youth—this unsocial manhood—this dissatisfied, yet still enterprising old age,—the aching brow without the laurel wreath—the torments of Rousseau without his triumphs! What object more sad or more impressive, in the complex calamities of authorship, ever seemed to present itself to our survey? Yet, no doubt, we exaggerate the melancholy of the prospect. He who feels most the peculiar pains, feels most the peculiar pleasures of the poet: no matter what the silence of the crowd, his own heart is never silent; it whispers fame to the last. His statue is not in the market-place. For that very reason he expects the chaplet for his tomb. The author before us, for example, is as intimately persuaded of the reality of his powers, of the solidity of his reputation, as if the loud huzzas of the literary world were borne to his retreat. The *amabilis insania* (the delusion is too proud, too strong for ordinary vanity) cheats, soothes, flatters, to the verge of the abyss. All that criticism could prove, all that neglect—severest of all critics—could teach, fall vain and unheeded on the sons of a nature of this mould. Nursed in the tastes and habits of genius, it mistakes the tastes for the capacities; in the habits (making *now* no mistake) it feels its reward; and if the individual author were the sole concern of the critic, here might

we stop at once, leaving him in undisturbed possession of a delusion it would be idle and cruel to destroy. But criticism has a more catholic and comprehensive duty—it seeks less to correct the author, than to instruct his kind. Criticism is literature teaching by examples; and therefore, we have selected this work, dealing with it as gently as we may, for the occasion it proffers us, to warn others to avoid, while it may yet be time, the errors which it is now too late to indicate to the subject of these memoirs. We have allowed, that a certain degree of happiness is to be found in the mere cultivation of literary tastes, and the self-esteem which they engender—even where unattended by the fame and success, which was, perhaps, the guiding motive, and promised to be the certain meed. But is that happiness enough? May not certain self-indulgences greatly lessen and embitter it? This is the question which our Autobiographer suggests to us. We would wish to derive that happiness from the purest and noblest sources; to diminish, as much as possible, the *quidquid amari*—its countervailing pains;—to chasten its nature, while we augment its degree.

It cannot be denied, that no inconsiderable proportion of our literary men, immediately preceding the present day, have been more or less characterised by those feelings, too acute and sensitive, which incline us to the Unsocial. Sometimes the disease is mild and gentle in its symptoms—sometimes dark and gloomy—sometimes it is but reserve; at others, misanthropy. The weak but kindly Shenstone—perhaps the most amiable specimen of the morbid species of literary character—appears never to have suffered disappointment to corrupt into uncharitableness. He could not, as Sir Egerton Brydges has done—and this is the most inexcusable infirmity his work displays—gratify general grudges by individual acerbity. Both lived much in the country; both suffered from the rude contact of 'rural thanes;' both,—probably, with equal want of candour,—complain of the uncongeniality of their neighbours, without reflecting that the literary man often is the first to commence offence, and the most stubborn to resent it. With a little tact, and a little good-humour, we believe there are few societies, however rustic, which a man of intellectual cultivation will not propitiate. Men feel jealousy, not towards those who differ from them in pursuits, but towards those who attempt to rival them in the same career; and the merits of a man of letters, in a neighbourhood where men of letters are scarce, will, if he bear his honours meekly, be more exaggerated, than depreciated. In his very complaints of the boors around him, Sir Egerton Brydges inadvertently and unconsciously confesses himself to blame. He admits that his own manners 'were not very

'conciliatory;' he admits that his society was 'a wet sheet' to the country squires: then why be so angry at their imitating the example of constraint and coldness that he set himself? why—and this is our especial accusation against Sir Egerton Brydges—why indulge an unworthy and bygone spleen? why rake up the decent obscurity of private life? why drag forward, with all particulars of home and circumstances, persons of whose very existence the world till now neither knew nor cared? why manure his pages with the bones of the humble dead? why tell us that Mrs —— (we do not give additional publicity to the name thus unhandsomely traduced) 'was a virago—the most garru-'lous, vain, foolish, presumptuous, and ill-tempered of women?' The same law that makes public property of public names, forbids, to a high and generous mind, the posthumous gibbeting of obscure and private foes. This, which we have just quoted, is not a solitary instance of spleen; the volumes of our Autobiographer display many instances of an equally small vengeance and poor injustice. Whoever does not acknowledge his pretensions, whether to Parnassus or a Peerage, are equally hateful to the eyes of Sir Egerton Brydges. He does not deem it possible that those who voted in the House of Lords against his claim, could be actuated by other than unworthy motives: some are ungrateful—others envious—all commonplace in ability, or questionable in birth.

There is this consequence of a moody and absorbed concentration in self;—it vitiates the whole character: learn to consider yourself alone; make yourself a god; and you deem all who dispute your pretensions little better than blasphemers. You are like the ancient geographers ridiculed by Plutarch, who drew out a map of the little territory that was known to them; and to all beyond, applied the description of impassable sands, or horrid wastes. Yourself—your pursuits—your circle—your admirers, are your chart; beyond, are only

> 'The Anthropophagi, and men whose heads
> Do grow beneath their shoulders;'—

and this habit of isolation of thought and heart gradually destroys as much of the charm of genius as of the dignity of character. So it is with the complaints of Sir Egerton Brydges—complaints it is impossible to sympathize in, because they are wholly selfish. There is ever something generous in true pathos; it either asks us to sympathize for a loss that affects more than the mourner, or it interests us in the mourner, by showing us that his sorrow is not purely selfish. Rousseau, in the most egotistical of his lamentations, always seduces us into a belief of his benevolence for others; and reveals the glimpses of a nature in which the genial and kindly feelings appear not stifled but

perverted. Byron, when he moans for Thyrza, affects us to sympathy with himself, by a sympathy with the love or the loveliness of the dead. Not less, in the gloomiest passages of Childe Harold, are the selfish griefs of the poet exalted by frequent bursts of sympathy with the misfortunes or the doings of the world—with the struggles of the free—with the vexations of the wise—with the disappointments of the impassioned. But, in Sir Egerton Brydges, the lamentations are solely for self, and for selfish objects—a poem neglected, or a peerage refused. Nor does he ever seek to connect sympathy with himself by sympathy with others. We know nothing of the family—the wife—the children—of Sir Egerton Brydges. He does not burst forth with apostrophes, which every lover—every husband—every father can feel in his heart of hearts. To his 'Night Thoughts,' there is no Narcissa; for his Pilgrimage, no Ada. Once only he seems aroused into a lukewarm lamentation for a friend, and the few words in which he mentions the death of Lord Tenterden are really the most pathetic in his book. We would warn, then, by this example—the example of a man of elegant tastes, and, doubtless, (for perhaps all poets are,) of original and early kindness of disposition—the younger race from self-indulgence and self-absorption, which make martyrs of the intellect as well as of the heart.

It is not that egotism is in itself revolting, nor the love of solitude in itself a disease; it is the abuse and perversion of both that are dangerous and unworthy. A certain degree of self-esteem is not only natural to all lofty minds, but it is necessary to their exertions. Without it we are echoes of all vulgar cries—the hangers-on and creatures of the crowd. We neither love nor honour Milton the less for his august and frequent reference to himself—a reference more frequent in his prose writings than in his verse. Perhaps in the whole history of literature, there is no passage more egotistical or less selfish than the following:—'For 'the world, I count it not as an inn, but a hospital; and a place 'not to live but die in. The world that I regard is myself. It 'is the microcosm of mine own frame that I cast mine eye on; 'for the other, I use it, but like my globe, and turn it round 'sometimes for my recreation. Men that look upon my outside, 'perusing only my condition and fortunes, do err in my altitude, 'for I am above Atlas his shoulders.'—(Here follows the high excuse for this lofty self-exaltation.)—'The earth is a point, not 'only in respect of the heavens above us, but of that heavenly and 'celestial part within us. That mass of flesh that circumscribes me, 'limits not my mind. That surface that tells the heavens they 'have an end, cannot persuade me I have any. I take my circle 'to be above three hundred and sixty. Though the number of 'the arc do measure my body, it comprehendeth not my mind.

'Whilst I study to find how I am a microcosm, or little world, I 'find myself something more than the great. There is surely a 'piece of divinity to us—something that was before the elements, 'and owing no homage unto the sun. He that understands not 'thus much, hath not his introductions or first lesson, and is yet 'to begin the alphabet of man.'

In this magnificent passage—'a solemn procession of purple 'thought'—who will not allow that the self-esteem is the charm? That self-esteem dignifies *us* as well as its object,—we are elevated with its elevation—we are called upon to sympathize with an egotist who reveals to us *our* nature as well as his own;—we are raised to a sense of our own majesty by contemplating that of another—what *he* is, that are *we;*—'something that 'was before the elements, and owes no homage to the sun.' It is not then that either in self-esteem, or in egotism, which is often its expression, there is any thing degrading in itself. To confess is no shame;—shame is in that which we confess. When, therefore, it is the natural inclination of genius to reveal its nature, its thoughts, sentiments, or sufferings, it is as foolish as it is vain for criticism to resist the inclination: all that we can suggest is this—the man who does betray the mysteries of his own soul, should study to keep the temple pure and holy; and should ask our sympathy, not because he has thought, nor because he has suffered, but because he has thought deeply and suffered nobly.

But if, in the indulgence of egotism, there be nothing in itself to blame or to contemn,—if, on the contrary, it is this autobiography of opinion, and of thought, which often constitutes one of the most valuable and charming portions of literature,—if we wish indeed with a restless longing that it had been a more frequent habit of mind with our great authors,—and if we still search laboriously through the sonnets of Shakspeare—through the correspondence of Montesquieu—through the Latin verses of Milton—for every allusion, every avowal, that makes us more intimately acquainted with the workings of their souls,—still less can we affect to disdain or impugn a more frequent and necessary literary passion—the love of solitude;—a love natural to all contemplative natures—a habit not necessarily selfish in itself: its uses are noble—its abuse only dangerous. It is a bath to the mind relaxed in the feverish atmosphere of crowds; it braces the nerves of the intellect—it renews its vigour. But then we are not always to live in a bath, which strengthens in moderation, weakens in excess. Properly considered, the use of occasional retirement from the world is not to sever, but to confirm the ties that bind us to others. The literary character is necessarily sensitive; so much are its efforts connected with the

love of esteem, that it is easily susceptible to mortification—it magnifies annoyance—it imagines slights—

'it shapes
By choice the perils it by chance escapes.'

Hence the wholesome effect of retiring at times from the great mart of competition. The calm restores us: at a distance we review the causes which humbled or enraged, and wonder to find that the spectre vanishes, in the clearer light by which it is now examined; and as the desire of fame returns, so also returns our legitimate benevolence for those who proportion that fame in proportion to its utility to them. It was from that cavern, yet to be seen in the time of Plutarch, to which Demosthenes retired, that the great author emerged with new heart and vigour, to thunder forth those divine sympathies with the liberties of mankind which are still the inspirers of public virtue. Viewed in this light, solitude is the nurse of action—no less advantageous than natural to the energies of genius. But a solitude that is the aliment of misanthropy—the den of hatred—the mephitic and noisome cave from which evil oracles are emitted—is the retreat, not of genius, but of envy, which is at war with genius. 'There is,' said Cowley, 'the solitude of a 'god, and the solitude of a wild beast.' It was a noble comment by one addicted himself to solitude, and comprehending all its uses, upon that affected saying of Pythagoras, that he was a 'spectator of life.'—'Men,' said Lord Bacon, 'ought to know, 'that in the theatre of human life it is only for God and angels 'to be *spectators*.'

We have made these remarks, first, in reference to those who, justly incensed at the maudlin of modern poetasters, have argued against what are vitally necessary to many natures—a confessional and a hermitage; and secondly, as a warning to others who would devote the uses to abuse. We have said, that however inglorious the result, and however embittered by our own failings, there is always something of happiness in the pursuits of literature. But it is easy to perceive how much purer and how much greater that happiness may be made by the temper of the student—by a constant resistance to all the petty and disturbing passions of spleen and envy—by a watchful restraint of that all-exacting and never-compromising disposition which sensitive minds, in search of the Ideal, are too liable to form. It is impossible for some natures to be social, but all may be benevolent. And it is astonishing what innumerable sources of happiness we open to ourselves, by compelling the mind, even in calm and retirement, to take an interest in the stir and action of the world. This interest preserves us from all the stagnation and selfishness of solitude: it ennobles success, it consoles for failure. And failure, indeed, is less common to

persons of this habit of mind; for it requires a great genius to embellish the Morose. But the Genial adorns itself; and a man resolved to be useful is sure to accomplish his object.

We trust that these remarks occur somewhat in season; for we think we recognise in the rising generation of literary men a more wholesome and masculine frame of mind than that which characterised a large number of their immediate predecessors. And in proportion as the political constitution becomes more popular, genius of every description is, perhaps, insensibly compelled to become more social. One of the results of the Reform Bill was, that it threw men of letters, desirous of entering public life, at once upon the people,—familiarizing both the candidate and the crowd with the pretensions and qualities of either; and yet this audacity in a student was deemed so impossible by the advocates of the old system, that it was urged as one of the inestimable advantages of close boroughs, that through them, and through them alone, could men of literature and science be returned to Parliament; as if it were desirable to foster in them that fastidiousness and reserve which necessarily diminish their utility in active life. He who shrinks from the roar of the Hustings, will probably shrink no less from the eye of the Speaker. The advocates for the old system, under pretence of kindness to the character of the student, were nursing the very qualities that were to secure his failure. But the main advantages of an enlarged political circle, in connexion with the pursuits of the scholar, are less in alluring him from his closet to public life, —(for in that the public may lose as often as it may gain,)— than in familiarizing his ear and his heart with the affairs of the actual world. The agitation, the stir, the ferment,—the lively, the unceasing, the general interest in political concerns, which it is the nature of popular governments to create,—meet him in every circle; insensibly they force themselves on his meditations—they colour his studies—they transfuse their spirit into his compositions. This it was which so singularly characterised the literature of Athens; bringing in close contact the statesman and the student,—giving vitality to the dream of the poet, and philosophy to the harangues of the orator. And by a necessary reaction, the same causes which render the man of letters more interested in the affairs of men of action, interest the men of action in the aims and character of men of letters. The connexion is as serviceable to the world as to the scholar; it corrects the dreaminess of the last,—it refines the earthlier calculations of the first; and thus popular institutions insensibly become the medium of exchange, which barter and transfer from the most distant quarters, the most various commodities in the intellectual commerce of mankind.

ART. X.—*Oaths ; their Origin, Nature, and History.* By JAMES E. TYLER, B.D. 8vo. London: 1834.

THE world must have been successful in clearing away public grievances and vulgar errors, if it has got down at present as low as Oaths in the natural progress of reform. Not thinking this to be the fact, the discussion is one we should not yet have volunteered; but the honest earnestness of Mr Tyler has betrayed us into it. In principle, indeed, we go beyond him; for, while he seems disposed to cut off something from the breadth of Quaker opinions on this question, we are ready to do battle for them in their unshorn latitude of brim, subject only to discrimination between things which are scripturally unlawful, and things which are practically inexpedient.

There is an important case in the background, to be determined by even graver considerations than respect for exaggerated scruples. But the difficulty of legislating for subtleties of conscience ought to make society cautious of needlessly provoking them. In the present instance, Parliament appears not to have always succeeded in understanding the nature of the qualms which it was intending to relieve. The main stress of Mr Tyler's personal dissatisfaction is directed against the imprecation embodied in the ordinary form of adjuration. The grounds of this particular scruple may be thought very unimportant. It is only the more absurd that an indulgence, which was extended during the last session to an almost imperceptible sect called Separatists, can be obtained by a respectable clergyman upon no other condition than that of formally abjuring the Church of England. Mr Tyler is a warm advocate of the prevalent opinion, that the interests of morality and religion have seriously suffered from the multiplicity of oaths, and from their unceremonious administration. With this view he urges their partial reduction, without prejudice, it appears, one way or the other, to the further question of their total abolition. Supposing the prevalent demand for a reduction in the sum-total of our national swearing to be well founded (and Parliament has been recently acting on it to a great extent), it is natural to ask, what criterion is to settle the boundary of the line, or the selection of the cases? If the moral and religious advocates of reduction—Sir Robert Inglis, for example—can produce no such criterion, we trust they may see reason to doubt, whether the cause of morality and religion can be at all concerned, on its own account, in the continuance of a single oath. The sects, with whom the refusal to swear is an

article of faith, are certainly not among the least religious of the members of the Christian world.

Our sincere respect for the spirit in which Mr Tyler writes, cannot prevent our feeling that he does not get to the bottom of his subject: we suspect that he is not fully conscious of its depth. His work is almost exclusively that of a divine and scholar, and is more half-sermon, half-memoir, than a well-digested argument addressed to a specific end. There is nothing in it, or nothing beyond a few incidental observations, on the paramount question —whether oaths are of any, and what, use for the general purposes of civil society? Considering that our author comes forward as a reformer, and a reformer upon principle, his readers were entitled to expect that he should have laid his reasons somewhat more philosophically before them. The modifications, which he recommends, assume that oaths are to be retained in certain excepted cases. At the same time, not an exception can be justified upon his principles, but by a necessity of some kind or another, which the party requiring them must establish. We undertake to say, that if swearing is to be suspended till the Legislature has made out the existence of a separate necessity for each exception, few of us can expect to hear another oath. The only one of Mr Bentham's writings to which Mr Tyler alludes, is a Pasquinade against University Oaths, under the title, 'Swear 'not at all.' It is right that he should make himself acquainted with the 'Rationale of Evidence,' the most inaccessible, perhaps, but the most original of all Mr Bentham's works. It contains a correct and complete map, not less comprehensive than minute, of this particular subject. Among all the peremptory conclusions of the great dogmatist of modern jurisprudence, there is no point which he has ruled more absolutely than the inutility of oaths. In case Mr Tyler is really not aware of the legitimate extent of the argument, in which he has taken so creditable a part, Mr Bentham's logic is pretty certain of an intellectual convert in him. In case he has been only deterred from stating the whole truth by the belief, that half the truth was as much as the Church and the Public were prepared for at present, there is reason to hope that he may now take courage, and venture upon the remaining half. The movements of orthodoxy are so capricious, that it is not to be wondered at if glimpses of the crown of martyrdom stole into his study, and intercepted occasionally the light. Mr Tyler might think himself quite bold enough already; for his limited propositions are identical with those which were published, some seventy years ago, by a M. Herport, a venerable pastor of Berne, and which brought down upon their worthy author the thunder of his aristocratical little canton,

England was, however, even then sufficiently tolerant to visit a contemporary translation of M. Herport's Essay with no worse persecution than neglect. Our own times, it is to be hoped, have not lost in charity what they have gained in intelligence and zeal. Upon enquiry at the Duke of Richmond's committee, Mr Tyler, we believe, will learn, that at least one Bishop has declared himself in favour of the abolition of all oaths—judicial among the rest.

It is important that the right principle should be understood: leaving it to expediency, popular prejudice, and other legislative considerations to determine, at what seasons and with what limitations the principle may be applied. The fundamental difficulties, which still remain unsettled in a system of ages, show the intractableness of the system, and the extent to which reason has been superseded in it by the mere force of custom and superstition. Contradictory definitions cover with doubt the first and preliminary point. Even now, with the millennium almost in sight, Doctors are disputing what words are essential to constitute an oath. The very object of the ceremony has been so differently construed at different periods of civilisation, that we can never be sure from age to age, much less from individual to individual, what is the principle and what the degree of security which the ceremony conveys. Its only rational object, and the form in which it is administered, are still more frequently at variance with each other. Legislators, scattering oaths over a few favourite subjects under a vague notion of protection, have never attempted to explain why the protection was so partially distributed, and why a single interest was left out. We no sooner read of the existence of the system, than we read complaints of its inefficiency. But the pious men who have, from time to time, come forward with such complaints,—beginning with the comments of Hierocles on the golden verses of Pythagoras, and ending with the remonstrance of Mr Tyler,—have confined their opposition to considerations, which could lead to no decisive results. Instead of sifting the subject from its first principles, they were satisfied all along with declaiming against the multiplicity of oaths, and with calling for nothing more than a relaxation of the usage. They never took the pains to distinguish where multiplicity begins; or to prove, in a single specific instance, that the maintenance of it by oath was of such importance, directly or indirectly, as to counterbalance the mischiefs which belong to the system, however accurately limited and discreetly superintended. The whole question appears, in short, to have been left a jungle, waiting for the first reformer, who would take up common sense, as a hatchet,—enter, and possess. It was just the case for Mr Bentham.

The question was in truth wonderfully open ; although, on one hand, the language of scripture seems at first sight decisive against all oaths ; while, on the other, the usage of almost all countries raises a potent presumption in their favour. The first difficulty (and it is no inconsiderable one) is to get over words so plain as ' Swear not at all' in the Sermon on the Mount. The Wickliffites, Anabaptists, and Quakers, were not the first partisans of literal interpretation. Till about the sixth century, the great majority of early Christians had considered the text a universal prohibition. However, the example of our Saviour, in his answer to the adjuration of the High Priest, is a satisfactory comment on his words ;—to the extent at least of proving that, whether the supreme authority does right or wrong in demanding oaths, its subjects are justified in submitting to the demand. The celebrated texts on civil obedience are said to have left that duty where they found it. Not so the present passage. It evidently forbids something which was allowed to the Jews. Criticism has not been very successful in explaining what that something was. Mr Tyler is disappointed with Michaelis. Grotius, one of the most competent enquirers that ever lived, supposes that it only forbade promissory oaths ; Mosheim imprecatory ; whereas Calvin, Paley, and others, reasonably conceiving that oaths when they were required by public authority were not meant to be brought into dispute, understand the new restriction to be pointed at an evil habit into which the Jews had fallen, of evading the Commandment, and swearing by other names than that of the Creator. The letter and spirit of the prohibition agree in treating the name or form of the adjuration as a subordinate consideration ; and include under the censure of an oath all exaggerations of expression. Indeed all such exaggerations are necessarily marked with one of the most characteristic and mischievous qualities of an oath : which is the distinguishing between different degrees of truth, according to a difference in the terms, or vehemence of asseveration. If critics can make little that is positive one way or the other out of the language of Scripture, sensible persons will attribute still less authority to its examples. These instances can hardly be the foundation of positive conclusions, while imprecatory oaths (the subject in some quarters of so much serious reprehension) are supposed, by writers of the class of Beza and Sanderson, to have received the sanction of St Paul in his own person. Morality has in this, as in other cases, but little in common with the specialties of Jewish manners. Practices allowable under the old law (it is the very declaration of the text), are no longer to be allowable under the new. But supposing that the precedents of the Old Testament upon this point had not been expressly over-

ruled, nothing but perplexity has ever followed, or can possibly follow, from an attempt to make the general history of mankind comformable to the peculiar history of the tribes of Israel. They were distinctly characterised, by being placed under a divine economy, directly the reverse of God's ordinary government. One of the immediate consequences and objects of this remarkable dispensation was, that of making them as unlike as possible to all other nations. Milton would not have much improved society by bringing back from the Old Testament, in the institution of polygamy, marriage, 'as saints and patriarchs used.' The reasonings of modern jurisprudence were at one time strangely narrowed and obscured by constant references to the Mosaic polity. Mr Tyler has the good sense to admit, that the modes of adjuration, employed by Joseph and Elisha, are utterly indefensible, when tried by the more correct notions of our Christian philosophy. Yet it is just as reasonable, that we should be required to follow their example, and swear according to their form, as that the masters of casuistry should seek to bind our conscience, in cases of injustice or deception, by the construction which Jephtha and Joshua put upon their oaths. The scriptural argument of the Anabaptist and the Quaker, against the lawfulness of oaths in any case, is perfectly intelligible. So is the general answer, which goes no further than to distinguish rash and voluntary swearing, from swearing at the direction of the state. On the numerous and collateral questions, where moralists and statesmen can be now-a-days wanting information—especially, what means exist of appreciating the expediency of an oath—the commentators are of very little service.

The evidence of history is equally inconclusive. Antiquarian learning (of which Mr Tyler has brought together a formidable and multifarious array for the curious in oaths) affords materials for instruction rather than instruction itself. The superstition of early societies—the comparative weakness of other sanctions during imperfect civilisation—the vast influence afterwards of unreasoning prescription, combine in accounting for the universality of oaths from one period to another. We are not driven to suppose, that their primitive value (whatever it might be) has continued unaltered, or that there is any thing like the voice of nature in their behalf. No real unanimity has, however, in point of fact existed; the different systems having been broken up by diversities and anomalies, which make them concurrent, in appearance only. It would be absurd to reason seriously on the supposed authority of Greece or Rome, when, perhaps, no two scholars are agreed on the course of their practice, or upon its consequent effects. It is however very clear, amid a great deal that is uncertain and

obscure, that the oath was applied with great irregularity, and represented very different impressions at different periods. Whatever strength the ceremony might have had at the beginning, its efficacy was comparatively worn out; and, although the mockery was prostituted still, Greek faith had become a proverb, together with Greek philosophy, long before the age of Polybius. The Romans are reported to have made at the time more of the sanction than any other people; however, the word of Cicero may be taken for the fact, that, in his day, the man who would lie, would also commit perjury. Aulus Gellius, in recognising the increase of the crime, attributes it, not so much to the discovery that the gods did not punish the perjurer on the instant, as to the alteration in the human laws, and the perjurer being no longer thrown from the Tarpeian rock. Some nations have discouraged oaths as much as others have encouraged them. This is said to have been the case with the ancient Phrygians. Mahomet dispensed with them in judicial testimony, although, like Moses, he incorporated religion with the elements of his law. Mahomedan governments have made a point of abstaining from them on almost all occasions; and they are very obnoxious to those among the Hindoos who pretend to any principle or character. The British, proceeding, as usual, on strict and general rules, have introduced the innovation systematically into their Eastern empire; but, with such little benefit, that the late Ramohun Roy, while lamenting the extent to which native falsehood is at present prevalent in our courts, expressly states that it has grown up under our system, and was not so before. The Christian sects, which object to the lawfulness of oaths, probably have the average proportion of vice and virtue among their members. It has never been surmised that, in consequence of this tenet, any deduction was to be made from the ordinary credit of Quakers or Moravians. If it is said that, in the case of religious scruples, it has been ruled by the French and the Dutch Law, and that it was also Lord Mansfield's opinion, that a solemn declaration is not merely a substitute for an oath, but is the oath of those persuasions,—we ask, on this explanation, what use are we to make of a thing so impalpable and indefinite as an oath? Where no scruple is pretended, the exemption has been granted, in some countries, as a distinction to certain classes. The clergy were indebted to Pope Honorius II. for a dispensation from this sanction. In confirmation of the Canons, the Emperor Justinian ordained, by his sovereign prerogative, that no oath should in any case be taken by an ecclesiastic. Mr Tyler states, upon the authority of M. Merlin, that this clerical exemption prevailed in France and through the greater part of the continent until the French Revo-

lution; and, he says, that it continues in Spain up to the present day. The nobility in most parts of Germany were allowed the same privilege. Yet in these instances (and if not in these, why in others?) there is no reason for conjecturing that, on account of the exemption, less confidence was placed on the veracity of the parties, or on their fidelity to the duties of their several stations, than was placed in other countries where the same classes were laid under the express obligation of an oath. Does any body think that an English peer is in the least more likely to speak the truth, in the cases where he speaks upon his oath, than where he speaks upon his honour? If Archbishop Williams, when Lord Keeper, had not succeeded in persuading the Lords to lay aside their determination that they would take no oath save by their honour, it is not one of the privileges of the House at which we should have been alarmed. The Romans did not swear minors (*impuberes*) in courts of justice. Most of the derivative systems have shown a similar forbearance. The French do not carry this appeal below fifteen. All the judges of England, however, agreed in Brazier's case (the case of an infant five years old), that children of any age were to be examined on oath, provided they were capable of distinguishing between good and evil. It might be wished that the sages of the English law had shown that they were themselves fully aware of the necessity of so distinguishing. In that case, they never would have imagined that more good than evil could have followed from the profane and painful spectacle which English practice occasionally exhibits under their rule. The swearing little children, after an examination in the creed, does not advance the administration of justice a step, nor strike off a single criminal from England's unrivalled list of juvenile offenders. A great deal of time would be saved in getting rid of foolish prejudices, if men would but lift their eyes beyond their own little provincial circle into the wider field of comparative legislation.

A comparison may be properly instituted, between the condition of the same subject in those places or seasons when it was left under the custody of the ordinary sanctions, and its condition in those when this supernatural sanction was also called into alliance. Society occasionally requires promises and assertions, when it is not justified in requiring them. Yet, it is on the faith of promises and assertions, express and implied, that society exists. Where this is the case, it is its duty to secure itself an honest answer as far as an honest answer can be secured. The only thing to be considered is the means—their value and their cost. Promises and assertions are broadly distinguished from each other. A man may easily be called upon to promise for his future conduct, opinions, and feelings, more than, considering the subject

and his own character, it is in some instances possible, in others probable, that he can perform. These questions are questions of degree. The point for our present consideration is, to ascertain how far a promissory oath is calculated to turn the scale. Assertions regard matters of fact or opinion, past or present. Concerning these, truth or falsehood is plainly at the moment in our power: and the point for our consideration here is the same as before,—to what degree an assertory oath is calculated to prevent the falsehood it suspects. If Cicero thought it difficult to find the person who would scruple at perjury and not scruple at lying, it will probably be still more difficult to discriminate the subjects on which the great body of mankind may be trusted for not lying, from those on which the terrors appropriated to perjury alone will act. The experiment has been tried both in promises and assertions, here on one subject, there on another; but contemporary complaints of the unmitigated extent of the disorder have been so loud, and the remedy has been so frequently abandoned, that the advisers of the prescription seem to have no great cause for congratulating themselves on their success. There are times and persons with whom imagination can do much. But it is so perilous and so deceitful an auxiliary, that the failure of a superstitious practice, which is nothing else but a project of governing mankind by it upon system, is any thing but a matter of regret.

The oath was formerly a regular part of every treaty. Let jurists make out their lists of the broken faith of nations, and put the sworn treaties of the thirteenth, and the unsworn ones of the nineteenth century, in contrast with each other. Modern diplomacy need not blush. Formerly, the entire male population was sworn to its allegiance. In England, boys, as soon as they were twelve years old, attended the Court Leet for that purpose. We do not know when this comedy was played for the last time. But there can be no doubt, that it would be a much more difficult thing to get a single village to turn out into rebellion now, than it would have been for party leaders to bring out the suitors of the Court Leets of half the kingdom into the field against their king. Have oaths of religious allegiance been more successful? The Council of Toulouse (A. D. 1129) required of the laity, that at the age of twelve, (an age which Bishop Philpotts will admit to be sufficiently early for the responsibilities of technical divinity,) they should swear to a formulary of faith. The very necessity, that the Council of Trent could have occasion in its day to decree that all Catholics should swear to obey the Canons and the See of Rome, was in itself a proof of the insufficiency of the precaution which it was once more in the act of recommend-

ing. While the Roman Catholics, however, were profiting by experience, and this last provision was afterwards wisely limited to ecclesiastics, the German Protestants became alarmed lest the annual elections in the imperial cities, and the fluctuating policy of princes, might check the Reformation. Under this apprehension the Protestant laity were subjected to an oath of religion equally stringent, by the supporters of the Augsburgh Confession, by Luther, and by Calvin. How strange that while the Protestant faith was, by the very fact of its existence, a proof of the fallibility of this criminal expedient to stop enquiry, they should imagine it could do for the catechisms of to-day, what it had failed in accomplishing for the decrees of Councils and the authority of the Fathers! The Acts of Uniformity, passed in behalf of the Church of England, did not attain their object. No invention of the kind can. But the Church of England spared itself the disgrace of this useless perjury. If the oath *ex officio* only multiplied Dissenters, who can say what reaction might not have followed a measure of this description? Looking at the pages of Sleidan, Seckendorff, and Arnold, and at the religious history of Germany, England might have had to pass through strange scenes of contradiction, schism, and confusion, before it arrived at the age of toleration and repose. Notwithstanding all his orthodoxy, the military Chancellor of Oxford has not yet proposed to swear the population at large to 'the thirty-nine Articles' of 'Christianity.'

Historical evidence exists almost to the same amount derived from the weakness and relaxation of assertory oaths. The most necessary and the plainest of all assertions are those on which judicial testimony proceeds. It is singular that Hume, in the very paragraph where he denies the fact of the alleged connexion between veracity and popular religion, assumes (but without stating any grounds, direct or indirect, for the exception) that oaths must continue to be taken in Courts of Justice. Now, on this point, what is the answer of experience—as far as experience hitherto has gone? When a third person—not the party to the cause—is examined as a witness, the oath is wanted in control of his conscience, only on the supposition that some unknown bias or latent interest may exist, strong enough to overcome the natural propensity to truth. When the party is himself examined, he differs from an ordinary witness in no other respect than that the interest to which he is subject is notorious in its nature and amount. If it is admitted that, on one hand, an oath is not needed, where no partial interest exists, and if it is notorious, on the other, that, when the interest rises to a certain height, the oath by itself is an inadequate security for truth, it

requires a more microscopic eye, than any legislator has yet possessed, to ascertain what is the intermediate class of cases—of a possible interest more or less—in which testimonial truth or falsehood will depend upon the administration or non-administration of the oath. Until some analysis of that kind has been effected, the principle in the case of witnesses must share the fate of the experiment in the analogous case of parties; the object being the same precisely with regard to both—that of overcoming an existent motive to mendacity. Let us see what is the inference afforded by the success of the oath as administered to parties. According to the old Roman system, the prosecutor in public crimes could not stir without making a preliminary oath on the justice of his charge. Yet the splendid ignominy in which false accusations flourished under the Roman empire has no parallel in history. At the beginning of every lawsuit both parties were obliged, by both the civil and the canon law, to swear that their demands and defences were put forward in good faith, that they would use no cavils, and give no unnecessary trouble. Nevertheless, the account given by Domat of the experience of France, is only a repetition of the experience of other countries. 'It served to no 'other purpose than to be an occasion of perjury either to the one 'party or to the other; or sometimes even to both: and although 'this oath has been renewed in some cases by the ordinances, yet 'at present it is altogether disused, and no mention made of it.' What has been the result when the oath of the parties was a substantive part of the trial? According to the commentary of Matthæus, about a hundred and fifty years ago, prisoners were thus examined, *Italiæ totius consuetudine.* The Institutes of Spain also speak of administering the oath in criminal suits, where the accused is a man of suspicious character, and the penalty not capital; and of receiving the prisoner's confession under the same solemnity. If the motives to mendacity vanquish the solemnity in the persons of the parties in civil questions, where nevertheless it may be backed up by the other sanctions, it is not to be wondered at that the contest has been found a still more hopeless one in criminal proceedings, where the other sanctions have, in comparison, vanished into air. The distinctions, regulating the application of the decisory and the suppletory oaths to parties, make a considerable figure nominally in the civil law. The treatise by Heineccius on the lubricity of the suppletory oath, and the account quoted by Blackstone, from Stiernhook, of the latter practice under the old Swedish or Gothic constitution, agree in stating that at least this example of the celebrated guarantee has sunk in the Continental courts into contempt, mischief, or disuse. Precedents traced back to remote antiquity, and the letter of the law

obstinately unrepealed, only serve to show more strongly the vanity of the system. It is not easy to imagine a case where philosophical observation appears to be more positively at issue with the mere spirit of routine.

English history can contribute its full proportion to the suspicion which the history of other countries must have thrown both on the use of promissory oaths for the purposes of politics and religion, and on the influence of assertory oaths, whether judicial or fiscal, civil or military. The oath of allegiance was thought at one time to be quite necessary to the existence of the State. Before the Revolution, it had dropped so low as to serve no nobler purpose than that of persecuting unlucky Quakers. The political jealousies of that crisis fulminated the mysterious *præmunire* against persons of eighteen who should refuse to take it on its being tendered to them by the proper magistrate. But its bolt was as harmless as that of official oaths—not that there was any want of Jacobites, then or after, either in general society or in the highest offices. The Carlist sophistry of to-day will find precedents enow in the examples and the sayings of that period. The idle cruelty of the oath of abjuration which was then exacted, is denounced by Mr Hallam in that rare spirit of impartial equity which alone would make his history of the English Constitution one of the most remarkable books in any language. 'The dominant faction might enjoy perhaps a chari-'table pleasure in exposing many of their adversaries, and espe-'cially the High Church clergy, to the disgrace and remorse of 'perjury. Few or none, however, who had taken the oath of 'allegiance, refused this additional cup of bitterness, though so 'much less defensible, according to the principles they had 'employed to vindicate their compliance in the former instance: 'so true it is that in matters of conscience the first scruple is the 'only one which it costs much to overcome.' The misgovernment of successive reigns is a proper commentary on the value of the coronation oath. It is still retained as part of the pageant of a coronation. But were a king to lay aside the pageant, oath and all, the most jealous patriotism would be under no apprehension for the safety of the constitution. What constitutional alarmist has grumbled over the tardiness of a coronation, or has slept the sounder the night after it, any time for the last two hundred years? Our ancestors sought, without much success, thus to lay hold of the religious imagination of their kings. Richard II., who had been crowned when eleven years old, was afterwards sworn to his good behaviour upon the Cross of Canterbury. The result was no great encouragement to try its influence on his successors. Nothing can be conceived more picturesque than the denunciations by book and bell throughout

the cathedrals of England against the violators of Magna Charta. However, picturesqueness will not do by itself. Conscience is a separate thing, and to be reached after another fashion. So little came of it, that the antiquarians, who were lately mourning over the lost opportunity of founding English liberty upon ancient Guilds, never dreamed, as far as we are aware, of proposing that the terrors of the church should be played off in favour of the Reform Bill.

It is not necessary to have all the horror of an oath entertained by Mr Tyler, to feel the superiority of modern manners. Half the kings of England may be recognised in their favourite oaths. 'To swear like a lord,' is a saying come down from former times. The rank and profession of the men and women of the 'Canterbury Tales' are distinguished by their familiar forms of adjuration, as much as by their dress. From the fashionable Prioresse, whose 'gretest othe n'as but by Seint Eloy,' we have passed through the mitigated asseverations of the playful Rosalind, with her 'by my troth, and in good earnest, and so God 'mend me, and all pretty oaths that are not dangerous,' to the simpler language of our day. Without insisting on any positive connexion like that of cause and effect between the two facts, there can be little doubt that the veracity of private life has in the meantime kept simultaneously improving, and that, among our own contemporaries, none are more aware of the little credit to which the practice is entitled than the very classes and individuals with whom the practice is lingering last. It is clear that no sense of irreverence, but quite the contrary, was attached for a considerable period to the use of common swearing. Notwithstanding this, it was found as a sanction to be worse than useless. Is there any proof that the ceremonious swearing established by the law for Public Occasions, the gabbling of the Customhouse, or the book-kissing of the Justice-room, is in the least degree more effectual? It is not enough that men in office are sworn in, from the Lord High Chancellor down to a special constable, and that men in office for the most part do their duty. It must be further shown that they have done their duty because they were sworn. An old authorized collection, called the 'Book 'of Oaths,' is evidence that our ancestors acted on this supposition. The correctness of the supposition is another question. On examining this curious catalogue it will be found, that in some instances the oath has been allowed to drop altogether. In others, its impotence has been acknowledged by substituting a weaker edition of the original obligation—milk and water instead of gin. On one hand, there are examples, where the duty has been for ages notoriously and constantly

violated, notwithstanding the awful sanction. On the other, there are examples, where the same duties, sworn and unsworn, have been always performed with equal honour. To look no further than at the case of different officers employed in the administration of the law. The terms of the oath taken by the Judges were settled (18 Edward III.) by Act of Parliament. It was late, however, before the nation began to feel the benefit of this Parliamentary precaution;—not till after the Revolution, when the patents of the Judges were changed from patents during pleasure to patents during good behaviour. Their dependence on God only became complete and visible contemporaneously with their independence of the King. The official part of an attorney's oath has been long thrown (and wisely thrown) into the unregarded lumber-room of the law. That taken on the making of a legal sergeant exists only as a portion of the mummery which it requires the gravity of Dugdale seriously to describe, and more than human gravity seriously to behold. The attorney was sworn 'that he would doe no falsehood, nor consent 'to any to be done in the Court; and if he knew of any to be 'done, he would give knowledge thereof unto my Lord Chief 'Justice, or other his brethren, that it may be reformed: that he 'would delay no man for lucre or malice; would increase no fees, 'but would be contented with the old fees accustomed; would 'plead no foreign plea, &c.; and would not wittingly nor willingly sue, nor procure to be sued, any false suit, nor give aide 'nor consent to the same.' Now, what was gained by this? Every one acquainted with legal history is aware that the statute-books bear evidence of a jealous anti-attorney legislation, contemporary with the oath, far beyond what the suspected delinquencies of attorneys have ever called for, since it has been abandoned. Is the public innocent enough to believe that the nerves of an attorney would shudder at the mystic archaism of its language, half as much as at the dread of being struck off the rolls? The oath of a sergeant imports that he will give 'true counsail 'after his cunning, that he will not defer causes for covetise of 'money, and that he will attend accordingly.' Suitors, we apprehend, are not sensible of any assignable difference between the truth, covetousness, or diligent attendance of sergeants and barristers; still less, that whatever superior virtue may be visible in the sergeants is to be attributed to the fact that the former have been sworn, the latter not. A comparison of this kind affords a real and intelligible illustration, by which we may determine on the efficacy of official oaths.

In questions of science and opinion, oaths can do nothing for the cause of truth, and little for that of error; otherwise the

Pope would be still master in our pulpits, and Aristotle in our schools. Visitors to the English Salamanca on the festival of 1834, may compare the usages of 1685 in the narrative of Sir Robert Howard. 'Queen's College, in Oxford,' (he observes,) 'yet shows a kind of testimony of veneration, by reading Aris-'totle upon their knees; and those that take degrees are sworn 'to defend his philosophy.' If stubborn Aristotelians failed, by means of this kind, to prolong the faith in Aristotle a day, orthodoxy ought to doubt whether it is wisely glorying in its present privilege, of swearing boys to their belief in matters, which every one, who knows the Youth of England, knows that few of them have seriously thought of, and in which not one of them can have had the means of forming an opinion worthy of being called belief. Doctors of Divinity who clamour for blindfold protestations of fidelity, beyond what are expected from a lover, might learn something from the example of their predecessors. How fruitlessly are they occupied in preparing at least the soil for contingent perjuries, at which Jupiter will not laugh! Nothing can be said for these attempts to tie up the mind by premature engagements. It is like the rule at common law, by which a girl may be betrothed at seven, and may bind herself irrevocably by the marriage vow at twelve; twelve being the age which the common law, that calls itself the perfection of reason, designates, for this purpose, the age of discretion and consent.

It is plain, from Mr Tyler's account of the transaction —and after a residence of upwards of twenty years, nobody should know Oxford better—that the signature is taken, not as a matter of faith but discipline. College tutors can scarcely be ignorant that a lecture of a few hours can do little more than disturb the surface of one or two of the nine hundred controverted points (be they more or less) which the thirty-nine Articles are reported to have embalmed. In point of fact, the signature is nearly as evanescent for all purposes of ecclesiastical discipline as of belief. The young gentlemen do not grow up members of the Church of England because they have signed the Articles; but they consent to sign because they conceive themselves to be already members. If the oaths were left optional, few, it is to be hoped, would be imprudent enough to volunteer them. In that event, it is true, signing and swearing would almost disappear; but we feel pretty confident that the Church itself would not lose a single son. The value of a promise, of course, depends, not on the number of letters it may contain, but on the construction it is to receive. Can any tangible security have resulted from engagements, the contents of which the party cannot have seriously examined, and which he is

encouraged to subscribe, on the understanding that he is at liberty to take his choice among half-a-dozen different methods of explaining them away? It is an old grievance. Jeremy Taylor, mentioning such breaches of the laws, as, because of the general custom, are never punished, adds,—'Much of the same 'nature are the oaths taken at the matriculations and admissions 'into universities and offices respectively, concerning which it 'were very well there were some remedy in prevention.' Alas, that the day should come, when the authority of the great *Ductor dubitantium* is overruled by undoubting Oxford! and Bishop Philpotts is proclaimed the champion of its morals, and the director of its conscience, in the room of Bishop Taylor!

Acts of Parliament have been spoken of through which might be driven a coach and six. By a little jesuitical interpretation, the whole legislation of a country, and every contract between man and man, may be brought into that condition. The scandal of constructions, under which certainly the law, and possibly the conscience, suffer, is only aggravated by subjecting the transaction to the ratification of an oath. One of the most solemn divisions of promissory oaths has been thus corrupted; and by the very men, too, to whom the public conscience should look to be informed. Members of colleges are required to swear to the observance of their respective statutes; 'which observance,' says Paley, 'is become in some cases unlawful, in others impracti-'cable, in others useless, in others inconvenient.' Yet they continue to swear, just as if the statutes were to be punctually obeyed; and are trembling at the prospect of a legislative proposition for putting the oath and the fact into harmony with each other. It has been said that the Cardinals, when in conclave, severally swear, that, if elected Pope, they will reform the church; and that the first thing the Pope does after his election is to absolve himself from his vow. The divines of England have no such monopoly of the dispensing power. As they may construe, so may we. Verily, oaths, that can be so construed, are a marvellous safeguard to a state!

The results of enquiry into assertory oaths, in Courts of Justice, appears to be the same in England as in other countries. Under the authority of Otho's constitution (A.D. 1237), the oath of calumny (the title of the introductory declaration on the merits) was required of both parties in the English Ecclesiastical and Admiralty Courts. That the plan was recommended by the civilians and the canonists, was certain to ensure its rejection by the bigots of the common law. On a comparison of the justice of the demands and defences under the two systems, what appears to have taken place? Were the Ecclesiastical and

Admiralty Courts found to be in possession of an instrument, strong enough to purge their floors from impurities, by which Westminster Hall was scandalized? Quite the contrary. The successful scrutiny of truth has infinitely improved during the last hundred years in all tribunals. And it is now a hundred years or more since the oath of calumny was discontinued in the English courts. There is no pretence for saying, with Lord Coke, that 'the simplicity of ancient times presumed that no one would 'forswear himself for any worldly thing.' The judicial combats of our ancestors went on the directly contrary presumption; being preceded by positive oaths from both sides on the merits, as well as in disclaimer of the employment of amulets and sorcery. The only difference between the oath in criminal and civil combats was one, from which we fear that justice neither then nor ever derived much advantage. That which was taken by the parties themselves in the first, when combatants on an appeal, was 'vastly more striking and solemn' than that taken by their champions in the second on a writ of right. These striking and solemn oaths, necessarily accompanied by perjury on one side or the other, were so far from precluding the necessity of a trial, that they were only preliminaries to one. And a trial by what? By force of arms. The wager of battle thus consequent on the oath, shows what little reliance, as far back as the days of judicial combats, was really placed in the oath itself. No wonder, therefore, that a contemporary mode of trial, called wager of law, which trusted for its efficacy to the oath entirely, was at the time comparatively discredited. The wager of law referred certain cases to the oath of the defendant, and to that of eleven of his neighbours, as compurgators. It is simply described in Magna Charta as *juramentum;* while wager of battle is entitled, in the same paragraph, *lex manifesta*,—answering to *paribilis*, or the means by which the truth *appears*, which was its ordinary name. When peaceful and reasonable habits discontinued trial by judicial combat, this method of trial by judicial oath did not rise into favour on its ruins. A greater sense of ridicule scarcely circulated round the King's Bench when Abraham Thornton threw down his glove, than when, a few years afterwards, a plaintiff was obliged to abandon his inconsiderate form of action in consequence of the defendant being prepared to bring his eleven compurgators into court. In this proceeding the defendant was to come to the bar and receive, in his own person, a wholesome admonition from the judges on the nature and danger of a false oath. The singularity of the scene,—the only instance of the ancient *avisatio*, or magisterial warning,—was all in vain. Under the evasion and discouragement of successive

generations of practitioners, wager of law was handed down as a traditional mode of trial to which no plaintiff in his senses would resort; and its repeal was as much a matter of course, and of congratulation, as that of wager of battle itself.

The temptation offered by the ecclesiastical canons to a clerical offender and his friends, to carry him through by hard swearing, was irresistible. The trial of a clergyman by canonical purgation is described as a complication of perjuries. It was an attempt to concentrate the essence of oaths, and nothing else. The experiment of what was the worth of an oath, its pure and intrinsic worth, could not be tried more rigorously, and, at the same time, more favourably; no result could be more decisive. Hobart and Blackstone contend with each other in virtuous indignation at the solemn farce of a mock trial, where the delinquent, witnesses, compurgators, jury, and the good bishop himself, were almost equally partakers of the guilt. Their lecture surely might have led them to suspect that it is not to the characteristic virtue of an oath that we owe the sanctity of our common law tribunals. In one or two instances, Westminster Hall has of its own authority withdrawn this guarantee, from points where the jealousy so natural to supreme courts had originally imposed it. Suitors to inferior jurisdictions formerly swore that the subject of the suit arose within the district, or was under the limited amount. That they are no longer compelled to do so, is not from any desire on the part of the metropolitan judges to wink at encroachments. Their Lordships discovered that the ceremony was a work of supererogation. With the other securities, it was not wanted; without them, it would have been in vain. There is a great variety of obsolete oaths up and down the books, and in all the out of the way corners of our ancient institutions, which nobody ever misses. They lie scattered like so many *larvæ*, whence the butterfly has flown.

In this manner, time sweeps away by degrees a good deal of the rubbish which it makes. The moral which was thus accidentally suggested, has been latterly applied on system, in several branches of the public service. In 1831, a return was made to the House of Commons of the number of oaths taken before the Customs and Excise. Within the preceding twelve months, the oaths before the Board of Customs had completed a sum total of 101,596, to which the Board of Excise added its supplement of 194,612. This battery has been since so effectually silenced, that the principal mischief of the few oaths which continue to be maintained for the protection of the Revenue is the apparent principle that they support. There are no grounds for believing that the Exchequer has lost a shilling by at last

taking the advice which Paley pressed upon it more than fifty years ago. The Duke of Richmond's Committee (which as yet has made no report) must undoubtedly have been looking beyond the Post-office. We have heard that there is a consumption of about 320,000 oaths a-year at Chelsea only; and if the Roman soldier had been sworn as absurdly as English recruits, the *sacramentum militare* could have been never mentioned but as a jest. There has been on this subject gross and notorious mismanagement in every quarter. Street swearing, in the present state of English manners, is scarcely a stronger example of taking the name of God in vain. The root of the objection to oaths lies however still deeper. It goes the whole extent of questioning the use of them, by way of security, to any really valuable purpose, under any management whatsoever. We have seen that there are whole classes of cases, where the protection has been relied upon, where it has failed, and has been laid aside. There are a variety of others where it has never been applied, and (the other sanctions being in a healthy state) its absence never has been noticed. There are others where it has been tried in connexion with the other sanctions. They have been left. It has been removed; and no perceptible disadvantage has followed from its removal.

The English system could hardly have proved satisfactory, unless (as sometimes happens) reason were to succeed in justifying what reason never introduced. Mr Bentham, who was much better acquainted with principles than with details, after citing certain passages from the trials of Throckmorton and Udall, doubts whether witnesses were anciently sworn in England, or at least sworn upon the Bible. Nevertheless, no fact in early legal history is clearer. This appears from both Glanville and Bracton; from the charge against John the Marshall (one of the grounds of Beckett's quarrel); and from the trial of Wm. Thorpe (A.D. 1408), as explained by Archbishop Arundel's contemporary Canon. The word *Jury* is of itself decisive, when we remember that the jurors appeared, for a long time, quite as much in the character of witnesses as in that of judges of the fact; and that the courts had been obliged, before the general dispensation in the reign of Edward I., to apply to the Church from time to time to administer oaths *on the Scriptures*, during the holy seasons. The imperfection of John the Marshall's proof is expressly alleged, in the letter to the King from Beckett, and from the Sheriff of Kent, to have consisted in his having sworn upon a Book of Old Songs, 'whereas he ought to have sworn upon the 'Gospels.' This was in the 1163. We are not aware that there is a tittle of evidence, when the parties were Christian, for Mr

Bentham's fancy. On the contrary, it is very questionable whether at the first any one—whatever might be his creed or scruples—could be received as a witness except upon condition of taking the Christian oath. For a considerable period, the point of creed could only have arisen in the persons of the Jews. Supposing them to have been sworn according to their own forms, their period of residence before their banishment (18 Edward I.) was too short, and their character, as the King's slaves, was too peculiar, for such an exception to leave any visible impression in the English law. Lord Coke is known, on the circuit, to have refused to swear them. By the time of Hawkins, a liberal acknowledgment of our common share in the Old Testament appears to have made it the same criterion of the veracity of its believers as the New. Our moral and intellectual horizon gradually widened with our commerce. The Koran and the Vedas were not to keep us out of the markets of the East. Bigotry accepted a bribe from interest; and Lord Hardwicke, in complying with the necessities of a Gentoo client, only enlarged the false and narrow rule of prior exclusion into conformity with what, Mr Tyler (p. 90) truly observes, had been the immemorial principle of other countries. In 1744, when the common law, as settled in equity, consented to swear witnesses according to their belief, it only adopted a maxim which the civil law had always taught.

The cry is now, Christian legislatures for Christian communities! It was once just as loud for a Christian administration of the law. If this exclusive spirit is what was meant by 'Christia-'nity being part and parcel of the law,' the English lawyers carried the province of theology further than the Pope himself. The particular instance expressed, probably, at first, the exaggeration of a vulgar form of superstition. It easily adapted itself (what cannot domination and tradition compass?) to the fluctuating and clashing theories in fashion. According to these theories, the oath has been either a species of exorcism or ordeal, where God discovered the truth by the exercise of a special providence on the spot; or it was employed, as a kind of electrical conductor, to the bringing down of God's righteous judgment, in a future state, upon wrong doers; or it is retained on the supposition that it is the most powerful, if not the only, means of raising human confidence, and of communicating to the consciences of men a due sense of the penal presence of the Lord. The intermediate hypothesis is a pure fiction, derogatory to the divine nature. The first and last are specimens of the old custom of constructing a system without caring for the facts; and then making arrangements by which the facts may be expected to fall into the system. In both cases, we are altogether incredulous respecting the facts;

that is, respecting the phenomena out of which the general rule ought to have been formed. Therefore, both the first and last hypotheses are, in our opinion, nearly equally untrue. The principle of one or all of these theories becomes additionally mischievous or defective when it is supposed to include the Christian religion only. Nobody can calculate the wounds which pious frauds have inflicted upon truth. A credulous faith in exorcisms, ordeals, or special providences, as a part of God's government of his Christian people, is constantly vibrating, except in the very vulgar, between fanaticism and infidelity. The process by which the word exorcism, used classically and scripturally for the administration of an oath—it is the word by which our Saviour was adjured—has got its present meaning, is very instructive. The form quoted by Mr Tyler (p. 275) with which the Roman Catholic priesthood adjured the ordeal-water, belongs only to an age when, as Selden described it, a conjuring priest was of more service in the country than a justice of the peace. The help of this auxiliary was probably purchased at the time for more than it was worth. At present, since nurseries have found it no longer prudent to tell children that the test of their credibility is a pimpled or unpimpled tongue, it is passing strange to read a recommendation from Mr Bentham that every court should be ornamented with a picture of Ananias and Sapphira. Considering that perjurers, instead of dropping down dead in court, walk out as lively as their truth-telling neighbours, a practical appeal to this particular chapter of divine interposition would have precisely the same tendency as the sceptical satire of Aristophanes in the 'Clouds.'

On the more creditable supposition that the English system has long meant nothing by an oath beyond a more vivid recognition of our responsibility to God, what authority does the system afterwards proceed to attribute to this recognition? and what are the actual consequences of the system, in point of fact, at the present moment? It is a rule of law, that any pecuniary interest whatever disqualifies a person from being a witness. In other words, when a witness has no interest to speak falsely, and when, therefore, there is no motive or inducement to be counteracted, the oath goes on as a mere matter of course. But if an interest be discoverable to the amount of a farthing, that interest, it is at once concluded, is so certain of utterly destroying all the security represented by an oath, that it is better to instantly dispense with it, and save the public from so much waste of time, guilt, and delusion. This is the doctrine of the law—an indispensable sanction—applied only when it cannot be wanted, and rejected the moment that it might be expected to be of use! Whatever

arguments may be suggested from other sources in behalf of the credit of an oath, let them be tried on their own merits; but—after this—arguments derived from the declamations of text writers, and from the practice of the courts, will only prove the sophistry and inconsistency of the law. Thus much for the theory of the English law. In the next place, what is the answer of experience on the fact? It is quite another question, whether the exclusion of interested witnesses may not be absurd upon other grounds. The question here is, Is the discredit thrown upon an oath *qua oath*, by this rule of law, right or wrong? It is a point on which the observing part of the lawyers must have made up their minds by this time; and what say the professional friends consulted by Mr Tyler? 'One gentle-'man, very high in the profession,' he says, 'assured me, as the 'result of his own observation, that not one-half of those who 'came before him to swear affidavits, seemed to feel that they 'were under the slightest religious obligation to speak the truth.' Another informed him, 'that experience had compelled him to 'infer, that, in the large majority of cases, the fear of the tempo-'ral consequences of perjury detected, was the only feeling which 'operates upon men in their estimate of an oath.' Our only concern is with this small minority, apparently conscious of some religious obligation. We have little doubt but that the per centage on it would be small indeed, of persons who, conscious of the presence of the obligation, were deterred from violating it, not by the falsehood, but by the ceremony of being sworn.

Our opinion rests on the analysis and the reasonings contained in Mr Bentham's *Rationale of Evidence*. The religious reader of that extraordinary book will be displeased by occasional expressions; but there is nothing in its general argument, or in its conclusions, at which the most jealous advocate of the high and incommunicable prerogatives of religion need take alarm. The value of an oath must have remained an unknown quantity, unless it could have been ascertained what were the other sanctions for good conduct in human nature—what was the rank of the religious sanction—and how far an oath was the proper instrument or evidence of that sanction. Moralists and jurists wrote upon this subject much after the manner that the ancients wrote natural history. Man and the elephant had been observed with about equal discretion, when Celsus mentions that an elephant is a very religious animal, and particularly observant of an oath. It is only in later times that oaths have been dealt with like any other question of fact; and that the observations made on them have been generalized by a reference to the nature of man, and the experience of society. The more formidable our estimate

of the disturbing forces of public and private life, the more important is it that the actual operation of the several motives and methods on which we rely for correcting them, should be justly appreciated. These are, principally, the external checks of public opinion, and of the law; together with the internal checks of conscience, however formed, and of religion. The two first, the popular and legal sanction, are in the power of society; the two last, the moral and religious sanction, are worked out chiefly by every individual for himself. Far from underrating the value of the religious sanction, the discovery and application of the means by which it can be best brought home—rationally and effectually home—to the human bosom, would be, in our opinion, the greatest of all blessings. Also, just in proportion as the sanction acts with every possible degree of inequality, is a criterion wanted for accurately calculating the different degrees of religious restraint upon different persons. We should be among the warmest advocates—none more so—of the ceremony of an oath, if it answered either of these purposes. It is notorious that it does no such thing. There is nothing in the solemnity to make a man religious who is not so already; still less to prevent an irreligious man from complying with its forms. Where the religious sanction takes effect, it does not derive its efficacy from the form, except with some prodigy of ill-educated and imaginative superstition. There may be such a creature as a phœnix; but life would be ill spent in contriving how to catch one. It is better to be robbed once in twenty years, than to be always looking under the bed for robbers. To attribute every instance of abstinence from falsehood and from wrong, in the cases where an oath has been administered, to the credit of the religious sanction, so expressed, is poor arithmetic, wherever all or any of the other sanctions—the moral, the popular, or the legal—may be in force. 'If you wish,' says Bentham, 'to have powder of post taken for 'an efficacious medicine, try it with opium and antimony; if 'you wish to have it taken for what it is, try it by itself.' The other forces society can create and can appreciate: why withdraw its attention, and waste its energies, on one which is beyond both its cognizance and its power? For the religious sanction properly enlightened, and under a due conception of the divine attributes, words cannot express our reverence. For the superstition of an oath we have no regard whatever.

The advantages which advocates of an oath have in view are of two kinds: the one direct, the other indirect. The expectation of a direct advantage proceeds upon a supposition regarding human nature, which, as far as experience can prove a negative, experience has disproved. It is not of the slightest use except in the case of persons who otherwise would have given false

evidence, and would have betrayed their trust, but who will not forswear themselves. As there will be no end of it, if we admit the principle of legislating for all the specific anomalies of human folly; so it can be scarcely worth our while to cover with a net the whole field of jurisprudence, for the sake of guarding the small corner in it, which can by any possibility be occupied by this sensitive and pedantic class. The census of what this class might amount to in its natural state, must not be calculated by the shifts and evasions which occur occasionally at present. For one of the main reproaches of the present system, is its tendency to engender and prolong them. It is only as far as we deal with mankind on the footing of their being reasonable creatures, that we have the means of knowing what degree of confidence may be placed in reason. The indirect advantage is equally delusive. It magnifies the importance of the ceremony, under the idea that it is a continuous public testimony in favour of religion. On the contrary, in our opinion, the fewer the fictitious compliments paid to the most solemn and everlasting principle of our nature, so much the better. Pious feelings and Christian convictions are to be nursed and rooted by other means. Not only may the utmost amount of internal variance exist under the perfect semblance of external uniformity—but what is the external uniformity which is secured? That of an oath taken, and nothing more. Assume the case of a person, who, under other circumstances, might have made open profession of infidelity. How ridiculous is it to pretend to believe he will henceforth be restrained from doing so, merely because he has on some occasion taken an oath in a court of justice, or as the formal condition of his admission to an office or to a degree? We are not aware of any other disadvantage, express or implied, real or imaginary, in the present system. And these, one should think it must be admitted, are too occasional and obsolete, and depend too entirely on accident and misconception, to set against any serious objections on the other side.

The inconveniences and evils, which have brought of late so many objectors forward from opposite quarters, are also direct and indirect. They are inherent in the system; are more or less universal in their operation; and will be met but very imperfectly by any remedy which proposes only to either reduce the multiplicity of oaths or amend the ceremony of their administration.

In proportion as it is desirable to build upon common sense, it is dangerous to take sophisms for our corner-stone. But nothing can be more sophistical than the audacious inconsistency, with which the only theory of oaths that could at present find an advocate in Europe—at least in any capital in Europe—must begin. The theory assumes that no person can be entitled to

credit except on the grounds of his religious faith; and that of this faith, an oath is the only test. It proceeds, directly and in the same breath, to determine, on the plain averment of the party, the very fact to be enquired into—whether he has, or has not, any religious faith at all. It is impossible to suggest a reason, why, if a simple statement is sufficient to verify a fact of this kind, it is not sufficient also to verify any other. Again, the theory of the present age assumes that different consciences are bound by different forms; and that society has no security for truth, unless the appropriate form is applied. What course does it take in this dilemma? Neither more nor less, than that of throwing itself for information upon the unauthenticated veracity of the party, in full assurance that he will truly communicate the secret by which alone, according to the theory, his truth is to be made sure.

The direct object of the oath assumes that it offers an additional security for good conduct. The direct disadvantage of it consists in the fact, that this is so seldom the case, that, on the contrary, society is encumbered by it with a form, which is useless on most, if not all, occasions, and in some is positively pernicious. It is useless, wherever the party would have done his duty equally well without it. It is something worse than useless, when it is debilitated by concurrent mystifications of one kind or another,—as in the case of candidates for holy orders swearing to a call; or by violent interpretations,—as in the case of college oaths. Selden says, oaths are like pills; not chewed, but swallowed. The custom of taking bread pills, mixed up with coloured water, must end in quackery of some sort, even though they may be masticated at leisure. There are several ways in which oaths are often absolutely and clearly pernicious. The administration of justice loses the light of evidence, and public employments the benefit of faithful service, as often as an honest man is obliged to stand aloof, from an inability to meet the demands implied in this criterion. Every body is well aware that in the present state of English feeling, an individual, who consents to undergo the odium attached to unfortunate singularity of opinion of this description, rather than degrade himself by evasion, is giving the greatest earthly proof of that real sincerity which neither bigots, nor sceptics, nor rational Christians, need distrust. A remarkable case recently occurred, where a person who wanted to avoid giving evidence, and was aware of the rule of law, feigned disbelief for the purpose of disqualifying himself. There are parts of our dominions where the difficulty, which we thus voluntarily raise, becomes an equal grievance from a point of honour; as sacred perhaps in the eyes of the party as any other point of faith. The following passage is taken from a letter, published last year,

with the signatures of several natives to it, in a Calcutta paper: 'If the Magistrate of Nuddea would display his compassion to-'wards us, and touch up some of his officers, more particularly 'the Nazir, and his underlings, by whose outrages we are con-'stantly tormented, we should have much reason to pray to God 'for the prosperity of the Magistrate. For fear of being obliged 'to take an oath we cannot explain our grievances to him. We 'pray the Magistrate to pass an order, allowing us to bring for-'ward the oppressions of the underlings without taking the oath.' On the other hand, the public is suffering, as directly and more constantly, in an opposite direction, from the false credit which, out of apparent compliment to religion, an appeal to God insensibly acquires. A Hume, however, is not wanted to point out, how slight a connexion frequently subsists between the stricter virtues, such as veracity, and the influence of popular religion. The degree of incredulity in Brama is not to be measured by the scale of Hindoo perjury. In the most fanatical period of English history, false witnesses walked up and down Westminster Hall with straws in their shoes. The Irish and the Italians, always eminent for an excess of faith in matters of religion, have been nationally as notorious for the want of it in private life. Irish evidence was once proverbial; and, at the present day, the power of religion over the mind of an Irish peasant—unlimited for the purpose of prostration before his priest, or for consolation in misfortune—is daily proved to be comparatively insignificant as the pledge of truth, or as a control on crime.

All forms, by the nature of them, while they seem to be increasing, may be really diminishing our security. For this is the dilemma. The ceremony is either left in the hands of the crier of the court, or it is made as striking and dramatic as possible. In the first case, if it does not destroy its influence by causing irreverence, it is only because its influence is wasted in another way, from nobody attending to it. In the other case, there is imminent risk, from what is called improving the ceremony, that we only aggravate one of the worst species of popular delusion. It is the characteristic vice of these appeals to imagination instead of reason, that they transfer the guilt from the falsehood to the oath, and open a wider door to the jesuitical prevarications, by which the casuists of humble life seek to escape from the too intelligible obligation of simple truth. The form becomes the principal and not the accessory, in proportion to its solemnity. In this manner the whole heraldry of moral duties may easily be thrown into confusion. On the other hand, legislation has no classification of subjects—as where, for instance, an oath is required, and where not—when a less solemn form is used, and

when a graver one; so that members of society might turn to the distinction as a test of the comparative importance of the occasion. Unfortunately, the offence of perjury is treated throughout, both by divines and by lawyers, as a substantive offence of a peculiar kind; and, by an absurd application of the principle of the Stoics, is made to appear, by a reference to its nature, the same in all cases. As far as the common people advance towards understanding the maxim of the master sciences of divinity and law, the maxim must act injuriously for society. Nobody can be the better for having their attention withdrawn from the fraud and mischief of any given falsehood, as constituting the proper tests of its malignity, and from fixing their eye upon the single consideration of the perjury—of that invariable quality which is common to every breach of an attestation or a vow.

The indirect evils attendant on the public requisition of oaths are very differently estimated, according as the question is looked at by persons of different characters, or from different points of view. The more immediate grounds of our dislike to the system rest at last on our belief, that it is not more at variance with the true principles of human nature, than with just opinions respecting the Divine attributes. However, we do not therefore the less sympathize with the pain which the practice unnecessarily gives to others, because it is a pain which we ourselves, with our present sentiments, can never feel. Whosoever conceives (and there are sundry such) that, even under circumstances of equal deliberation, treachery, and wrong, perjury is worse than falsehood, naturally shrinks from seeing it imposed on others as a needless aggravation of human sin. The objection is ridiculous as it appears occasionally by way of defence of some inconsistency or other in the English law books; but as an objection against the whole system, it is an item to be considered in casting up the account. The same observation applies to what is a topic, with Mr Tyler, of more alarm, than, we think, is justified either by the nature of the case, or by the appearances of society. We mean the encouragement given to irreverence by the practice, from its similarity to common swearing. The scandal created in pious minds by such exhibitions as are constantly occurring, affords some presumption against the necessity which causes them. Toleration is still more deeply interested in the consideration of the miseries which religious exclusion, derived from this very principle, has occasioned; and which, as long as the principle is recognised, any gust of fanaticism may revive. The difficulties and distinctions under which Quaker evidence so long struggled, were much more the spleen of High Church conformists at liberty of conscience, than the remnant of the long-standing battle

between prejudice and reason. Of this nobody can doubt, who will read the narrative contained in Lord Mansfield's judgment; or turn to the caustic sarcasms of Swift in his 'Four last Years 'of the Reign of Queen Anne;' or to the debate and protest in the Lords on the 22d George II.

There can be no question either, but that, among the causes by which the universal prevalence of oaths is in the first instance to be accounted for, the predominant influence of the priesthood, especially in rude and superstitious times, is entitled to the foremost place. The oath, the ready instrument of superstition rather than of religion, was their own proper weapon. In modern Europe, it became everywhere the excuse for ecclesiastical interference. Boniface VIII. ordained that all civil causes thus attested should be heard in the spiritual court. It was with great difficulty that the notaries on the continent were defeated in the attempt of bringing, by means of it, every written contract between man and man into their favourite jurisdiction. England was saved this contest, by knowing nothing of notarial jurisprudence. But in England, the necessity of getting the permission of the clergy before an oath could be taken during the festivals of the Church, in a court of justice, is connected with the origin of its judicial terms. It is not necessary to advert to the religious clauses in the coronation and other oaths to perceive, that the consummate address, with which the clergy took advantage of these worldly forms, fully bears out the maxim, *Juramenta, fulcra potius sacerdotii quam imperii.* Volume on volume has been written to establish the doctrine, that oaths by constraint, or by mistake, were binding of themselves: casuistry has given them, in their absolute prerogative, the precedence of all laws. And it was an axiom of the canonists, that an oath ought to be kept in all cases, except where eternal salvation was the price. *Omne jusjurandum est servandum, quod salvâ æternâ salute servari potest.* The Roman Catholic stopped short, however, of the poet-priesthood of antiquity. The heroes of the Iliad were slaves to a theological jurisprudence, darker than that which held the chieftains of the middle ages in its chains. The doctrine would have startled even monks as blasphemous, which denied the Homeric Jove the power of recalling the oath either of others or his own. In Ireland for many years, and in England recently, secret societies and illegal combinations have sought to obtain, under the supposed sanctity of this ceremony, the means of superseding the securities of the law, as well as of extinguishing every other proper and rational motive of human conduct. Under these circumstances, it is more than ever necessary, that the real character of such an obligation should be correctly and

honestly explained, in a manner to be intelligible and convincing to every mind. The law at present has itself to blame, for having accredited the vulgar error, that an oath contains in itself an intrinsic virtue, independent of the immediate object of the engagement to which it is annexed. As long as this opinion subsists, it is ridiculous to think of neutralizing its *virus* by a technical division between oaths which are taken by public authority; oaths which are taken without that authority; and oaths which are taken in opposition to it. That division rests purely on the letter of the law; and can apply only to the temporal terrors of the law, and nothing more. Now the law may safely rely on the merits of its case, and on its own penalties. It can enforce every atom of them without the aid of an oath. To recognise its abstract authority is, therefore, to gratuitously consecrate a weapon which the law itself can never really want, and which will be seldom powerful but in hands which mean to turn it against the law. Human nature too has greater contradictions than this—that a principle which is weak for good, should prove strong for evil. We see no remedy but to abandon the system of which it is a consequence. Whilst the law continues oaths, it can distinguish the lawful from the unlawful by no higher authority than its own; it must profess to disbelieve that any man will speak the truth until he has been sworn to it; it must take no account, or comparatively none, of mendacity, until mendacity puts on the character of perjury. While it does this, it does as much as the maintenance of any one injudicious regulation can do towards breaking down the true principles of morality and religion. The arrogant pretensions of an oath have survived into an age with which they have nothing in common. It is time that the wand of the magician should be known and described as what it is—a common stick.

After what we have said, we need not add that we expect little benefit from propositions, altering the form and strengthening the ceremony, in comparison with the benefits which might in time probably ensue from the total abolition of the practice. Something might be got by leaving it in great measure to the option of the parties; trying, after the example of the Tuscan code, how far the call for the oath by them could be staved off, with the view of eventually getting rid of it altogether. As to the form, there can be no object in keeping up the conditional imprecation, if it offends a single human being, half as much as it is offending Mr Tyler. The Jewish form, since our Saviour consented to take it long after his Sermon on the Mount, it might be expected that the Quakers themselves need not object to take. But the im-

provement which (as long as oaths are to continue) we should think most important, is, to release the party from any share in the ceremony, beyond that of being present and hearing the adjuration; whether it is simply pronounced by the High Priest, as in the Jewish law, or is accompanied by a lecture as under the old Hindoo directions. All the effect that can be produced by an oath (when reasonably understood) would be attained by this course; and all possibility of an altercation about this or that scruple would be avoided by it. The total abolition of the oath can alone teach the remaining lesson, and inform mankind, that it is not necessary to call on God to make him witness to all or any of man's proceedings; and that his jurisdiction, here or hereafter, over violated faith and duty, will not depend upon our permission or our forms.

We will conclude with Mr Bentham's lively sketch of the origin of judicial oaths; and shall be as happy as any Quaker to see the consummation which the prophet thus unhesitatingly foretells: 'It was in the earliest stages of society, in those stages 'at which the powers of the human understanding were at the 'weakest, that this, together with so many other articles in the 'list of supernatural securities or substitutes for testimonial vera-'city, took their rise. Ordeals in all their forms; trials by battle; 'trials without evidence (understand human evidence); trials by 'supernatural, to the exclusion of human evidence; trials by 'evidence against mendacity by supernatural means—by the 'ceremony of an oath. As the powers of the human understand-'ing gain strength, invigorated by nourishment and exercise—'the natural securities rise in value; the supernatural, understood 'to be what they are, drop, one after another, off the stage. First 'went ordeal; then, went duel; after that, went, under the name of 'wager of law, the ceremony of an oath in its pure state, unprop-'ped by the support which this inefficient security receives at 'present from those efficient ones which are still clogged with it; 'by and by, its rottenness standing confessed, it will perish off the 'human stage, and this last of the train of supernatural powers, '*ultima cœlicolûm*, will be gathered with Astræa into its native 'skies.'

ART. XI.—*Dacre:* a Novel. Edited by the COUNTESS of MORLEY. 3 vols. 8vo. London: 1834.

IT is so common nowadays to see novels, which would have excited a strong sensation some ten years ago,—works of great imagination and power,—pass quietly from the publisher's shop into an almost immediate oblivion, that it would be a hazardous speculation for any one to ensure beforehand the literary existence of any novel for a year after publication. The mean duration of life among modern novels may be estimated, we should think, at about three lunar months; the deaths increase in a prodigious ratio during the next three; and only one in a hundred, by the strength of its constitution, or some happy combination of circumstances, survives the twelvemonth. With these melancholy tables of mortality before us, there could be little satisfaction in speculating on the chances of life for or against the Tale which we are about to notice: we shall only say that, in our opinion, it deserves length of days as much as any we have lately met with; and that it appears to possess that harmony and proportion of parts, and that sound and healthy frame, which seem to promise them.

Dacre is not what is commonly called a 'fashionable novel.' The personages, no doubt, are taken chiefly from high life; because it is only within that sphere that the accident of supposed illegitimacy of birth, on which the interest of the Tale mainly hinges, can be supposed to exercise a sufficiently tyrannical influence over feelings and opinions, to form the *nodus* of the story. But with the exception of titled names, the work before us has nothing in common with that flimsy class with which for a time our literature was inundated; exhibiting a picture equally false and unfavourable of the higher classes of English society. Its charm lies in the skill and delicacy with which it traces those universal feelings which link all classes of society together; subjected, no doubt, to a more artificial system of control and concealment in the palace than in the cottage, but not the less influencing the conduct, and deciding the fate of their inmates for happiness or suffering. And perhaps the very contest between the *necessities* of society, and the force of these human and indestructible sympathies and affections, by awakening our curiosity and suspense as to the result of their conflict, may afford a more complex and fruitful source of interest to the novelist, than the simple exhibitions of passion unchecked by such control. Add to this,

that there is, in this work, a remarkable degree of truth and keeping, both in the incidents, the characters, and sentiments; that nothing is distorted or overdrawn; that the plot, without being too intricate or complex, is well constructed, and the interest well-sustained to the last; that all the hopes, fears, and anxieties of love, are depicted with the skill and tenderness which only a woman's hand could impart to the picture; that the occasional sketches of natural scenery which are introduced, are graphic and picturesque; that the style is clear, unaffected, and terse; and the reader will easily believe that this is one of those novels, which, perused on a sofa on a summer's evening, make us think Gray's conception of paradise not so far from the truth.

The plot, as we have said, turns on the uncertainty which attends the birth of Dacre. He has youth, fortune, accomplishments: he loves and is beloved by Lady Emily Somers; but the doubt which hangs over the question of his mother's marriage is the drop of wormwood which embitters his cup of happiness. Brooding over the subject himself, he thinks every one looks upon it in the same light; he reads suspicion in the eyes of the father and mother of his mistress, coldness in hers; and an affected condescension on the part of the world, more annoying than neglect. Viewing every-thing under this impression, he determines to meet coldness with indifference; he withdraws himself from the object of his attachment; shuts up his feelings within his own breast; and even disguises, under the appearance of attention to other women, the passion which is the master-spring of all his feelings, 'the fountain from the which his current runs.' His conduct is, in its turn, mistaken. Lady Emily, unconscious of the cause which had led to the reserve of Dacre, imputes his change of manner to waywardness of temper and fickleness of heart; she also retires within herself, and shrinks from his society; and, at the commencement of the tale, this mutual misconception seems apparently to have completely estranged two hearts which, in truth, beat only for each other. But the lovers are again thrown together amidst the society of a country-seat;—old recollections, old feelings, are involuntarily revived; the sympathies of the heart make their way through all the crust of indifference with which they are covered; looks and words escape which convince both of their error; and at last the decisive avowal seems only suspended till Dacre ascertains that he had mistaken the feelings of the parents as much as those of the daughter. In this portion of the tale, which may be said to comprehend the first act, there are many scenes of great tenderness and interest;—such as that in which Dacre, wavering between hope and fear,

announces his intention of going to Italy: the humour, also, of a dialogue on village schools, under fashionable patronage, indicates the authoress's possession of considerable comic powers. Our space, however, is so limited, that we must reserve our extracts for the remainder of the tale, when matters come a little nearer to the crisis.

Dacre is in London. He has begun to hope, but has not ceased to fear; and the apparition of a certain Sir Edward Bradford more than once awakens his jealousy, and almost overturns his resolution of addressing Lady Emily. Leaving him for a moment to his anxieties, the reader will be amused, we think, in the meantime, with the following graphic and spirited sketch:—

'Nothing is easier than for a man of fashion in London to remain *incog.* by the mere study of the sights and sounds of different hours. First comes the loud shrill call of "*Sweep!*"—and badly indeed must the idle man in London sleep, who hears that call. But when the loud sonorous cries of fish and vegetables resound with unbroken noise through the street—when at each door may be seen a dirty maid in paper curls, sweeping from the hall, or twirling a mop, or washing the steps—when the emissaries of the dealers in fish and fowl, the butcher, the baker, the grocer, the cheesemonger, and the milkman, maintain their undisturbed possession of the pavement as they whistle loudly along,—when, in short, London reveals in the streets the arcana of domestic economy, and seems turned, for the time, into the huge offices of its own vast self,—then, perhaps, may a man like Francis Dacre, engaged neither in the business or dissipation of the Metropolis, be expected to be almost ready for breakfast.

'Breakfast over—the newspaper half read, and lo! another change of scene and sound from without. The little milliner trips quickly along with her oil-skin covered basket—troops of children with fat nurses, and young nursery maids, flock along the pavement—the hand-organs grind the popular airs of the last season, whilst the clarionet and bagpipes screech and whine out those of the preceding century. The rumble and gingle of carts becomes frequent, whilst the rapid approach and departure of the quick driven chariot bespeaks the physician or the man of business on the move.

'This, then, is the moment for the *incognito* to sally forth—now may he walk through the squares, and places, and streets, and parks, secure of meeting none of those to whom London owes its West-end reputation for wealth, luxury, beauty, elegance, and idleness. But let him not tarry till too near the hour of luncheon—for then will be seen in motion, figures of well-dressed men, with an air "as if it was somebody one knows,"—and then, perhaps, a cab, drawn by a gigantic horse, of violent action, making scarcely any way, with the child just fresh from an infant school standing behind—two examples in life of the *parvum in multo* and the *multum in parvo*—and the roll of carriages is more constant—and Mr Maitland is sure to be abroad—for he never lunches at home.

'Our recluse has escaped from the danger of seeing his numerous friends and acquaintance—and now in vain he tries to read—in vain he tries to think.—All London is in motion; and the din and tumult of the Metropolis echoes through his head, and the sounds of carts and omnibuses, coaches, cabs, carriages, horses, and men, are all blended together in one overpowering noise—whilst the bands of musicians—the trumpet of punch—the applause of the Fantoccini—the barking of coach-dogs—the musical monkies—the hurdy-gurdies of white mice—the nasal twang of a Frenchwoman's voice—and the guttural grunt of the "Buy a broom" girls, lend their never-failing aid to disturb the man who would be quiet.

'But patience! All will again be hushed.—The post bell has driven you half mad for half an hour; but then, either in spring, or in summer, the worst of the bustle is over—troops of gay parties on horseback have turned homewards—ladies without number are to be seen dismounting at their doors. Exhibitions are all closed—and their human advertisers are seen marching in single file from their posts with the advertisements on their backs again. The noise of wheels subsides, and is heard only at intervals. Every body is now busied in preparation for dinner, or enjoying the fruits of the morning's activity, and all is more quiet than since the hour when poor little "Sweep" first gave note in the morning that occupation was resumed; till the rumble of the diners-out gives once more an occasional disturbance to the long-wished-for stillness.'

At last Dacre's resolution is taken, and nothing is waited for but the return of Lord Kendal, Lady Emily's father, who is on an annual visit to one of his estates. The reflections which conclude this portion of the narrative seem to us beautifully expressed.

'He thought himself sure of the future; and thus, whilst he stationed himself evening after evening by her side, he forbid the intrusion of gloomy apprehensions to darken the sunshine of his present enjoyment. It is true that his happiness was based rather on hope than on certainty; but yet, whilst in her presence, it seemed so complete, that he scarcely dared wish for a change.

'The nearer we approach the object we desire, the more must we dread lest, in attempting to place this fabric of bliss upon surer foundations, it should crumble away at our touch, like the fairy forests of the white hoar frost. Like the traveller on the mountains, we gaze with breathless delight on the prospect before us, but dare not give utterance to the feelings it inspires. A sound may release the fierce avalanche from its bondage, and the word that is spoken lay waste all which he views with such hope and rapture.'

But it is easier to be wise in theory than in practice; and Dacre, notwithstanding his resolution to wait for the return of Lord Kendal, is surprised into the 'rash act' somewhat prematurely, at an evening party at the Duke of Bolton's:—

'Most of the company had departed, when one of the remaining guests naming an English ballad, asked Lady Emily if she knew it, and

would sing it. It was the very song which Dacre had asked for in vain at Denham, and which she had then promised him to perform at some future period. She turned involuntarily towards him as the ballad was named: their eyes met, and Emily bent her head over the music book to conceal her blushes; but Dacre saw her embarrassment, and in an audible tone he seconded the request that they might hear it.

'Emily had now no fear of being overcome by the words of that song. They embodied no longer the feelings of her mind. They told of unrequited love, and blighted hopes; and she was conscious that miseries such as these had ceased to strike upon a sympathetic chord.

'The song was over. It was supposed by the guests that Lady Emily must be tired; and on her quitting the pianoforte some departed, and others returned to the room in which the duke was sitting, to join in conversation with him. None were now left in the music room but the Molesworths, Lady Emily, Dacre, and the duchess. The room was large; and as Dacre approached Lady Emily, the duchess took the opportunity of showing the Molesworths some prints of such views of foreign countries as she had heard Captain Molesworth say that evening he had visited in the course of his many voyages. His attention was secured by the interrogatories of the duchess concerning the accuracy of the views at which they were looking; whilst Mary was wholly engrossed in studying every spot which Harry had seen, and listening to every word of description he gave.

'Dacre saw they were occupied; and turning to Lady Emily, he offered to assist her in arranging her music. Then, approaching still nearer, he said in a low voice, "I was glad to hear that song to-night: it paints so well what I have too often felt!"

'"I know it is a favourite of yours," she replied; and the music trembled in her hands as she spoke.

'"Do you remember," continued Dacre, "that you promised me at Denham I should hear it in London?"

'Emily tried to smile, as she remarked, that she had been true to her word.

'"You have," replied Dacre; "and I also have been true to mine."

'He paused for a moment: Emily looked intently on the sheet of blank paper before her, and pressed her arms against the pianoforte to conceal the excessive trembling of her limbs. Dacre perceived her emotion, and pointing to the group at the other end of the room, he said with a smile,—

'"We are not in company now, Lady Emily." Then placing his hand upon hers, he said in a low and agitated voice, "I told you that I should not go abroad till I had once more heard that song." He stopped, drew a long breath, and then said, "Now that I have heard it, must I go?" He pressed her hand as she spoke—she did not withdraw it:—"Speak, oh speak!" murmured he, in a scarcely audible voice. "Emily! say but a word, and I shall understand you." Her agitation almost stifled her words, but his quickened hearing caught the sounds she uttered; and as the blessed words, "Then stay," fell upon his ear, he felt the pressure of his hand returned.'

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'Lady Emily had hoped that her mother might not be gone to bed when she reached home, for her measurement of time had been very inaccurate at Bolton House. It was, however, long since Lord and Lady Kendal had retired to rest; and Emily found, to her surprise, that it was nearly two hours later than she had imagined. It was long before she could sufficiently compose herself even to prepare for the rest she now needed, and she sat and mused for a while on the strange eventful evening she had passed. A few short words had changed doubt into certainty; and the long-cherished hope had been realized. A few short words had at once thrown over the barriers of reserve, which habit, education, and delicacy had erected, and drawn from her lips the confession of those feelings, which, under any other circumstances, she would most scrupulously have concealed. It seemed as if so little had been said! She had even almost a difficulty in recalling what had actually passed, and yet the fate of her life had been decided. It seemed too like a dream, and she longed for the morrow, when again they should meet. *Then*, she might hope to enjoy her happiness—*now*, it was too new—too overpowering for enjoyment. She had a feverish impatience to impart all her feelings to her mother, and yet to embody those feelings in words, would have been difficult.

'The extremes of joy and grief but too closely resemble each other in their first effects upon our frame, and Emily felt relief in tears to her over-excited mind. Then came that feeling of deep gratefulness, with the humble sense of her own unworthiness, which attends the consciousness of real blessings. She had often prayed, not presumptuously or lightly, for the earthly objects she desired—but humbly and fervently, that she might be so ordered in this life, as would best fit her for the purer joys of heaven. She thought her prayer was heard in thus committing her to the care and protection of this first object of her earthly love; and falling on her knees in pious gratitude for the happiness that awaited her, she prayed that thankfulness in prosperity, and resignation in adversity, might never forsake her.'

A chapter of deep interest follows. Our readers will thank us, we are sure, for extracting part of it. Lady Kendal had intended to pave the way for the disclosure of Dacre's proposal, by a preliminary conversation with Lord Kendal; but, from the habitual awe with which she regarded her husband, had allowed him to leave the house in the morning without doing so. It is resolved that the secret is to be communicated the instant he returns. He is expected at four o'clock: the hour comes, but no Lord Kendal.

'Five o'clock came. Lady Kendal rung the bell, and asked if "my lord" was at home, and desired she might be told as soon as he returned. She tore up papers already condemned; threw them into the fire, and then walked about the room: she could settle to nothing. The half-hour struck, and she began to think he must have been detained. Six o'clock came, and now she was sure he would soon be at home; for he had ordered dinner at half-past six. The minute hand had reached the

quarter, and Lady Kendal felt a little angry. He had made a point of dining earlier than she liked—had insisted on greater punctuality—and had told Lady Kendal that she encouraged unpunctuality by never being in time; "and then to be too late himself, is so provoking," thought she; and for a moment felt herself almost a victim.

'Half-past six came. Emily entered, dressed for dinner. She thought she had heard her father's step some time before. She fancied she had heard her mother go to his dressing-room—thought they were at that moment discussing all that filled her heart and mind; and was not a little surprised and disappointed to find Lady Kendal standing at the window in her morning attire.

'"It is very odd your father is not come home," said Lady Kendal. "I don't know what to do about the dinner; he desired it might be on the table at half-past six."

'"The dinner is quite ready, my lady," said the servant, who had just entered. "The cook wishes to know if it is to be sent up before my lord comes home."

'Lady Kendal said, "No;" it was to be kept in readiness for his return. "I wish Lord Kendal would have been in time to-day," said she to Emily, as the servant closed the door. "One feels they must think us so capricious, not to be punctual, after all your father said upon the subject this morning."

'Seven o'clock struck. Lady Kendal and Emily began to feel uneasy, and to say to each other that nothing was likely to have happened, and that there was no cause for alarm (a sure sign that the alarm is, in fact, already taken).

'"How did papa go out this morning?" enquired Emily.

'"On horseback, I believe," was the reply.

'"Then had we not better send to the stables to know if the horses are returned?"

'They did so; and the servant brought word back, that the groom and horses had been at home ever since half-past three; that his lordship had said it was cold, and that he should therefore walk; and had given no further orders to the groom.

'It was now near eight. All thoughts of dinner were over. Both mother and daughter grew every minute more anxious and uneasy. The servant was sent once more to the groom, to ask where he had left Lord Kendal; and that information obtained, it was determined that two men on horseback should be despatched, in different directions, to make enquiries at every place at which it was probable he might have visited. It was a relief to think of any thing to be done. It cheated time of that prolonged existence of each minute, and for the moment it almost soothed the anxious watchers into the belief that they had hastened the event for which they watched.

'It was probable, that from whatever cause Lord Kendal had been detained, he would not now return on foot. The sound of each approaching vehicle gave rise to feverish hope. Their lips were parched; their tongues seemed to cleave to the roofs of their mouths, as they listened in speechless anxiety to the noise of every passing carriage. More than

once the sound appeared to be fast approaching their door, and the mother and the daughter involuntarily turned their eyes towards each other, till the deception was over—the rumble of the wheels had faded gradually on the ear; and then the sickness of disappointment succeeded the quick beat of expectation that had excited them for an instant before. The return of the grooms was awaited with increasing impatience; for the agony of suspense was becoming each minute more intolerable. A word of real information might break the chain of frightful, shapeless terrors, which imagination had raised. Not the well in the desert is more wanted to slake the thirst of the traveller, than that which can soothe for a moment the torture of doubt. Like the air that is supplied to those who have gone to the depths below, comes the word of information to relieve the fearful tension of suspense, and save the sufferer from his bursting agony.

'Lady Kendal and Emily listened in vain for the sound of the horsemen's return. The grooms were still pursuing their unsuccessful search in quest of their master. Again the sound of wheels was heard; but they had listened to that sound so often in vain, that they tried not to heed the noise. For a time it seemed scarcely to approach; but still it continued: other carriages passed by at the rapid pace of pleasure or of business, and, for a moment, interrupted this slow advancing sound: but nearer and nearer it drew; and they could no longer withhold their attention from the direction whence it came. It was within a few doors of the house, and as it still approached, they held their breath; the impulse was involuntary, for they had done so often before on that evening, and they expected but the same disappointing result. It now was close to the door; they listened for its continuance, but the sound had stopped. They looked at each other, and at that instant the bell was rung. Lady Kendal grasped her daughter's hand: the band of terror seemed tightly to bind their heads—their eyes were fixed, as though they looked for certainty in the vacant air—motionless, and pale as death, they sat for an instant to catch the sound that followed. The steps of the carriage were let down—footsteps were heard on the stairs. Emily would have sprung from her seat, but her mother's hand was locked in hers—and with Lady Kendal the power of motion seemed suspended. A commotion was heard in the hall—Lady Kendal clung tighter to her daughter—the door opened, and a stranger entered.

'"Tell me"—— said Lady Kendal,—she was almost stifled, and she could not speak. The stranger approached.

'"For God's sake tell me, sir, if you know any thing of my father?" exclaimed Emily, in a tone that showed how deep was their alarm.

'"I am come for that purpose," replied the stranger; "but," added he, in a voice of kindness, "ladies, I entreat you to be composed." Oh, what a knell of grief does that entreaty ring upon the ear of those, who once have known affliction!

'"Tell me the worst!" said Lady Kendal, in the hurried tone of desperation.

'The stranger hesitated, and looked at Lady Emily to see if he might proceed in safety.

'"Where is he?" exclaimed Lady Kendal, in a louder voice; and her eyes seemed to start from her head as she glared on the stranger.

'"Lord Kendal is in the house," replied he, in a soothing voice: "he is still alive."

Lord Kendal had been struck with apoplexy. He does not live to hear the communication intended for his ear. But his death seems to exercise some mysterious and blighting influence over the fate of Dacre and Lady Emily. With the warmest avowal of love, and assurances that he had given her no cause for resentment or change, she intimates to him her unalterable resolution never to be his. He in vain attempts to penetrate the mystery, and at last, hopeless, and almost wearied of life, resolves to leave England. There is a fine strain of feeling and reflection in the following passage:—

'There are events in life that seem too great, too sudden, too overwhelming, to be true. We cannot believe that the hopes, the joys, and the sorrows of life, can depend on the work of a minute. We measure by the hours, the days, and the years, that have been spent in their anticipation, enjoyment, or endurance. We look to the gradual realization of our hopes and wishes; we think our joys will be weakened by decay, ere they depart. We trust that time will wear away, with its slow workings, the keenness of sorrow: but on these sudden revulsions of fate we are too much startled to believe them possible, and the first impression is to doubt the reality of the change that has been wrought.

'Dacre placed the letter again before him: he looked at it; his eyes followed the words, but his understanding went not with them. He was stunned, he was petrified; and again he read it: his lips were parted, his mouth was parched, his eyes were unnaturally open, he was cold as death, and yet his forehead felt on fire: it seemed as if life itself had flowed from every other part, to add vigour to the suffering of his mind. And again he read it: and now he dwelt upon each word of fondness, and a tear trickled unconsciously down his cheek. Yes! nature had her way, and Dacre wept. Oh, what a bitter grief is that, which wrings a tear from manhood in his prime! Man seldom weeps for man. He can see his comrades fall in battle; he can stanch, unmoved, the bleeding wound; he can follow to the grave, with a firm and steady step, the relative, the friend who loved him with a brother's love. Perhaps it needs the tenderness of woman to arouse his softer sympathies; perhaps it needs her softening influence to give power to the impressions that are made; perhaps he thinks how she would have wept for him, and shall he not, in return, weep for her suffering and sorrow? Shall not his footsteps tremble, where hers would have faltered? and will not he shed a tear on the grave where is laid the mother who nurtured, the sister who played, the wife who adored, or the bride who was pledged to him? Yes! for woman he weeps. The sternness of man is overcome by her gentleness, and their natures are thus assimilated by the sympathy that binds them.'

Switzerland and Italy are Dacre's destination; and amidst the magnificence of nature, or the associations of the past, he endeavours to school himself into calmness and tranquillity. We have commended, amongst other highly commendable qualities, his fair historian's talent for the description of natural scenery; and we shall treat our readers with a beautiful specimen of her powers in this department.

'It was little more than twilight the following morning, when Dacre and his companion were roused. They were desirous of watching from the earliest dawn the gradual approach of the sun; and were the first on that morning who found themselves upon the spot where all had assembled the preceding evening to see its decline. The Righi is generally selected by travellers as the first spot from which they view the wonders of the Alps. It affords a fine panoramic display of the surrounding heights; and the spectator thus acquires some knowledge of the forms and positions of the different chains of mountains.

'When Dacre and Mr Howard first gazed around them, it seemed as if they stood upon an island: nothing was to be seen above but the cold grey outline of the mountain-ridge; nothing below but the curling waves of some vast sheet of water: not a valley was to be traced, not a village to be descried. Had a deluge occurred in the night, it could not more effectually have seemed to efface by flood every object from their view. They had heard of this perfect deception produced by the morning mist alluded to the evening before, but till now they had found it difficult to believe how complete was the resemblance to the waving waters. The sound of voices was now heard: they turned to look who was coming; a motley crew were seen to hasten towards the spot on which they stood. Sunrise was at hand. The inmates of the two receptacles for tourists came hurrying up, with every imperfection of toilet,—unshaved, unwashed, uncurled, and half undressed: cloaks, coats, shawls, nightcaps, and handkerchiefs were pressed into the service, to conceal the deficiencies which haste had occasioned, or to protect the wearers from the morning chill. The mist gradually arose and dispersed: the heavens were suffused with pink; and now the mountain-top catches from behind the light, and the snow seems to blush at the approach of the day.

'"I never till now," observed Dacre, "felt in full force the term of 'rosy-fingered morn!'"

'Fresh objects caught the increasing light. The coming day seemed to cast its brightness before, and all stood in silent expectation of that moment when the sun should rear his head above the mountain's summit. At length the golden rays are seen to shoot above the earth; a blaze of light appears; and in the heavens sits the monarch of the day, shedding life and heat on all below. It was a glorious sight—inspiriting, yet solemn.'

A new direction is suddenly given to Dacre's mind by certain events, which begin to throw light on the mystery attending his birth. What these are we shall not say; for we hold it altogether

unjustifiable in a reviewer to betray such secrets. Dacre knows not the cause of Lady Emily's resolution; but a vague idea always haunted his mind that it was somehow connected with the idea of his illegitimacy; and this idea, perhaps, rendered him more active and persevering in his endeavours to trace out the secret. Some scenes of a tragic character succeed. The following observations on the Pontine Marshes, along which Dacre and his companion are pursuing the person whom they believe to be the possessor of the documents relative to his mother's marriage, are powerfully and happily expressed:—

'On they went, with all the speed which command, entreaty, bribery could effect. At each post-house they enquired what time had elapsed since the carriage had passed, which they supposed was conveying Harper. For the first two stages they seemed hardly to gain upon him; at the third the time was shortened between the arrival of the pursued and the pursuers; and they began to hope his speed might have relaxed as he got further from Rome.

'They had now reached the Pontine Marshes. The moon was up, and its pale and sickly light came well in harmony with the plain of death they traversed. Herds of buffaloes and horses occasionally broke the low unvaried line of the horizon, whilst the shadows cast from the trees on the side of the road marked the straight line of their route. By daylight, it is here a saddening sight to see the earth decked out in all the brightness of its freshest verdure—to see the cattle grazing, and the horses, scarcely tamed by man, exert their speed in playful wildness. We think that scenes like these should tell of peace and plenty to the man who treads the soil; but we look around, and see disease has preyed on every form; and on every cheek seems set the pale cadaverous stamp of sure decay. We behold man, to whom all things were given for his use, thus droop and die where other creatures live, and vegetation thrives. Here are the condemned of prisons sent to delay the doom their guilt has sealed. It is fearful to watch the work of justice wrought by this slow-consuming poison; and still more shocking to gaze upon the mark of crime that sits with death upon the convict's face, reminding us, each moment, of the life that has unfitted him to die. But night drops a veil over sights like these; and onward the travellers dashed, with a speed that seemed to dare the swift arrow of the destroying angel. The horses' feet now scarcely touched the ground on which they passed, and in this excess of activity and life the thoughts of death and weakness were forgotten.'

Dacre, having succeeded at last in recovering clear evidence of his mother's marriage, sets out on his return; but at Geneva he receives a letter from Lady Emily, written apparently on her deathbed, which reveals the secret of her conduct—a solemn injunction from her dead father, Lord Kendal, never to marry any one to whom the stain of doubtful birth attached. Dacre flies homeward in despair, expecting to weep over her grave, and

arrives to find her recovering. The letter, which had seemed to him a message from the grave, and which had only been intended to be transmitted to him in the event of her death, had been prematurely despatched by her friend, who had believed her dying. After this, can any one doubt as to the conclusion?

We wish we could have spared time and space to extract some of the longer and more passionate scenes of this novel; but even from our extracts, short as they are, the reader will form some idea of the liveliness, sound sense, intelligence, tenderness, and sensibility both to natural and moral beauty, which pervade it. We beg, in conclusion, to congratulate Lady Morley on her editorial discernment, and to say, that if the work to which she has lent her sanction is, as we are inclined to think it is, a first production, it is beyond all question calculated to excite high expectations of future excellence.

ART. XII.—1. *Code de L'Instruction Primaire.* 8vo. Paris: 1833.

2. *Returns respecting the appropriation of the Sums voted in the last Session of Parliament, to aid the Erection of Schools; and copies of Treasury Minutes for distribution thereof.* (Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 26th March, 1834.)

AMIDST the changes that have been going on in our social institutions, the most important, and hitherto the most neglected of them all, has not of late remained stationary. A year has scarcely elapsed since a grant of money was, for the first time, voted by Parliament in aid of General Education; and already has an account been rendered of the appropriation of that sum, an additional grant made to the same amount, and a select Committee of the House of Commons charged with an enquiry into the state of education among the poorer classes in England and Wales.

The object of last year's grant of L.20,000 was the erection of school-houses, and the principle adopted in apportioning it was, that no aid should be given till one-half of the estimated expense was raised by private contribution. The whole sum has been disposed of,—not, of course, without undoubted evidence, that an equal amount, at least, was collected from other sources; and the Lords of the Treasury express their 'satisfaction in per-'ceiving that there exists throughout Great Britain the utmost 'anxiety, that the funds provided by Parliament for the purposes 'of education should be made generally useful; and that private

'charity and liberality, so far from being checked, have been 'greatly stimulated and encouraged by reason of the public 'assistance afforded on the principles laid down in their Minute 'of 30th August, 1833.' So far, indeed, did private contribution outstrip the liberality of Parliament, that, on the 7th March last, the aid applied for, on the condition prescribed, amounted to L.31,016; while the sum then remaining at the disposal of the Treasury was only L.11,719, 6s. To meet this commendable zeal on the part of private contributors, their Lordships concurred in recommending the additional grant of L.20,000 for the service of the ensuing year.

The experiment, therefore, of last session, has been eminently successful. It has already added ninety-eight new schoolhouses to the educational apparatus of the country, at the joint cost of L.48,000; and it holds out the prospect of one hundred and eighty-seven other schoolhouses being speedily built. It has conferred a greater boon still, by demonstrating how ready the public are to second any well-directed effort of the Government; and thus relieving the apprehension, entertained naturally enough, and in the very highest quarters, that the interference of Parliament in the matter of national education might paralyze individual exertion, and materially diminish the amount of voluntary contributions.

The select committee appointed early in June, is now sitting; and their choice of Lord John Russell to be their Chairman, is a security to the public, that, on the one hand, the enquiry will be gone into fully and fearlessly, and with large and liberal views; and, on the other, that no act of rash and premature legislation on a subject so momentous and so complicated, will be recommended to the adoption of Parliament in any Report of theirs.

But while so much is in progress in this almost unexplored path of public economy, and while appearances seem to indicate that Government is about to take up the whole subject of national education, it cannot be disguised that a vital question which had long been considered as set at rest, has been mooted again on very plausible grounds. The strongest doubts have been expressed by persons whose opinion is entitled to respect, whether the moral condition of the great body of our labouring and manufacturing population be not deteriorated, rather than improved, by any process of teaching or intellectual training that can be applied to it. We have now, it is argued, the experience of one entire generation as to the effects of diffusing a certain amount of instruction, unequally, it may be, but still pretty widely and generally, among the lower classes. And what has been the result? Why, that increase of crime has kept pace with

the increase of knowledge. From 1810 to 1833, the period certainly of greatest illumination, there has been a progressive advance in the returns of offences at the sessions and assizes, amounting, in the last six years, to an average of thirty-one per cent.

Facts, therefore, it is argued, come now in support of theory; and the conclusion is irresistibly forced upon us, that education, while it sharpens the wits of the poor man, multiplies also his wants, without materially improving his means of honestly satisfying them; and that, accordingly, intellectual dexterity, acting as pander to the cravings of new appetites, leads to the more frequent perpetration of crime;—not, perhaps, in the shape of brute violence and bloodshed—for crimes of that description, it is admitted, are diminished in number and atrocity—but in all that numerous class of offences, the commission of which pre-supposes ingenuity and accomplishments. And thus it is considered that a case is made out, of cause and effect.

If we could lend ourselves for a moment to the melancholy and almost impious thought, that the more knowledge the people acquire, the less virtue will be found among them, we should be at a loss where to seek for consolation in looking forward to the future destinies of our country, or, indeed, of the human race. The appetite for knowledge has been created; it is spreading with unexampled rapidity, and will not be satisfied without its appropriate food; nor can any exertion or combination of human power now keep the supply, in Great Britain at least, much below the level of the demand.

But in all this, thank Heaven, there is matter to rejoice in, not to deplore. No sane mind will be induced by appearances, however alarming, or by reasoning, be it ever so plausible, seriously to believe, that the moral and intellectual training of a whole population is in itself an evil—and an evil, of which the further progress ought to be resisted, and the steps already taken retraced, by every means in our power. Before arriving at a conclusion so monstrous, it would be proper to estimate much more accurately than has yet been done, whether the increase of crime be real or only apparent; how much of it, as it stands recorded in the Calendar, is owing to the increased population, which implies a larger absolute amount of crime, even where there may be no relative increase;—how much may be traced to the improvement of the criminal police, which has facilitated the detection and apprehension of the delinquent, and added of course to the catalogue, but not to the real amount of offences committed;—how much to the growing abuses, now happily about to be removed, of the Poor Law system, which have been busier from

year to year in degrading the moral character of the English people, and either indisposing them to the humanizing influence of education, or placing it out of their reach;—how much is due to the constantly increasing influx of Irish labourers, enlarging considerably the proportion of the uneducated population, and consequently the number of indictable offences;—how much to that alteration of the law which awards pecuniary indemnities in certain cases to the prosecutor, and thus multiplies the inducements to prosecute;—how much to the state of our prisons, which too often converts them into schools of iniquity;—and how much to the successive relaxations that have taken place in the rigour of our Penal Code, which both encourage prosecutions, and secure more numerous convictions. These, and other circumstances in the condition of the country, altogether independent of the diffusion of knowledge, may swell the annual aggregate amount of recorded crimes and prosecutions, while the actual number of offences may be stationary, or even, as we honestly believe to be the case in our own end of the island, while it is yearly diminishing.

But even if it were proved, that, after every deduction which could reasonably be claimed, there still remained a balance of crime, increasing from year to year, and corresponding so accurately to the increased facilities for acquiring knowledge, that we could not help regarding the one as the cause of the other, the legitimate inference from such a state of things would surely be,—not that education is a curse to the people instead of a blessing, but that it has been hitherto, either conducted upon erroneous principles, or exposed to frequent abuse and failure from inadequate means or imperfect machinery and management.

We are not disposed to deny that both these causes, error in principle, and defect in execution, have operated to a certain extent, in disappointing the sanguine hopes of the friends of popular education. In all that has yet been done, both in school and out of it, with a view to enlighten and direct the minds of the people, we will not say that the preference has not been too decidedly in favour of cultivating the intellect, and storing the memory, rather than in favour of laying deep and broad the foundations of moral principle, of cherishing good dispositions and kind affections, and of forming virtuous habits. We would apply this remark even to religious instruction, which may be, and very often has been, pushed too far with young minds. For, clear as our conviction is, that the moral training we speak of, can by no other means be so effectually accomplished, as by founding it on Christian truth, and giving it the support and sanction of Christian motives, we cannot but admit at the same time, that what is

purely doctrinal, when peremptorily and unsparingly inculcated on the young, has little or no salutary influence on the conduct and character of the adult.

Can we wonder, indeed, that the education of the people should not have produced the full effect that was expected, when its quality, as well as its amount, has been left to the discretion and exertions of individuals, or of societies guided by sectarian views and feelings; and, above all, when no adequate provision has ever been made for training schoolmasters to the skilful discharge of their arduous duties?

The necessity of some such provision had been felt and acted upon in Germany for more than a century, and was proclaimed in this country a considerable time ago;* but it did not attract general attention till the publication, in 1832, of M. Cousin's Report on the State of Education in Prussia. The discussions to which that Report gave rise, both in and out of Parliament, have awakened the public mind to the importance of the subject; the Government has declared itself friendly, and ready to listen to any reasonable proposal; and the intelligence of the country is at last so far enlightened in this matter, that we deem it unnecessary to go into proof of the very obvious truth, that skilful and effectual teaching will never be the ordinary, far less the uniform practice of schools, till all public teachers be required, previously to their appointment, to go through a regular course of professional discipline, and obtain, upon examination, a certificate of qualification. And to this proposition it is an obvious corollary, that, of all the measures to be thought of in projecting the establishment of one universal system of national education, the foremost, in respect both of time and of importance, is the institution of Seminaries for the training of Schoolmasters. But though the conviction of these truths be now general, so profound and prevailing is the ignorance, both as to what such seminaries ought to be, and as to the means and chances of their being established in Britain, that we make no apology for devoting a few pages to a topic so interesting, and so intimately connected with the safety and improvement of our institutions.

So much has of late been said and written on the nature and history of *Schullehrer Seminarien*, as these places of instruction are called in the parent country of Germany, and the details have been brought so advantageously before the public by Mrs Austin, in her excellent translation of M. Cousin's Report, that

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* See particularly Pillans's *Letters on Teaching*, 2d ed., pp. 52 and 161; and Bryce's *Sketches of a Plan for the Education of Ireland.*

we have no intention of recurring to the subject of Prussian schools. It will be at once more novel and more satisfactory, if we confine our attention entirely for the present, to the system of Primary Schools, which the French, borrowing the thing, but not the word, from Germany, have, not very felicitously, denominated *Normal*.

In order to render our details more intelligible, it may be necessary to remind our readers, that,—besides elementary schools for children, which have existed for ages in a more or less imperfect state in the towns and villages of France, and in which very important improvements and additions have been effected since 1830,—attempts have been making for some time past to institute other places of education subservient to the great ends of Primary Instruction, where the pupils are not children, but youths of eighteen or twenty years of age, who are looking forward to the business of teaching as their profession for life, and who repair thither for the express purpose of acquiring the necessary qualifications. The idea of such institutions was thrown out at an early period of the first revolution, but till the occurrence of the second, it had been but feebly and ineffectually acted upon; for though it is five-and-twenty years since Napoleon created one, and only one Normal school, which still flourishes at Paris, it has all along been directed solely to the instruction and preparation of professors and teachers of the higher order, and has never had any direct bearing on the education of the people at large.

The introduction, therefore, of Primary Normal Schools over France, is comparatively so recent, that it may be regarded in the light of an experiment still going on; and, as it is one which our own Government is likely enough ere long to engage in, it may be useful to note what is passing in a neighbouring country, which has made several important steps in advance, in the career we are about to enter upon:—more particularly as we are able, by means of official documents just published, to bring down the account of this experiment almost to the time we write in, and to verify it, in several instances, from personal observation of a date still more recent. The information embodied in these documents, and gleaned from that observation, presents matter of grave consideration on topics not less interesting than Normal schools:—on the progress, for example, of primary instruction in France; on the books read, and methods of teaching employed; and, above all, on a recent publication of M. Cousin, on the present state, in Prussia and France, of that higher kind of instruction which the French express by the term *instruction secondaire*, and we of this

metropolis call High School education. But these are topics which our limits compel us to postpone for the present.

In 1829, the number of Normal schools in France was *thirteen;* at the close of 1832, it was *forty-seven;* in March, 1834, *sixty-two.* Of these sixty-two, fifty-four correspond to the same number of Departments, each department having one; of the remaining eight, each serves for two or more departments; so that, out of the eighty-six departments composing the French monarchy, seventy-three have now the certain prospect of drawing their future supply of parochial teachers from a Normal School. Thirteen only are unprovided, and eleven of these were busy in making arrangements for supplying the deficiency, when the last returns were made.

The sixty-two Normal schools already in activity, are attended by 1944 *pupil-teachers* (élèves-maîtres), who may be regarded as the capital out of which vacancies, as they occur in the primary schools, are to be supplied. The entire number of parish schoolmasters in the 73 Departments provided with Normal schools, is 26,565, among whom the average annual mortality is $\frac{1}{20}$, or 1328. A supply of accomplished young teachers, to this amount, can scarcely as yet be expected from the Normal schools, many of which are still in their infancy; but the object of the Government, and they have already secured the means of attaining it, is to adjust, as nicely as possible, the supply of qualified teachers from these institutions, to the demand created by the death or removal of masters. The sure prospect of an excellent education, and subsequently of employment as schoolmasters, together with exemption from military service, has already begun to make this profession more popular than the clerical; and to attract to it a class of young men who are able, and, for such advantages, willing, to pay the whole cost of their maintenance, or the difference at least between that and any little assistance they can obtain in the shape of an exhibition or bursary.

The sum required to cover the expenditure, ordinary and extraordinary, of 1834, in carrying into effect the Government plan of Normal schools, is calculated by the Minister of Public Instruction at 1,532,000 francs, or L.60,380;—an amount, we presume, much beyond what will be necessary when the first outlay is over, and the annual charges alone are to be met. Of this sum, raised from various sources, by far the greatest proportion is borne by the Departments. In most cases, they have voluntarily burdened themselves to the full amount required; where negligence or backwardness is shown, the Law arms the

Executive with power to enforce payment of their quota from the defaulters.

The annual cost of each pupil, including maintenance, education, and every thing else but clothing, is estimated at 400 francs, or L.16, 13s. As one means of meeting this charge, Exhibitions or Bursaries are created, one of which, if enjoyed entire, will defray the whole expenses of the holder. But they are generally granted in halves and quarters, the rest of the expense being made up from the pupil's own resources. The Communes, the University, and the Departments, are all expected to found bursaries, which originate also occasionally from the bounty of individual donors and benevolent associations. It is only when all these sources are insufficient, that the State comes in to supply the deficit. M. Guizot states, that of the 1944 pupil-teachers now in attendance, 1308 are bursars of the Departments; 118 of the Communes; 245 of the State; and 273 are maintained at their own expense.—(*Rapport au Roi*, 1834, p. 53.)

Every candidate for admission to these institutions, and to the enjoyment of a *bourse*, or any part of one, must bind himself to follow the profession of a parish schoolmaster for ten years at least after quitting the institution; and to reimburse it for the whole expense of his maintenance, if he fail to fulfil his decennial engagement. He must have completed his sixteenth year; and, besides the ordinary elementary acquirements, must produce evidence both of good previous character, and of general intelligence and aptitude to learn. Most of the bursaries are adjudged upon a comparative trial among competitors, who are likely to become every year more numerous: and the examination for admission is so well arranged and conducted, that it tends to raise higher and higher the standard of previous acquirement.

The course of instruction and training to which the youth is thus introduced occupies two years of eleven months each, *i. e.* from the 1st October to the 1st of the ensuing September, and embraces the following objects:—

1st. Moral and religious instruction. The latter, in as far as it is distinct from the former, is given by the clergyman of the particular faith which the pupil happens to profess.

2d. Reading, with the grammar of their own language, generally according to the excellent digest and exercises of Noel and Chapsal.

3d. Arithmetic, including an intimate and practical acquaintance with the legal system of weights and measures. This knowledge is made to hold so prominent a part in the program of instruction, as affording the best means of introducing that admirable system into the habits of the French people, among whom,

from ignorance and prejudice, it is still far from being generally adopted.

4th. Linear drawing, and construction of diagrams, land-measuring, and other applications of practical geometry.

5th. Elements of physical science, with a special view to the purposes of ordinary life.

6th. Music, taught by the eye as well as by the ear.

7th. Gymnastics.

8th. The elements of general geography and history, and the particular geography and history of France.

9th. The pupils are instructed, and, wherever the locality admits, exercised also, in the rearing of esculent vegetables, and in the pruning and grafting of trees.

10th. They are accustomed to the drawing out of the simpler legal forms and civil deeds.*

A library for the use of the pupils is fitted up within the premises; and a sum is set apart every year for the purchase of such works as the Council of Public Instruction may judge likely to be useful to the young schoolmasters. The course of study is, for the present, limited to two years, instead of three, which is the term ultimately contemplated as the most desirable. During the second of those years, instruction in the principles of the art of teaching is kept constantly in view; and for the last six months, in particular, the pupils are trained to the practical application of the most approved methods, by being employed as assistants in the different classes of the children's schools, which are invariably annexed to the Normal, and form part and parcel of the establishment. The immediate control and management of the whole is committed to a director, who is appointed by the Minister of Public Instruction, upon the presentation of the Prefect of the Department and the Rector of the Academy.† The director, besides

* A wish was expressed to the Ministry of Public Instruction, by several Prefects of Departments, that the program of the Normal schools should comprise also a practical course on the best mode of constructing roads and highways, according to the nature of the materials and of the subsoil; and on the dressing of the stones and timber used in the construction and repair of arches and bridges. But the Council of Public Instruction wisely decided, 'that it would be improper, in the present state of things, 'to withdraw the attention of the pupil-teachers, by too great a variety 'of pursuits, from the principal object they ought to have in view.' They add, however, that 'when hereafter the youth shall enter the Normal 'schools with better and fuller preparation, it will be possible to recon-'sider a proposal, which might then promise good results.'

† We must remind the reader, that the whole monarchy of France is called, with reference to educational views and purposes, the University,

general superintendence, is charged with some important branch of the instruction; the rest is devolved on his adjuncts, or assistant masters, who reside in the establishment.

One of the most important features of the Normal System, is the part performed by the *Commissions d'instruction primaire*; or *Commissions d'examen*, as they are called. They are composed of seven members appointed by the Minister of Public Instruction, upon the recommendation of the Rector of the Academy. Three members at the least must be selected from among those who have already exercised, or are at the time exercising the function of public teachers, and who are most likely to unite ability and integrity. It is recommended that one of the seven be a clergyman. 'To act,' says the Minister, in a circular addressed to each of the twenty-six Rectors,—'to act in concert with the 'three members belonging to the body of Public Instruction 'in these *Commissions d'examen*, a minister of religion will doubtless be summoned. The law has put moral and religious 'instruction in the foremost rank; the teacher, therefore, must 'give proof of his being able to communicate to the children 'intrusted to his care, those important ideas which are to be 'the rule of their lives. Doubtless every functionary of public 'instruction, every father of a family who shall be placed on 'this commission by your recommendation, as rector of the academy, will be fully able to appreciate the moral and religious 'attainments of the candidates; but it is, nevertheless, fit and 'proper that the future teachers of youth should exhibit proof 'of their capacity in this respect, before persons whom their 'peculiar character and special mission more particularly qualify 'to be judges in this matter.'

The most important of all the duties devolved upon these examining commissions, is that of conferring on the pupil, when he quits the institution, a *brevet de capacité*. Carelessness, partiality, or ignorance, in the discharge of it, would entirely defeat the main object of the Law on Primary Instruction. This *brevet*, certifying the holder's fitness to be a teacher, either in the lower or higher grade of Primary schools, constitutes his passport to the labours and honours of his profession. With it and his certificate of good conduct in his pocket, he may carry his skill and industry to any market he pleases, without further let or impediment. And this, we may remark, is the true *liberté d'enseigne-*

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which is divided into twenty-six Academies, each, of course, comprehending several Departments, and presided over, in all that regards public instruction, by a Rector, resident in the chief town, and forming the organ of communication with the central administration.

ment of the Charter, as it is understood and explained by Cousin and Guizot; not the uncontrolled license contended for by some, which would let loose every shallow and ignorant pretender, to pick up a livelihood by distorting or extinguishing the faculties of children.

One hundred and fifty-six of these Examining Commissions, which is not far short of two for each Department, have been in activity during part of the last and present year. In that space of time they have issued 1891 *brevets de capacité*, 1655 for the lower degree, and 236 for the higher; and every one of both kinds characterised by the examiners as either *tres-bien*, or *bien*, or *asser-bien*;* and upon these *brevets* appointments have taken place, within the same period, of 1074 masters to primary schools of the *elementary* class, and five to those of the *superior*.† We have little doubt, that when the Normal system is matured, and its organization complete, the principle of emulation among pupils subjected to its wholesome and invigorating course of discipline, will act so strongly, that the number of applications for the inferior degree will be diminished, or that the qualification required for it, which, of necessity, is kept low at the outset, will be raised.

The course of instruction and preparation for the office of schoolmaster, which we have been endeavouring to explain, differs so widely from anything we have hitherto witnessed in this island, and is so immeasurably superior, that some of our readers may be disposed to think it Utopian, and to look upon it rather as exemplifying a propensity to gasconade and *réglemens*, than as an authentic statement of facts. The suspicion, however, we can assure them, is altogether groundless. So wisely have the measures been concerted which M. Cousin recommended in his admirable chapter on the Normal Schools of Prussia, and so temperately and yet promptly have they been carried into execution, that not only have we met, in our own very limited experience, with no proof of over-statement or exaggeration, but several instances occurred where the success goes beyond the program. We allude, particularly, to the *Ecoles Normales* of Versailles and of Rennes.

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* See *Règlement sur les Brevets de Capacité, et les Commissions d'Examen*, 19 *Juillet*, 1833; in Guizot's *Rapport au Roi*, p. 127; or in *Code de l'Instruction primaire*, p. 127. We regret not having room to give this interesting document entire.

† For an explanation of these terms, see No. 117 of this Journal, pp. 20, 21.

In the Primary Normal School of the Academy of Paris, which, in conformity with the general principle already mentioned, is planted at Versailles, we witnessed, within the last six weeks, above a hundred *élèves-maîtres*, busily and happily engaged in acquiring a variety of knowledge, interesting in itself to minds of liberal curiosity, and rendered doubly attractive by the bearing it is known to have on their future destination and prospects. In drawing and design, in geography, in knowledge of plants and gardening, and in many little practical details and processes, such as vaccination, which appear likely to add to the influence and usefulness of the village teacher, the course of instruction, as arranged by the intelligent director, M. Lebrun, and conducted under him by eight able and zealous assistants, has gone considerably beyond the limits of what is strictly enjoined. In this work of supererogation, it is pleasing to recognise the good effects of the following wise provision of the Law: 'Selon les besoins 'et les ressources des localités, l'instruction primaire pourra rece-'voir les développements qui seront jugés convenables.' It is inconceivable how much may be done in following the career which this clause opens, when the instructors are fully aware of the powers and energies which slumber in the youthful mind, till they are excited and well directed by skilful teaching. The pupils are of different ages, from sixteen to thirty. The Director's own experience would lead him to select the two years from eighteen to twenty, as the fittest for profiting by the discipline of the institution. Lectures are delivered from notes, rather in the tone of familiar and conversational intercourse, than in the more distant and formal, but often less impressive, manner of a professor's written discourse. While the discipline is of the strictest kind, the mental occupations are at the same time so varied and interesting, and made to alternate so judiciously with the bodily exercise of gymnastics and gardening, that no time seems to be lost, and no languor to be felt. Even during dinner, one of the pupils reads from an elevated desk some interesting passage, in a tone loud and distinct enough to be audible to all, without preventing an under-current of conversation among those who prefer it.

Similar appearances presented themselves at the *Ecole Normale* of Rennes, in which about eighty young men are assembled from the four adjoining Departments. One of the peculiarities of this establishment is, the appendage of a farm of eight acres, with all the requisite stocking and apparatus. It is ploughed, sown, and reaped by the *élèves-maîtres*, under the direction of a well-informed and practical manager, who discourses to them on the nature of soils and the means of improving them, on the

best construction of agricultural implements, on the culture of white and green crops, on the management of cattle and beasts of burden, on orchards and vineyards, and other topics of rural and domestic economy. In the course of the same morning we met one party of the pupils returning from the labours of the field, and found another performing the part of monitors or assistant teachers in a primary school of 300 or 400 children; and one of their number, a youth of nineteen, supplying most energetically and efficiently the place of the master, who had been absent for some time from indisposition.

The conclusion we would draw from the details and illustrations we have given is this, That the institution of Seminaries for Teachers is not only an indispensable accompaniment, but a preliminary condition, in any attempt that may be made to introduce a system of National Education.

It is in vain to appeal to what has already been done in England for the training of teachers, as if it superseded the necessity of doing more than exerting ourselves to improve and extend it. It differs from the Prussian and French method, not in degree or extent, but in kind and nature. For in what, we ask, does it consist, in the only two places where any such training is attempted—the central school of the National Society, and that of the British and Foreign? In giving attendance during school hours, observing the teaching processes, and, at last, taking some charge in the details of the business. And who are they that are thus trained? Persons differing widely in age and condition of life; not unfrequently such as, having failed in other objects, take to the occupation of teacher as a last resource, and have no previous preparation either of acquirement or habit, or any vocation to the task but the call of necessity. And what is the time allotted to this training? Three, four, or, at the utmost, six months. Three months we have heard pronounced, by a competent and friendly authority, to be amply sufficient to accomplish a novice in all the training which the central National school pretends to give. Three weeks we should think might suffice, if it consist, as we apprehend it will be found to do, in little else but the power of putting children through a set of mechanical evolutions, with the precision and promptitude of military drilling. Valuable hints and practical directions, we are well aware, are often communicated by the head teachers of these schools, both *inter docendum*, and in lessons apart, when they are zealous enough to give up their grateful leisure to the task; and it is the farthest thing from our thoughts to depreciate or underrate the good that has been effected over England even by such imperfect training. But to

confound these superficial and perfunctory processes with the solid and truly philosophical preparation received under the didactic system we have been describing, would argue gross ignorance of both.

The only remaining question, therefore, would seem to be as to the practicability of an experiment which, if successful, would purify popular instruction at the fountain-head, and for ever extinguish all pretext for maintaining, that an increase of crime can be caused by the diffusion of knowledge.

This question opens a wider field for discussion than we are at this moment prepared to enter upon; and we are therefore content to leave it in the hands of the Education Committee, who must know much better than we can, what ways and means are likely to be made available for so great and so good a purpose. Funds were bequeathed in former times for the endowment of schools; and much of that portion of them which has not been embezzled or diverted to other purposes than education, is miserably misapplied, in literal accordance with the wills of benevolent but ignorant and narrow-minded testators. If a small part only of these ample funds could be made applicable to the purposes of education generally, by a liberal interpretation of the deeds of gift whose terms are most vaguely expressed, there would, we are persuaded, be no want of pecuniary means for the object proposed. But if this were found impossible, the sum required is not so oppressively great as to prevent its being easily raised, if the burden were shared, as in France, by the parish, the county, and the government, with the assistance of private endowment and charity.

This will appear manifest, if we consider that there is no necessity for the projected institutions being made dependent upon, or simultaneous with, the establishment of a National System of Education. On the contrary, they ought obviously to be prior in point of time, in order that we may have a stock in hand of the most important and indispensable of all the materials required, and may not expose our National system to the risk of proving abortive, by committing the charge of the new schools to incapable hands. Let us not wait till we can proudly start with a vast and hazardous experiment, the failure of which would replunge England into profounder ignorance than before; but contenting ourselves with small beginnings, and advancing, as wisdom directs in all such matters, *pedetentim*, let us endow, if it were but half-a-dozen Seminaries for Teachers, planting them over the country in situations where a numerous primary school, already in activity, can be annexed to each of them. If the Committee now sitting were to recommend this, and Parliament to adopt it, as a preliminary measure,

they would meet with fewer difficulties, and offend fewer prejudices, than they are likely to encounter in any other step they can take, in a path so obstructed with both; and the public might rest assured, that in no other manner could so much be done towards paving the way for a full and efficient measure of primary instruction. Ten or twelve intelligent men, knowing something both of the theory and practice of teaching, would suffice to commence with, in this tentative process. They would send forth from half that number of Normal schools a supply of skilful masters, whom *they* would be employed in training and accomplishing, while churchmen and dissenters were wrangling about catechisms and other preliminaries.

In this way a set of accomplished teachers would, in all probability, be ready for their work before the work was ready for them. Even that great rock of offence, upon which so many goodly projects have been dashed to pieces—the question of religious instruction—would, we think, be less embarrassing here, than in any general provision for the education of the lower classes. Young men of eighteen—and of that age it is desirable that the bulk of the pupil-teachers should be—have already attached themselves to a particular communion; and we cannot for a moment believe, that sensible men of either party would argue for more than the means of confirming them in the great principles of Christian faith and practice, leaving them every facility to follow the particular worship, and receive instruction in the particular doctrines, of the sect they belonged to. Liberty of conscience to that extent seems to be indispensable in such institutions, both upon the general principles of toleration, and in order to secure to parents of different persuasions, the means of having an instructed and acceptable teacher for their children. If we rightly discern the signs of the times, we are fast approaching to a state of public opinion when the school-room will be regarded as neutral ground, on which the youth are to be imbued with the mild precepts and wholesome doctrines of Christianity, unmixed with those topics of schism and exasperation, which too often alter or impair its benevolent character in older minds.

We cannot quit the subject without putting in a word for our own country, though we are aware that Scotland is not within the scope of the Committee's enquiries; because, if the difficulties in the way of the measure we recommend be found in England more formidable than we anticipate, and fatal to its immediate success, Scotland presents facilities so much greater for trying the experiment, that we can scarcely foresee a chance of failure. Neither the differences in religious belief, nor the violence of sectarian zeal, are so great among us. Our system of Parochial Schools has

long been established over the country, and is deeply rooted in the habits of the people; and little is wanting to make it all that the most patriotic Scotsman could desire it to be. Of that little, the most obvious and important item is an Institution of the kind that we have been recommending to England; for, though the imperfections successively entailed upon our Parochial system, in consequence of this capital defect, have been marvellously redeemed by the spirit and intelligence of the people, yet those who know that system best, will most readily agree in thinking, that a means of training schoolmasters to their professional duties is necessary to bring out all its virtues, and to increase the respectability and usefulness of the teachers.

We hinted in a former Number at a plan for establishing a Lectureship on Didactics in one or two of our Scottish Universities; and the tone of kindliness in which Ministers, and Members of the House generally, have spoken of popular education, and testified their desire to see it flourish in every part of the empire, encourages us to return to the subject, and even to extend the recommendation to all the four Universities of Scotland;—being satisfied, that there is no means within our reach that will be found at once so effectual, so little costly, and so practicable, as the institution of four such lectureships. A very moderate endowment would be wanted for three of these,—one at Edinburgh, one at Glasgow, and one at Aberdeen; St Andrews may be presumed to have ample powers, and funds too, for such an object, under the settlement and bequest of the late Dr Bell. We are aware, that, even if all this were done, it would accomplish but imperfectly what the Prussian and French Governments have proposed to themselves, and have so nearly effected. We could neither expect to have a farm or garden for the use of the students, nor that eleven months' course of training and instruction, nor that daily and watchful superintendence of the pupils, nor that complete insulation from the allurements and contamination of large towns, which form such important parts of the Normal code of Germany and France. Nevertheless, we should confidently anticipate incalculable benefits even from what may be stigmatized as a half-measure. A course of lectures on the principles and practice of teaching, continued for four or five months, illustrated by constant reference to the best schools of the place, and by employing the pupils as assistants in the teaching, could not fail to diffuse correct notions and improved methods over the country. To secure this result, it would only be necessary to make attendance on one of these courses imperative on every candidate for the situation of a Parochial schoolmaster; and, considering the great number of competitors for every

vacancy, we see no risk of stinting the supply too much, even as matters now are, and still less, if the salaries of the schoolmasters should be raised. Parliament would do well to imitate the continental governments, by founding along with these lectureships, a certain number of bursaries, and encouraging private individuals and public bodies to do the same; and if the competition for these bursaries were open to all who had the requisite certificates of character and previous acquirement, it is easy to see what a stimulus might be thus applied, by rigid examination and unvarying preference of merit, to the *præfervidum ingenium* of our young countrymen. It would be advisable to enjoin it upon these professors or lecturers, as a branch of their public duty, to occupy part of their summer vacations in the business of regular and systematic Inspection; a process without which no organization of schools, however perfect at first, can be saved from speedily degenerating. Supposing the whole of Scotland to be divided, with reference to Parochial education, into four districts, corresponding to the four University seats, we might easily secure an efficient inspection of the Parochial schools within a reasonable time. It would be the business of the professors, in making their progresses among the schools, not merely to visit, examine, and report on the state of each, but to converse with the schoolmaster on the nature of his duties, to point out wherein they were ill done, and exemplify, in the school-room, a better method of teaching; to hold conferences of schoolmasters invited from the adjoining parishes, and to originate discussions there on school-management; and to deliver, on suitable occasions, discourses on the various topics connected with practical education and scholastic discipline. Thus would the present incumbents, whose circumstances prevented them from attending College, be furnished with the knowledge and the motives requisite for an able discharge of their duties. Such itinerating lecturers, invested with the character of public functionaries, and enjoined by Government to report annually on what they saw, might be made to serve all the uses of a travelling Commission, at much less expense to the country; while they would exercise, at the same time, a most beneficial influence in exposing abuse, in bringing modest merit into notice, in diffusing information, and stirring up a spirit of enquiry about an art, which has been hitherto very generally practised with little or no understanding of its nature or principles; and would thus facilitate, in a variety of ways, the establishment of Seminaries for Teachers on a permanent footing.

ART. XIII.—*A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Archdeanery of Lewes.* By EDWARD LORD BISHOP of CHICHESTER. Published at the request of the Clergy. 8vo. London: 1834.

THERE has seldom appeared a more able, correct, and judicious tract from any dignitary of the English Church; and, truly, if all its Prelates were like Bishop Maltby, the cry of the laity against the episcopal order would be lessened, and the securities of the Establishment mightily increased. His lordship is, of course, a decided friend to an Establishment; but he is equally tolerant of Dissenters. He will have the just rights of the Church maintained; but he will have no unfair obstacles thrown in the way of the numerous sects which fill the country, and compose the population of almost all the great manufacturing towns of England. Thus, too, he is the advocate of the Universities; but he holds it absolutely necessary to give the Dissenters admission to Degrees as well as to Education within their walls; and as he is known to be a patron of the London University, it may be presumed that he would grant that body a Charter.

How wide the difference between this learned and pious divine and the herd of conservative lords who have lately made the Peers' House ring with anathemas against all dissent, and joined in the chorus of execration which Oxford raised against every thing that is enlightened and liberal! These wise men, who are to save the Church and the State, hold it nothing less than detestable to give the Dissenters a University of their own, while they stoutly shut the door against admitting them into the old institutions. They claim, on the one hand, a monopoly of education; and, on the other, they exclude from its benefits all who will not conform to their religious belief. In plain words—but really not much plainer than the men of Oxford use—the doctrine is, that Dissenters shall not be educated in England at all, but must go to Paris, or Pavia, and study and graduate there, as a penalty for non-conformity to the Church of England, in its principles and its discipline.

Before proceeding farther, we must here advert to the strange and startling information lately conveyed to the public, through the Episcopal Bench, upon the nature of Subscription. It appears that when a youth of fifteen goes to be matriculated at Oxford, and is required first to subscribe Thirty-Nine Articles of Religious Belief, this only means that he engages himself afterwards to try to understand what is now above his comprehension —that he expresses no assent at all to what he signs—and that

he is at full liberty, when he has studied the subject, to withdraw his provisional assent. Then, can any man living tell why the subscription is not required to another kind of thing, namely, a promise to study the Articles, and if he can, then to subscribe them? and can any man living devise a more cunningly contrived trap for ignorant youth? Suppose, after subscribing, the young man reads, and is unable to believe, or to understand—who can doubt that his name, already signed, must rise up against him and prevent him from retracting? Who can doubt that if he did he would be reckoned an apostate? But one fact is quite decisive—the Articles contain some hundreds of propositions upon the most abstruse questions of metaphysical theology. Have, then, all the Oxford youths so happily constituted minds, that all of them have, upon further study and reflection, arrived at the same conclusions upon each nice, and subtle, and obscure point; and that none of them have seen reason to dissent from what they had only provisionally, as it is said, signed? And yet this must of necessity be the case; for nothing is so rare as to find a student who once subscribed leaving the University or foregoing its honours, because he has been unable to subscribe a second time, upon study and knowledge, to what he had at first taken upon trust. If, indeed, we are to be told that they go through with it because otherwise they lose their degrees and their fellowships—truly very little is gained to the cause of subscription by an avowal that it is used as an instrument of bribery for corrupting men's consciences and making them hypocrites.

But another doctor arises at the eleventh hour, and holds he has dispelled all doubt. According to Bishop Coplestone, a renowned logician, and a learned, able, and pious man, it appears that subscribing means professing that the boy belongs to the Established Church, and nothing more. Indeed! Why truly nothing more is wanting; for what does any body mean by belonging to a church, except that he agrees with its doctrines? The worthy Bishop either means that you subscribe without asserting that you agree with the Church—or he means that you subscribe because you believe. If you subscribe because you believe, then subscription is an assertion of your belief in all that the Church believes, and particularly in every one of the Articles you sign. If so, then is each boy who signs them avowing his conscientious belief in them, and in whatever else the Church teaches; so that by this argument subscription is made to pledge the novice a great deal deeper than the plain common-sense argument does, which represents subscription to be only an adoption of the Articles subscribed. But if this be not the meaning of the Bishop, and if he allows a boy to profess himself a mem-

ber of the Church of England, without intending to say he believes, or indeed understands, a word of its doctrines, then we humbly ask his lordship, what church on earth he is not prepared to declare himself a member of? Nay, we humbly ask, what possible reason there ever can be against his lordship taking a see in Spain—a cardinal's hat in Italy—the charge of a mosque in Turkey—and the office of driver of the Juggernaut in Hindoostan? For he has only solemnly to profess that he belongs to the Catholic and other churches; and as it seems this implies not the least acquiescence in their tenets, or even the slightest knowledge of one word of their doctrines, he may with a perfectly safe conscience avow that he belongs to them, and may thus share in their 'good and perfect gifts.' Out of this dilemma the Bishop never can find his way. Either he has made subscription a much more complete avowal of religious belief, and of deliberate recognition of religious dogmas, than it ever yet has been considered by any one who took part on any side of the controversy; or he has made it a profligate, unprincipled, audacious mockery of the most sacred subjects, for the lucre of gain, such as the worst of its enemies never before asserted that it was. He is in this agreeable predicament—that finding subscription very little esteemed, he has advanced an argument in its behalf, which makes it out to be either much more absurd and extravagant, or much more wicked and hypocritical, than any of its enemies had before thought it was. He found subscription very low in the world, and being minded to help it up, he officiously interfered, and gave it over to a power which must needs either plunge it into the sink, or cast it into the fire. Here we leave the right reverend Prelate; enclosed in a cage of his own construction, from which he never in this world can escape. There he stands erect, in satin of black and muslin of white; the cap fits his head; the bells jingle as he moves; the eye of scorn or of pity salutes him; the finger of the passer-by moves towards him. He calls for help to the Universities and to the Church. In vain—they regard him not. Why rushed he in, unprepared for the strife? All that these learned bodies have to thank him for, is that, finding them ill off, he left them far worse off than he found them. Therefore, he will be suffered to remain for and during the term of his natural life, a sad example, to deter others from acts of injudicious zeal.

While these things were doing in London, the Conservative troops—defeated in every contest, at Edinburgh, at Cambridge, in the City, in Somersetshire, in Wiltshire—when they found they had not the vestige of a chance remaining for them either in Parliament or the country, retreated within the walls of Oxford. The

waters of reform were out; the whole land was under their refreshing influence; so the Tories got them into the ark of Oxford, which they entered in pairs—the Duke of Wellington and Lord Winchelsea, the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Falmouth, the Bishop of Exeter and Lord Wynford. The light of improvement was pouring in from every corner of the sky; the dawn was far advanced; so away fled the spirits of darkness, the ghosts of departed prejudices, and took refuge from the much-hated illumination in the congenial darkness of the Oxford monasteries.

This assemblage consisted of many persons of distinction from London; and their distinction was chiefly as members of the exclusive circles of fashionable life. It is somewhat strange that a meeting, which was intended to express the feelings and honour the principles of Toryism, should have no one person in it to represent any of the classes of society below the highest. The Court was represented by the Duke of Cumberland,—the Lords by those we have already enumerated,—the Ladies of Almack's by a Countess or two. But any person to represent the merchants, tradesmen, farmers, labourers of the country,—any one to represent the whole people of England, except about a hundred and fifty great lords and their parasites, was not to be found in any one corner of Oxford upon this occasion.

However, the assemblies were splendid; the fare bad; the music indifferent; the speeches incredibly dull, except those of the public orator; and the halls were crowded with doctors descending from their stalls, and fellows from their tables, and boys escaped from their tutors,—and this motley group proceeded to bestow applause and confer degrees, so as best to show the vehemence of their attachment to the Tory cause. All who were named for the purpose of being so saluted, were hissed by this truly venerable convocation,—the Duke of Wellington presiding over it, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York assisting at it. The personages selected for this honour were those in whom the Sovereign confided, and to whom the whole country looks up as representing its opinions. Their names were successively holloed out, for the purpose, and merely for the purpose, of allowing those present to hiss. This is a practice confined to two places—the venerable men in the theatre of Oxford, and the occupants of the shilling-gallery in the Irish theatres. Suppose, at a meeting of the London University, a similar breach of all the rules of common decency had been committed,—suppose any one had, in the absence of the Professors and the Council, bawled out the names of the Bishops, and the University, and the Tory Lords, in order to have them hissed—what grave complaints should we not have heard from all Bishops and Peers! But suppose the same outrage had

been committed in the presence of the Professors and the Council and his Majesty's Ministers, we verily believe Lord Londonderry and Lord Wicklow, or some other of the leaders of Opposition, would have brought the matter before Parliament. Now, however, we do hope and trust that no public meeting will be anywhere held without taking the sense of the people assembled upon the wisdom and propriety of the University of Oxford, and those dignitaries in Church and State who lately crowded her halls. We consider this as by no means a trivial matter. It is an indication of such utterly unfair and unreasonable pretensions in the High Church party, as are not to be endured by the rest of the community. The Universities and that party really seem to set themselves in all things above the obligations which bind other men—they are 'above ordinances'—'they are a law unto themselves'—they do, and patronize those who do, that which, if the sectaries even attempted, would make the High Church bellow with indignant fury. Whence this contempt of all common decency and fairness? Whence, but from that ungovernable pride—that worst of prides,—spiritual pride—which domineers in the souls, and governs the conduct of this faction, and makes them the objects of hatred, only tempered by scorn and derision, to all the rest of mankind.

But contemptible as the whole of this must appear to all rational men, and indeed ridiculous as the University made itself upon the occasion in the eyes of the whole world, the performers in the farce were so far from being sensible of the figure they really made, that they became elated as with a triumph; and, intoxicated with their own folly, their ears filled with each other's shouts, they fancied they were exhibiting a demonstration of public opinion, favourable to existing abuses, and hostile to reform. That such should have been the feelings of Heads of Houses and Fellows of Colleges, who never mix with any other portion of the community, cannot be deemed extraordinary. These dignitaries were probably never aware of any other feeling existing in the country than that which fills their own combination-rooms with daily cheers, when libations of port are poured forth to the roars of Church and King—a toast which, as Dr Parr observed, means, in their mouths, a Church without the Gospel, and a King above the law. But that the non-resident gentry—that practical statesmen to the number of some dozens who flocked thither—should really have set any store on this '*Tom-foolery*,' as Mr O'Connell called it, amidst the re-echoed cheers of the House of Commons—that men who lived in town and in Parliament, should actually fancy that any one inference was to be drawn in their favour from their own noise made in their own

room, and that room the only one in the United Kingdom where such a noise could with any kind of safety have been raised, does seem hardly credible; and is, perhaps, the most striking instance on record; not only of a party's self-delusion, but also of the extreme and hopeless weakness of that once overbearing party; for surely nothing could more feelingly display the desperate condition to which everywhere else it has been of late reduced, than its readiness to believe in *such* a proof of its retaining any influence. They, however, not only took courage from the symptom, but hoped great things from the effects. The effects expected to flow from the Oxford festival were, that the cry of 'The Church 'in Danger' would be spread; and that the Tories would be elated and encouraged so as to attempt their re-establishment in the congenial climate of the Court. Some of them have even gone so far as to avow their design in Parliament; and when a Noble Earl, more remarkable for his honesty than his wisdom, worldly or other, declared he was ready to regain for the Church by agitation, what by agitation it had lost, a Prelate, more noted for worldly wisdom than for any other quality, vehemently applauded the resolution. Certain it is, that the effort has been made; but as undeniable that it has signally failed. The country plainly cares for the Church, and would be loth to see it invaded by enemies; but it as plainly feels no very burning zeal for its abuses, and perceives no kind of perils near it. There is a mighty party, indeed, quite hostile to it, and that party has possession of the towns. The scattered farmers are little adapted to operations requiring combined efforts; and they feel too much the burden of tithes to let their ecclesiastical tendencies ripen into overt acts. The squires of Tory breed are more decided, but can do nothing against the decided sense of the community; and the clergy themselves, who feel no very warm sympathy with Prebendaries and Bishops—with those whom Sir Robert Heron used to describe as men with mitres on their heads or in their heads—the working clergy, to whom the existing abuses only leave a scanty and precarious subsistence, and who care very little for those things which set the sinecurists in flames, have notoriously received with the most mortifying coldness, all the attempts to excite a religious outcry. The blame due to those who have endeavoured to promote so detestable a scheme, with religion on their lips, and place in their hearts, is none the less, that, to the infinite honour of the clergy, generally speaking, the attempt has failed completely.

The hopes of place, which had been engendered by the Oxford festival, and which, it must be acknowledged, 'springs eternal in 'Tory breast,' has likewise, we suspect, been 'rudely cross'd,'

though 'fondly nursed.' There had, however, been one or two circumstances of recent occurrence calculated to raise those hopes to an unusually high pitch. It is necessary shortly to consider these passages, in order that we may be enabled to form a more accurate estimate of the present posture of affairs, the prospects of improvement, and the amount of the risk to which the good cause may be exposed.

We allude first, and mainly, to the unfortunate resignation of four members of the Liberal Cabinet. The rumours which are abroad upon this subject are various. Some maintain that this difference had long been preparing, and that it originated in the fundamental diversity of opinion which was supposed to separate the two branches of the Ministry. When, however, we consider that Sir James Grahame is one of the four seceders, this seems hardly conceivable. The worthy Baronet had long been distinguished by holding the strongest political opinions: he was on all questions save one, and that unconnected with liberal or reform principles, among the Whigs whose tenets came nearest the Radical party. He had long represented the extreme opinions in Church and State, known to prevail so strongly and so generally among the citizens of Carlisle and the yeomanry of Cumberland. His speeches in and out of Parliament might be cited for the most unmeasured attacks as well as doctrines: he was the author of that famous resolution, by which the amount of the incomes of all Privy Counsellors was enquired into; and the last speech he made from the Opposition benches, was to prevent a newly-appointed Prelate from holding a living *in commendam*, according to a very usual and most ancient, though improper practice. Add to all this his known political connexions; and the unquestionable fact that he owed to Lord Durham his elevation to a seat in the Cabinet, while all, perhaps, but these two friends and fellow-liberals, were of opinion that an inferior place would have better suited his just pretensions. After entering the Cabinet, his course, we are told, had been for some time marked by the same adherence to extreme opinions; and he was one of the committee of three appointed to assist Lord John Russell in digesting and preparing his Reform Bill—the other two being Lords Durham and Duncannon.

All these circumstances appear to render it utterly inconceivable that Sir James Grahame can have been a party to preparing any schism in the Reform Government; and when we consider the question chosen for a ground of separation, the puzzle becomes the more difficult to unravel, and we are left in thicker darkness than before. It was actually upon an undue zeal for the Irish Church—upon an excess of tenderness for the interests of

by far the most indefensible portion of all our ecclesiastical abuses —upon an extravagant and unintelligible apprehension for the safety of even the outworks of that body to which all sensible men (many even of the enemies of Reform included) had long agreed it was now necessary that the useful knife, if not the actual cautery, must at length be applied. That the member for Cumberland, and he, Sir James Grahame, should be the planner of a secession on such a ground as this,—that the fellow-reformer and ally of Lord Durham, should be a party to any such scheme, does appear utterly inconceivable; and we own ourselves quite unable to believe in any thing we are incapable of comprehending. Our faith is not of the kind which Sir James seems to have taken up of late,—readily to believe any thing, and disbelieve any thing, and without enquiring what meaning we affix to the dogma, or whether there be any sense in it at all. As for the vile slander which has been propagated by personal spleen, or which the Tories may have circulated with the pious view of widening a breach easily healed if let alone, that upon Mr Stanley joining the Cabinet, the honourable Baronet suddenly attached himself to the fortunes of the younger and more promising statesman, and suffered his devotion for Lord Durham to cool, we disregard it, and so we think may Sir James. For no man endowed with common understanding, to say nothing of common honesty, ever could make a sudden change of his opinions, on any matter in Church and in State, in order to gain the favour of a powerful patron; and, indeed, the monstrous hypothesis and foul calumny to which we are referring, must go the still more incredible length of assuming, that he took a far more violent course, and became far more inclined to High Church principles than Mr Stanley himself, with the hope of leading him astray, and gaining entire possession of him. This is a necessary part of the speculation, because it is quite notorious that Mr Stanley was latterly disposed to far more reforming courses with the Irish Church than Sir James's new-born zeal for *clerical integrities* would allow him to follow. For all these reasons, we regard the calumnies in question as mere refinements, misleading the ingenuity of some, and gratifying the malice of others.

The length to which our observations upon what seems rather to be a personal question have extended, must be ascribed not only to the respect which we feel for Sir J. Grahame, our gratitude for the services he rendered the cause of Reform, while his conduct was clear and intelligible, and our deep sense of his many useful reforms at the Admiralty, but also to the importance which we naturally attach to an event so rare of late years,—the secession of any distinguished Whig from his party. It is many more

years than Sir James has been in public life since this last happened; and we willingly hope that even this dereliction, which now afflicts us, is apparent rather than real, or at most only temporary and occasional.

But there is another person to whose retirement we have alluded, and whose loss to the liberal Government is more to be lamented. Mr Stanley, to the most happy talent for debate, unites the powers of a man of business in a rare degree of perfection. While his high rank and great expectances place him in the first class of English gentlemen, he has nobly despised a life of sloth, improved himself and enlarged his views of mankind by foreign travel, for instruction and not for amusement, and devoted himself to state affairs. His errors are those of an ingenuous, not a sordid nature; they are the wanderings of a youthful but honest spirit, misled by others or bewildered by its own speculations—not the fruits of contrivance—not connected with intrigue—wholly divested of any self-interested taint. Errors he has committed, and such as at least impeach his judgment, and expose him to the charge of rashness. But they are all errors which he may easily redeem. The want of due deliberation, by which he has been led to risk the peace of the country, and, above all, the existence of the very establishment whose interests he had mainly at heart, is assuredly a very unhappy passage in his life, and will greatly tend to weaken the confidence of a nation so fond of safe and steady rulers as the English.

What we mean is this—Mr Stanley retired because he considered that the issuing of a Commission to enquire respecting the proportions of Catholic and Protestant inhabitants in the Irish parishes, had a tendency to recognise the rightfulness of the Government dealing with the Church Revenues in that country, and appropriating them partially to other purposes than the support of the parochial clergy. How this consequence can possibly be deduced from the mere issuing of the Commission, no man can discover. It is merely an enquiry into the fact, that the Commissioners are to undertake. If they find that there is much more than the amplest support of the clergy requires;—if they discover that there are whole districts without a person to attend the church, and that a surplus remains after providing every one place where it can be wanted with abundant spiritual assistance,—no man is bold enough to deny that there will arise a case for using that surplus, so as to benefit the country. But, in truth, the issuing of a Commission to enquire, does not even pledge the Government to the adoption of this mere truism. Then, rather than remain in a Cabinet which had sealed this parchment, Mr Stanley, the stanch reformer in Church as well as in State, the

author of a bill passed last year to abolish ten Irish Bishopries, and of a bill now pending, to appropriate for the relief of the lay rate-payers part of the profits arising from a new letting of church lands—this root and branch reformer of the Irish hierarchy, exposes the Government, which in all other things he approves, to be broken up—and with what result? One, and one only, even the Tories foresaw; and that was an attempt to form a Tory Ministry, a speedy and entire failure of the experiment, and an ultra-liberal Cabinet installed upon the failure. Where would then have been the Irish Church? Commissioners, and enquiries, truly! Resolutions leading towards appropriation, indeed! Declarations of Ministers in their places, that they would eradicate ecclesiastical abuses! These were the bugbears that scared Mr Stanley's imagination. No such imaginations, we can promise him, would he have been so fortunate as to repose upon, under the ultra-liberal Government which he did his best to create. Commissions, enquiries, declarations, resolutions,—all would have long ago been too late for them. But bills—but addresses—but Acts of Parliament—abating the intolerable nuisance of tithes, levied upon seven millions of people to support a creed they abhor, professed by half a million of their fellow-subjects, who have always oppressed them on account of their inability to agree with that very creed—this was the catastrophe to which Mr Stanley's rash friendship towards the Irish Church exposed it. Why, there was an end of that hierarchy at once, had the consequence followed from Mr Stanley's resignation which many expected. Well, therefore, may that establishment exclaim, 'Save me from my friends!'

That Mr Stanley's secession may only be for a season, we most earnestly hope as his friends and as friends of our country; and that he may never approach the common enemy we as devoutly trust; but we also believe it cannot be so. He is no designer—no schemer—and he dreads no enemy: nothing will ever betray him into an unnatural union with the dregs of the Tory faction. 'Not 'fearing the might of any adversary,' *he* will reconcile himself to his friends and the friends of the country, as soon as the unfortunate occasion has passed away, which for the moment has put them asunder.

Before adverting to the state of the country, and of parties, at the present moment, we must add yet a few words upon the kind of argument by which Mr Stanley and the other seceders have sought to vindicate their alarm about the property of the Church. They say—the property of the Church is like all other men's property, sacred and inviolable: you may make whatever arrangements you please of it, so long as the enjoyment is confined to the Church, the true rightful owner; but you cannot divert

one farthing of it to any other quarter without spoliation. This is the proposition stated as strongly as it has ever been put—and stated in the way its adherents deem the most for their advantage in the argument.

Now, it all rests upon a plain and notorious fallacy. There is no such body in existence as the Church, in the sense here assumed. The Church is not a corporation; all lawyers admit this. It has no legal name or existence, as a body, different from the rest of the community. It consists in the faithful—'the body of 'faithful men,' according to the definition in the Thirty-Nine Articles; and the laity are just as much component parts of it as the clergy. The error consists in confounding Church and Clergy. The Clergy have property; but the Church has none, and can have none. But how have the Clergy property? Only as a mass or number of corporate bodies, some aggregate, some sole. All chapters are corporations aggregate; all bishops and all parsons are corporations sole. Each of those 12,000 or 13,000 corporate bodies has a name and existence in law, with perpetual succession, and every material incident of corporations. Each is capable of holding property, and does in fact hold it. There is no other corporate body; no Church besides this; and no Clergy holding, or capable of holding property, except in this way. Then it would be quite competent for Mr Stanley to argue, that this property, so held by those corporations, aggregate and sole—that is, the bishops, chapters, and parsons—is inviolable; and that you have no right to touch it. But this he is the last man alive to maintain; for he contends, that you have a right to give from one chapter to another, from one bishop to another, from one rector to another;—nay, he has himself destroyed ten of those spiritual corporations sole—namely, ten bishoprics—and transferred all their revenues and all their property to others. Indeed no man living dreams of denying that, 'within the Church,' as it is called, Parliament may transfer, and otherwise deal with the Church property; that is, may equalize it, by taking from one and giving to another. But is this consistent with the nature of *property*? Nay, is it one whit less an encroachment upon *property* than if you took a part from all those corporations, and gave it to the laity to provide for schools, or repair churches in case of the rates?

Only see how absurd this distinction is, by trying it with lay property! Could you justly equalize that? Could you maintain that the whole property of laymen may be fairly taken by the State, and parcelled out among the laity, provided you give none to the clergy? If you seize on the Duke of Bedford's or the Duke of Buccleuch's estate, and parcel them out among the lay

peasants of Bedfordshire and Roxburghshire, you do no violence to the rights of property; it is only if you give an acre to a clergyman that you commit robbery and spoliation! Now this, how absurd soever, is precisely the argument of Mr Stanley and Sir James Graham: it is their argument converted and applied to the laity. They speak of the Church, or the Clergy, as a body, and ascribe to it rights of property. Then it follows that the laity is another body, capable of property, and the self-same argument is applicable to it. We think we have said enough to show on what widely different grounds Church property and other property stand. No man thinks of equalizing the estates of individual proprietors, nor even of corporate bodies, as the chartered companies in the towns. Yet no man thinks there is any harm at all in equalizing the revenues of spiritual persons, and corporations ecclesiastical. In truth, the property of the clergy is given to them as payment for performing public duties;—it is pay;—it is salary;—it is not property in the ordinary sense of the word.

All these things are so obvious, and are so universally admitted among thinking men, that we need dwell no longer upon them; but we proceed to the state of parties, and of the country—a topic suggested by the late changes in the construction of the Cabinet; and we prefer following the subject historically to entering upon a regular dissertation.

When it was known that the zeal of the seceders for the pure being whom they so greatly honour as the Irish Church—their 'milk-white hind, immortal and unchanged'—had ejected them from the liberal Cabinet, Lord Althorp announced to the House of Commons, that arrangements were making for filling the vacancies up—and the excessive alarm of the House was at once allayed. Their joy was extreme, and burst through all ordinary bounds. When that man, so deeply respected, so justly beloved, asked for a short adjournment, and happened to drop the word 'confidence'—the effect was electrical. We witnessed, and never can forget, the thrilling scene. There broke forth a shout that shook the House as never cheer did before—it pierced the walls, and echoed through the adjoining porticoes. That shout was the knell of Toryism—of High Church bigotry and pride; peradventure, the 'milk-white hind' felt it inauspicious.

'So loud and dismal was that knell,
The stag leapt up on Cheviot fell,
Spread his broad nostril to the wind,
And looked before, around, behind,
Then crouched him down beside the hind,
And quaked among the mountain fern,
To hear that sound so harsh and stern.'

The vacant places in the Cabinet were soon filled—and in a way to give unusual satisfaction, with the exception of Lord Auckland. But this temporary discontent arose from Lord Auckland not being sufficiently known to the country. A mistaken rumour gained ground, that he was a half and half reformer, and resembled in some of his opinions those Ministers who had just quitted office. The truth is, that this able and respectable nobleman has all his life held the strongest liberal opinions, and not professed merely, but acted upon them. Indeed, few men have made such sacrifices to his principles. Born and bred among the Tories, and nearly connected with the Tory Cabinets, he might have held office all his life, had he not nobly quitted his friends, as he despised his interest, in order to join the standard of a long and hopeless Opposition; although his circumstances were such as to render this a sacrifice on the very outermost verge of common prudence. Another circumstance made Lord Auckland's appointment unpopular at the moment. Many persons were desirous, and most justly, of seeing one of the vacant places filled by such steady friends of reform as Mr Abercromby and Lord Durham. The appointment of the former, which soon followed, removed all discontent; and we may hope, that the services of the latter will not long be refused to his country.

The hopes of the Tories, from a change which should break up the liberal Cabinet, are, we suspect, sunk very low, in spite of the 'Tomfoolery' performed at Oxford. Sad symptoms have appeared, both in and out of Parliament, to convince them that all the favour they enjoy is confined to the banks of the Isis. Petitions are presented nightly by the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Rolle, from select bodies of the Church—namely, ministers, and church vestries, and inhabitants. They generally occupy a sheet or two of paper; and as there are in England and Ireland about 15,000 parishes, there may easily be procured as many of these little petitions, in support of the Establishment, and against the Dissenters. But in all parts of the country, except in these vestries and at Oxford, the people are firmly resolved to be in no kind of alarm about the Church, and the 'hind' will be left to quake unpitied. If any real danger assailed her, all would stand forth in her defence; but no one will affect fears that are utterly groundless, and which are only put on to help a few ousted Tory jobbers into their old official haunts, where they feathered their own nests, and laid on our backs the load of hundreds of millions of debt.

The people seem, however, quite determined that they shall never more bask in those blessed regions. And we wish for a moment to contemplate what would have ensued had the Mi-

nisters dissolved a government which no hands but their own can destroy. The immediate consequence would have been an attempt to form a Tory Ministry. Now, no man of ordinary reflection can doubt that this would have been the signal of a universal ferment in the whole country; and, first of all, of a resolution by five-sixths of the House of Commons, bringing that body into instant conflict with the Crown and the Peers. A dissolution of Parliament, therefore, must have been the immediate result. But what would this have produced? No doubt the Tories might succeed in a few places—in some Scotch counties, and some English burghs and counties—where they retain some sway, and had only been defeated in 1832 by the influence of the liberal Government and the animation of the Reform Bill. But suppose that the whole body of county members had become so much less liberal, as to present the reverse of their present aspect—that, instead of 120 for the liberal party, and 60 for the Tories, there would have been 120 for the Tories, and 60 for the new Opposition—in Ireland, the change would at once unite the radical with the moderate party; and there would be 70 in Opposition, and 35 for the new Tory Ministry. This would leave upon these two branches, of Irish members, and British members for counties, 155 for the Government, and 130 for the new Opposition—no great balance, and yet the only favourable account the Tories could look to; for in nearly all the towns their chance would be desperate. Of this let the late elections tell. Even in Cambridge, where the Tory influence is at its height over the tradesmen, inasmuch as they live by the colleges under the iron rule of the Heads of Houses and Tutors—even there, where every nerve was strained, the liberal cause prevailed; although it is known that many kept back from fear of ruining their families, when the majority was secure without them, and a large body had been disfranchised by the corrupt conduct of a functionary lately deceased. But it is only necessary to look to our own city, and to London, in order to see how paramount is the strength of the liberal party. Here, all the efforts of Toryism have only ended in its complete and signal discomfiture in one contest, and its hopeless inability to attempt another; while in Finsbury, notwithstanding the efforts of the lawyers and judges, and their dependents, who inhabit it, the liberal party could afford to start three candidates, and yet to defeat the Tory by a majority of six hundred;—the real majority being above seventeen hundred, independent of fifteen hundred and more, who kept back from the poll when they saw the victory was safe.

All, then, concurs to demonstrate what would be the immediate

result of a dissolution of Parliament under a Tory Administration. Perhaps a few more radical men might be returned, and perhaps here and there a Whig might be displaced by a Tory; but the majority would certainly be against the Government; and therefore the Ministers would be driven out amidst the loudest execrations. Then would be installed a Ministry, liberal, and with a vengeance. Adieu now to all mitigation of reforms! Farewell all half measures—all moderate and gradual improvement! The Crown, the Peers, the Commons, must all now put their hands to the good work. The Peers must undergo a change. The conflict—the collision—long spoken of—will indeed have arrived;—all men will agree that a large new creation has become necessary; all men will admit that the Peers, unreformed, were the real cause of the mischief; all will allow the measure of retribution to be most condign. There are none so besotted as to shut their eyes to the truth, that a House of Lords, which sets itself always against the people, cries out for Tory Ministers when the people demand more thorough-going reformers, lends itself to every intrigue for changing a Ministry whom the people are resolved to support, and resents every moderate reformation of abuses;—that such a House of Lords would not be suffered to spread anarchy through the land, and to place in hazard the very existence of the State and all its institutions. Therefore, the truth must be told, how unpleasant soever to noble ears, that the consummation desired by so many Peers,—an attempt to make a Tory Ministry,—would speedily end, not only in an ultra-liberal Government, but in a reformed, that is, a well-diluted House of Lords.

Let us next see how, even admitting the return of a House of Commons thoroughly popular should not instantly overwhelm the Tory Ministers, the attempt to govern the country could be made, in respect of the Ministerial offices and the Opposition leaders.

There would be the greatest difficulty experienced in obtaining a leader of the House of Commons. Mr Stanley never will join the Tories; that we reckon out of all doubt. His great fury for the Irish Church, which blinds his judgment and paralyses his faculties, cannot, and will not last; no personal pique—no friendly influence, can ever make him the leader of the Tories in the House of Commons. He is far more likely to rejoin his former friends the first opportunity, and again to signalize himself in a Whig Opposition. Then Sir Robert Peel is not a very likely person to give prudence to the winds, and try the forlorn hope which must for ever and a day close all the gates of reconcilement, and all the hopes of permanent office;—to say nothing of

the stake which he has in the country and the funds, which he might not quite so readily consent to involve in the greatest risks, as some Lords may be ready to hazard their pensions in order to obtain diplomatic promotion or governments in either Indies. There is, however, said to be another Tory gentleman, namely, Mr Speaker, who has intimated his consent to try the helm of that vessel, in which he has as yet figured rather as a frequenter of the State Cabin, or inmate of the Bread-room. Will he so? Is not the fate of one Speaker, one State-doctor enough? or must he learn by experience, rather than observation, the wide difference between a well-liked Speaker—the occupant of the chair, and an article, as it were, of furniture in the House—and a Minister leading it in turbulent times? But even Lord Sidmouth was not Minister with a reformed Parliament, and the country and Europe in profound peace. He could not have existed on the Treasury Bench for a week, had not the fear of Bonaparte kept him there. We do not believe it possible that Sir C. M. Sutton can court the lot of the hapless wight who shall be doomed to everlasting penance as the immediate successor of the worthy and much derided Doctor. In any view of the case, we believe, it will be found that there is just as much difficulty in bringing men to form the Tory government, as in obtaining for it the support of Parliament and the people.

In all the speculations which the late changes have given rise to upon the position of parliamentary parties, great stress has been laid upon the loss of debating talent which the Ministry has sustained. It seems to us quite evident that two important errors have been committed in such observations. First, nobody will speak of the loss of Sir J. Grahame's debating talents, who never excelled in debate at all, though a most sensible, and even an excellent speaker; and it is erroneous to suppose that Mr Stanley is not met by an equal force of this kind in the late accessions to the Cabinet. He is clever—ready—spirited—so is Mr Spring Rice; and not inferior to him in any one of these particulars. Consummate orators, perhaps, neither will ever be; great debaters both are; talents and expertness they have about equally. Then, who doubts the powers of Lord John Russell, Mr Grant, and Lord Palmerston—all ready to aid Lord Althorp? And Mr Abercromby has brought an accession both of practised House of Commons talent, and of high character, which it would not be easy to overrate. That the loss of Mr Stanley, then, though serious, is irreparable, no reflecting person can for a moment suppose. But if it were otherwise, and nobody existed to meet him, we are quite clear that the state of things in the present times renders mere debating of far less moment than it ever before was. The time is past and gone when a few fine speeches

could carry the day either against men or measures, and mere debates control the fate of the country. The people will not bear it—the Parliament will not bear it—the advanced state of society we live in will not bear it. The force of character and possession of public confidence, the slow growth of time,—tried integrity, assayed purity of motives, proved solidity of judgment,—what is called *weight*, which, as a statesman may have it with no brilliancy of parts, so may he sparkle even to dazzle, and yet have it not more than a feather,—this grand quality is possessed by such men as the Premier, the Chancellor, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Lord John Russell; and these men and their measures might well defy a host of debaters, though even in mentioning them we had not mentioned some, in comparison with whom nobody would ever dream of placing Mr Stanley as a public speaker. Upon this head, therefore, we feel perfectly secure, and, as we take it, so does the Government and the country.

What, then, is the sum of our opinion upon the state of affairs? This, certainly,—that all the hopes of place cherished by the underlings of the Tory party are wholly fallacious, and that all the Government have to care about is the soundness of their own measures.

They have, in the session about to close, increased very greatly their claims to the gratitude and confidence of their country. It is true that the result of this session cannot present so magnificent a total as that of the last; but why? Because the labours of the last left much less to do. There are no longer the slaves to emancipate—no longer the Irish hierarchy to purify—no longer the whole law of real property and the Court of Chancery to reform—no longer the East India charter to remodel—no longer the Scotch burgh abuses to extirpate; but many wholesome law-reforms have been made—the foundations of others have been laid—the great question of *codification* has been presented at length in a practicable form—a grand central court of criminal justice for near two millions of people has been erected—and the whole system of the Poor Laws is likely to be reformed by a measure, the boldness and the soundness of which equal that of any reformation ever made in the policy of any nation. The complication and real extent of the subject and its infinity of details has necessarily postponed the grand reform of English corporations; but with that will open, we trust, the next session of Parliament.

We cannot, however, close these observations without adverting to one peculiarity in the present Ministry, which is of an unfortunate, though of a personal nature. Some of its leading members are known to be anxious for retirement from office. We say nothing of the others, but we especially direct our remarks to-

wards Lord Grey. It is not to be denied that this virtuous, experienced, and most able statesman, has arrived at an age when rest has more charms than power; and when, without grudging, he might, in ordinary times, be suffered to seek a repose, which no man ever better earned by a long life devoted to the service of his country. But we must look to his vigour—we must ask whether or not any one symptom of failure has appeared—before we can allow, that in these times, he has any right to prefer rest to duty. The place he occupies is the proudest man can aspire to. With the full confidence of the Monarch, the undoubted love of the People, the admiration and esteem of his Colleagues, the cordial affection of Parliament—what man ever willingly resigned such a preeminence? His leaving the helm at present would be the subject of universal regret Then, what claims to 'his ease' can Earl Grey urge? Who ever pronounced more spirited, able, and eloquent speeches than he has this very session made? The united testimony of all members of Parliament that has reached us, convinces us, that Lord Grey never in his whole life showed more entire vigour of mind than he has this present year. His Lordship, we have heard, is accustomed to say that he is himself the best judge, and that he feels his own decline. We have, we confess, very little faith in the justness of such a feeling. Nerves, stomach, weariness, all concur to discredit a man's judgments against himself in this particular. Proverbially, no one's estimate of his own capacity is trusted for a moment—and why? Because he sees through a deceitful medium. Lord Grey, in a word, is a very extraordinary man, such as few countries have produced; and the continuance of his services is a blessing with which the exigencies of the public service cannot easily dispense.

Since this article was written, an event has happened which showed by its immediate consequences how accurate were our estimates of the condition of parties, in the foregoing pages. Lord Grey has retired from office; but all attempts to change the Government, and put a Coalition Ministry in its place, seem to fail immediately; and the hopelessness of any Tory administration lasting a week prevented, as we are informed, any such arrangement from once being thought of. With the addition of two useful and popular names, the former Government continues under Lord Melbourne at its head instead of Lord Grey.

This has, we verily believe, given universal satisfaction to the friends of liberal principles throughout the country. The objectors are a few individuals chiefly connected with the press; and

it must be admitted, that for some time past, the portion of the daily and weekly press to which we allude, has been absolutely incomprehensible. The objects of unceasing attack have been the members of the liberal Government, and of these Lord Althorp chiefly. Any thing more offensive to the feelings of the country has seldom been attempted. The man best beloved and most universally respected of all the statesmen of the day, and who commands, by his sound sense, and his unsullied character, the confidence of the people and the people's representatives, beyond any man living, is daily held up to contempt and even hatred, by the chief paper among those pretending to the character of liberal! There are some who pretend to see through the motives of all this: we shall not attempt to dive into them. Whatever be the motives, the effect is certain. Without in the least injuring the Government, these writers bring sufficient discredit on themselves. The most charitable cannot avoid suspecting some personal feeling to lurk beneath all this rage against one or two individuals; and the eager anxiety of these journalists to force on a crisis, by the attempt to make a Ministry of Tories, and the consequent dissolution of Parliament, seems really to betoken some wish that confusion should reign in the country, and enable editors of newspapers to rule the sinking State.

The loss of Lord Grey is most deeply to be deplored. We have fully expressed our opinion on this head in the preceding pages. But that Lord Melbourne has shown the greatest talent and firmness in the execution of a most difficult office in very critical times, every one knows. His natural abilities are of the first order, and his accomplishments are on the same scale—an impressive speaker, formed on the best and most classical models; a man of large and comprehensive views, matured by extensive reading; a functionary, whose habits of business, and capacity for despatching it, have no superior; in private life, one of the most amiable and universally beloved characters that ever appeared in society. No wonder that sanguine hopes are entertained for a Government formed under his auspices. Such a man may well despise the sneers of a few newspapers, possibly under the guidance of disappointed individuals—certainly influenced by some personal feelings, and which would represent Lord Althorp as unworthy of trust, and the Tories as fit to rule.

It would give us sincere pain, could we think that such writers represent truly the sense of any considerable part of the community: on the contrary, we are persuaded that the people will before long convince these journalists how highly they disapprove of their conduct. If the reconstructed Ministry were not to receive the support of the country, the state of our affairs would indeed

be desperate. The last chance of perpetuating a liberal Government, and excluding the enemies of all reform and all improvement, would be lost; and a Tory Ministry would be the inevitable fate of this kingdom. Some government there must be; and if all the liberal Cabinets are rejected by the people, there is nothing for it but one formed upon the opposite principles. It may suit some to bring about a crisis, and convulse the whole country: honest and enlightened statesmen, and the proprietors of the country, never will consent to see anarchy reign in this island, in order to gratify a handful of individuals.

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